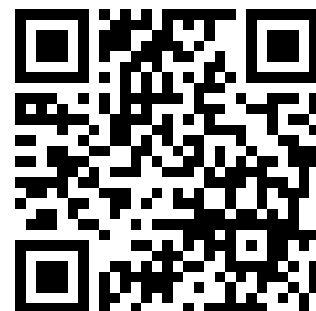


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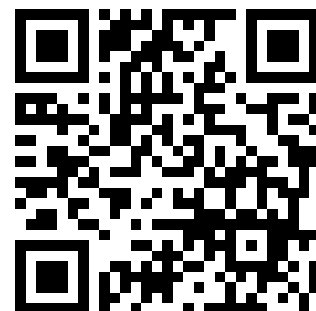


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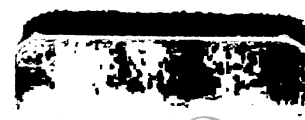




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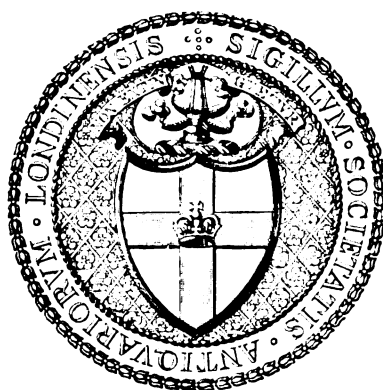
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY.



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RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY,  
PUBLISHED BY THE  
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.  
VOLUME XLVIII.



LONDON :  
PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.  
SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR,  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,  
&c.

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I.—*Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum.* Communicated by ARTHUR JOHN  
EVANS, Esq., F.S.A.

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Read Nov. 30 and Dec. 7, 1882.

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# ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

## I—EPITAEURUM—CANALI—RISINIUM.

Owing to the neighbourhood of the civilized republic of Ragusa, which sprang as it were from the ashes of the Græco-Roman city, the antiquities of the Dalmatian Epidaurus have been investigated from the early days of the Renaissance. The merchant antiquary, Cyriac of Ancona, who visited Ragusa during his voyage into the Levant, undertaken in 1435, had already begun the work of copying the remaining inscriptions, which was continued in the next century by the native Ragusan antiquaries, who supplied Aldus Manutius and others with epigraphic materials from the Epidaurian site. The work thus early begun was worthily continued in the last century by the Ragusan patrician De Sörgo,<sup>a</sup> more recently by Dr. J. A. Kasnačić and others, and Professor Mommsen personally collated many of the inscriptions for the great work of the Berlin Academy.<sup>b</sup> The aqueduct and general antiquities of the site are treated at length by Appendini, but in a somewhat fantastic and uncritical manner.<sup>c</sup> A residence on the spot has now

<sup>a</sup> *Comment. Lud. Cervarii Tuberonis de origine et incremento Urbis Rhacusane.* Ragusa, 1790.

<sup>b</sup> The hitherto known inscriptions from the site are collected in C. I. L. iii. p. 288 *seqq.* and Prof. Mommsen (*s. v.* EPIDAEURUM) gives a résumé of the earlier sources for the epigraphy of the place.

<sup>c</sup> *Notizie istorico-critiche sulle Antichità, Storia e Letteratura di Ragusei.* Ragusa, 1802, t. i. lib. i. ii. The remains at Ragusa Vecchia have been touched on since Appendini's time by Stieglitz, *Istrien*

enabled me to make some fresh contributions to the materials already collected, and to correct perhaps some prevailing misconceptions.

The site of the ancient city, at present occupied by a small town called, by a curious transference of names, Ragusa Vecchia, but still known to its Slavonic-speaking inhabitants as Zavtat or Cavtat, from the earlier Romance form *Civitate*, is on a small peninsula jutting out from the opposite side of the bay to that on which its offspring Ragusa stands. Although the Dalmatian Epidauros, or, to accept the prevalent local orthography, Epitaurum,<sup>a</sup> does not appear in history till the time of the Civil Wars, the name itself may be taken as a sufficient indication that it was an Adriatic colonial station of one or other of its Peloponnesian namesakes; and its peninsular site was just one of those which offered special advantages to the early Greek settlers on a barbarian coast.

Mommsen, indeed, who visited this site in order to collate the monuments for the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, has revived in a new form a theory, already propounded by Mannert,<sup>b</sup> and others, that the site of Epitaurum is to be sought at Prevlaka, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro, and not on the peninsula of Ragusa Vecchia. It has been pointed out by these authorities that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* makes Epitaurum 105 miles distant from Lissus and 103° from Narona, while Pliny<sup>d</sup> makes it equidistant—100 miles from either—and it has been urged that these measurements can only be reconciled with the position of Prevlaka.

As Mommsen however himself admits, the statement of the *Itinerarium Maritimum*<sup>e</sup> that Epitaurum was 200 stadia from the isle of Melita (Meleda) can

und Dalmazien, p. 264 (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1845), Wilkinson, *Dalmatia* i. 373 (London, 1848), Kohl, *Reise nach Istrien, Dalmazien und Montenegro*, ii. 33 seqq. (Dresden, 1856), Lago, *Memorie sulla Dalmazia* (Venezia, 1870), and others, but the notices are slight and add little to our knowledge.

<sup>a</sup> On a *Privilegium Veteranorum* of Vespasian found at Salona there is mention of a P. Vibius Maximus,—EPITAVR . EQ . R. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana* the name appears as *Epitauro*: in the Geographer of Ravenna as *Epitauron* (379, 14) and *Epitaurum* (208, 10). In St. Jerome (*Vita S. Hilarionis*) *Epitaurum*: in the sixth century Council-Acts of Salona, *Epitaurensis Ecclesia*. The town is alluded to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29) as τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα; and its early Slavonic name was *Starigrad Pitaur*, still preserving the *t* in preference to *d*. The readings of Ptolemy (2, 16, 5), Pliny (23, 143), and Antonine (*It. Mar.* 520), cannot weigh against this consensus of local testimony; but we need not with Prof. Tomaschek (*Die vorlawische Topographie*, &c. p. 37) seek an Illyrian derivation for the name.

<sup>b</sup> 7, 350.

<sup>c</sup> Accepting the correction of the distance Narona—Ad Turres (see p. 79).

<sup>d</sup> *Hist. Nat.* iii. 22, 143.

<sup>e</sup> A MELITA EPIDAVROS STADIA CC. *It. Antonini*, 520.



only be reconciled with the Ragusa-Vecchian site. He further observes that any one who, like himself, has visited Ragusa Vecchia, who has seen the remains of the amphitheatre cut out of the solid rock, the traces of the Roman harbour, the inscriptions which, though not presenting in a single case the name of the city, are numerous and imposing, and the other abundant traces of Roman habitation that are daily brought to light, can fail to recognise the fact that a famous and important Roman city must have existed at this spot, epithets which, among all the Roman stations on the coast between Lissus and Naron, alone apply to the Colony of Epitaurum.<sup>a</sup>

In order to reconcile these conflicting indications Mommsen has recourse to the hypothesis that the original Epitaurum existed at Prevlaka, but that for some reason unknown, and at a still flourishing period of the Roman Empire, it was transferred to the Ragusa-Vecchian site; so that there would be an Old and New Epitaurum as well as an Old and New Ragusa.

This hypothesis, not very hopeful in itself, appears to me to be untenable for several reasons. At Prevlaka a single inscription only has been discovered, referring to a decurion of the *Sergian* tribe,<sup>b</sup> the tribe to which the citizens of Risinium and the Roman predecessor of Cattaro belonged, but not the tribe of the Epidauritans, which was the *Tromentine*. Taken by itself, therefore, this inscription supplies internal evidence that it belonged to one of the known Roman cities of the Rhizonic Gulf. A careful examination of the isthmus and peninsula of Prevlaka has convinced me that no ancient town has ever existed at that spot.<sup>c</sup> Not only are all architectural traces wanting, but the soil is absolutely deficient in those minor relics, such as fragments of pottery and tiles, that always mark an ancient site.

On the other hand, there have been discovered on the site of Ragusa Vecchia indubitable relics of Hellenic intercourse, dating from præ-Roman times.

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. p. 287, s. v. EPIDAUROM. I do not know to what Prof. Mommsen refers as the remains of the Amphitheatre.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1738.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Ljubić, *Viestnik hrvatskoga archeologičkoga Društva* (*Journal of the Croatian Archaeological Society*), iii. p. 52, and cf. ii. p. 102, completely corroborates my observations: "Na Prevlaki neostaje ni traga rimskom gradu, a rimski nadpis koji ondje stoji uzidan u crkvi bez dvojbe je iz Risna ili iz Kotora donesen." (There is not a trace of a Roman town at Prevlaka, and the Roman inscription, which is there walled into the church, has been doubtless transported from Risano or Cattaro.) Dr. Ljubić is replying to G. Gelchich, who in his *Memorie sulle Bocche di Cattaro* (Zara, 1880), p. 7, asserts at random that remains of the city exist at Prevlaka.

Among the coins here brought to light, I have noticed several silver pieces of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, of the third century B.C., in one case an autonomous coin of Scodra, dating probably from about the year 168 B.C.,<sup>a</sup> and I have, myself, picked up a small brass coin of Bœotia. A few years since there was dug up here a pale carnelian intaglio in the perfect Greek style, representing Apollo Agyieus, guardian of roads and streets, leaning on a pillar and holding forth his bow.<sup>b</sup> The old Greek connexion with this part of the Dalmatian coast is still traceable in the local names, and one of the Ragusan islands has preserved in a corrupted form the name of the *Elaphites Nésoi*.<sup>c</sup>

Finally, I hope to be able to adduce some fresh evidence as to the course of the land communication between Epitaurum and Naronæ which may serve to reconcile completely the statements of Pliny and the author of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with the position of Epitaurum as indicated by existing remains, and may enable us to dispense once and for all with the ingenious hypothesis of Mommsen. This evidence I am compelled to reserve for a future paper; but it may be useful to mention that I have discovered the traces of the Roman junction road from Epitaurum, running inland, and not, as hitherto supposed, along the coast; and that an inscription on this road shows that, in Claudius's time at any rate, the maritime terminus of this road was to be found on the Ragusa-Vecchian site.

The existing architectural remains of Epitaurum are small. The rocky nature of the soil has hindered the usual accumulation of *humus*, which so often preserves for us at least the foundations of ancient buildings. On the other hand, what remained of the Roman city has, no doubt, largely contributed to supply its more renowned mediæval offspring with building materials. Epitaurum, only seven miles distant, across the bay, by sea, has become a convenient quarry for Ragusa. Traces of the quay, however, and parts of the city walls, may yet be seen, and the ancient steps, cut in the rock, show that several of the steep and narrow streets of Ragusa Vecchia, the small town that now partially occupies the

<sup>a</sup> Vide *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. pl. XIII. fig. 2.

<sup>b</sup> This gem is now in the possession of Mr. W. J. Stillman. It greatly resembles that engraved by King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, pl. XV. fig. 8, and probably preserves the outlines of a celebrated statue.

<sup>c</sup> Lopud (*It. Mezzo*) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *Dalafota*, i.e. *Da Lafota* or *D'Alafota*, Cf. Dr. Constantin Jireček, *Die Handelstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag, 1879, p. 9. Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 30, 151), mentions the seven Elaphites Insulæ as lying south of Melita (Meleda).

site, follow the Roman street-lines. On the height, now crowned by a chapel of S. Rocco, are evident remains of the Roman cemetery, the oblong cavities of *sarcophagi* being cut out of the solid rock ; and on the shore of the Bay of Tiha, along which the Roman road leading to the peninsula gate of Epitaurum must have run, are still to be seen Roman mortuary inscriptions cut in the face of a ledge of rock. That considerable suburbs existed on this side is shown by the fact that Roman remains are abundant as far as Obod, where a fine tessellated pavement<sup>a</sup> was discovered in the last century ; and in the bay itself walls believed to be Roman are at times visible in the shallows. On the further side of the present harbour of Ragusa Vecchia Roman remains are also distinctly traceable. In the walls and courtyards of the present town are fragments of sculpture, and columns, inscriptions, and monuments, amongst which is an interesting representation of a Roman *Signifer* (fig. 1).<sup>b</sup>



Fig. 1. ROMAN SIGNIFER.

<sup>a</sup> "I di cui vivacissimi colori con maraviglioso artificio fra loro disposti presentano all'occhio una serie luminosa di vaghissime liste," is Appendini's high-flown description of this mosaic in 1802. *Storia di Ragusa*, p. 50.

<sup>b</sup> The engraving which I here reproduce is taken from my work on Bosnia, in which I have already given a popular account of some of the Roman Antiquities of Ragusa Vecchia.

But the most important relic that remains of Roman Epitaurum is unquestionably the Aqueduct. The total length of this great work, the remains of which extend to a mountain source called Vodovalja, on the further side of the plain of Canali, is about fifteen miles. I have myself traced it throughout the greater part of its course, and from a comparison of its different levels am persuaded that the water was in places conducted up eminences *à siphon* by means of large reservoirs *à chasse* and *à fuite*, as has been shown to be the case with some of the great aqueducts of Provence. The arches by which it spanned the level tracts have unfortunately all perished, though some were existing in the immediate neighbourhood of Epitaurum within the memory of man. The last pier of one of these, formerly existing just outside the present gate of Ragusa Vecchia, was removed not longer ago than 1875 to widen the road in honour of the Emperor Francis Joseph's visit. The great length of this aqueduct curiously illustrates the known daintiness of the Romans in regard to their water supply. At a point several miles nearer Ragusa Vecchia the aqueduct spanned a mountain source called Gljuta, far more copious than that to which it is ultimately conducted. The water of the Gljuta, so far as my own experience goes, is not only deliciously cool to bathe in but eminently drinkable. I found however that the natives of the district through which the aqueduct runs, and to which it gives its name Canali, the old Serbian Župa Konavalska, have a prejudice against either drinking or bathing in the water of this stream. They declare that it is slightly saline, and that after drinking it you are quickly seized with thirst again, that bathing in it is liable to give you ague, and that it is not beneficial to herbage. Hence they call it Gljuta, or the bitter water. This prejudice may be traditional, since, although the Canalesi are at the present day a Slav-speaking people, the name Canali itself, and many of the village names\* of the district as well as some of the prevalent physical types attest a considerable survival of Illyro-Roman blood.

\* As for instance *Molunta* (cf. Illyrian-Messapian suffix *-untum*, *-ventum*, &c.), *Vitaljina* from *Vitalis*, *Cilippi*, not to speak of the mediæval reminiscences of Epitaurum, as *Starigrad Pitaur*, and its modern local name, *Cavtat*=*Civitate*, cf. Rouman: *Cetate*, *Citat*, Albanian: *Giutet*, &c. (cf. p. 32). Excavations conducted by my friend Dr. Luschan and myself in mediæval cemeteries about Mrcine and Sokko, not far distant from the head of the Aqueduct, amply demonstrate the prevalence of non-Slavonic crania. For the survival of Roman local names in the territory of Ragusa, see Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 8. Still more curious are the fragments of the Roman provincial dialect of Dalmatia existing in the Slavonic dialect of the Ragusans. Vide Prof. Luko Zore, *Dubrovnik*, iii. p. 195, *Naš jezik tijekom naše književnosti u Dubrovniku*. (Our language in the course of our literature in Ragusa.)

The remains of the piers that still exist are formed of a conglomerate of rubble-masonry, mortar, and bricks, and not of deftly-hewn blocks as in the aqueduct of Salona. The most interesting feature in the existing remains is the conduit hewn out of the solid rock, which may be traced for miles in the more hilly part of the country to be traversed, taking great curves in order to maintain the level. In the last century, to judge from a manuscript letter of the secretary of the Republic of Ragusa, Antonio Alleti, to his friend Mattei at Rome, it must have been still more perfect. "I have been," he writes on December 14, 1724, "with much satisfaction at Canali to see the Aqueduct through which the Romans from a distance of thirty Italian miles [an exaggerated estimate] used to conduct the water to Epidaurum, and in order the better to enjoy that venerable antiquity at times I rode on horseback in the very channel in which at one time the water ran."<sup>a</sup>

It is noteworthy that in Canali the breadth of the channel of the Aqueduct is nearly three times as great as at Ragusa Vecchia. More water was needed in this part of its course to be employed in irrigating the fields. The district of Canali is still the best artificially-watered tract in the whole of Dalmatia, and the inhabitants seem to have preserved the art of irrigation from ancient days.

The Aqueduct on abutting on the peninsular hill on which Epitaurum stood ran along the northern wall of the Roman city, which follows for awhile the northern steep of the peninsula, the city itself lying below on the southern flank of the hill, where the town of Ragusa Vecchia is at present situate. From the north-western angle of the old city wall it descends slightly, in part of its course by a subterranean channel tunnelled out of the rock, to a semicircular Chamber overlooking the ancient quay, and which appears to have formed part of the public baths.

Just above this spot I excavated a very perfect portion of the ancient channel. The channel itself had been hewn, here as elsewhere, in the more rugged part of its course out of the limestone rock, but the vault above had been constructed of masonry and concrete. From the pitch of the vaulting to the floor the height

<sup>a</sup> "Sono stato con sommo contento in Canali per vedere gli avanzi dell' Acquedotto per cui i Romani dalla lontananza di trenta miglie avevano condotto l'acqua in Epidauro, e per maggior godere di quella veneranda antichità alla volta con cavallo mi cacciai in quel letto medesimo su cui un tempo scorreva l'acqua." The correspondence of Alleti is in the possession of Don Paulovich of Ragusa, by whose kindness I am enabled to reproduce the parts bearing on the antiquities of Epitaurum. Cervarius Tubero, *Commentaria suorum temporum*, remarks, "Quod autem Canalis ager territorii Epidaurii fuerit, argumentum est opus mirabilis structuræ effectum, quâ a vigesimo prope milliario aqua in urbem perducta est, partim subterraneo rivo, partim opere arquato."

was exactly five feet, the object being apparently to enable workmen to walk along it when repairs were necessary. The rock walls sloped inwards from the spring of the arch so as to present a somewhat coffin-like section, due, no doubt, as in the case of a coffin, to the desire to give space for the upper and broader part of a man's body. The base was trilateral (fig. 2).

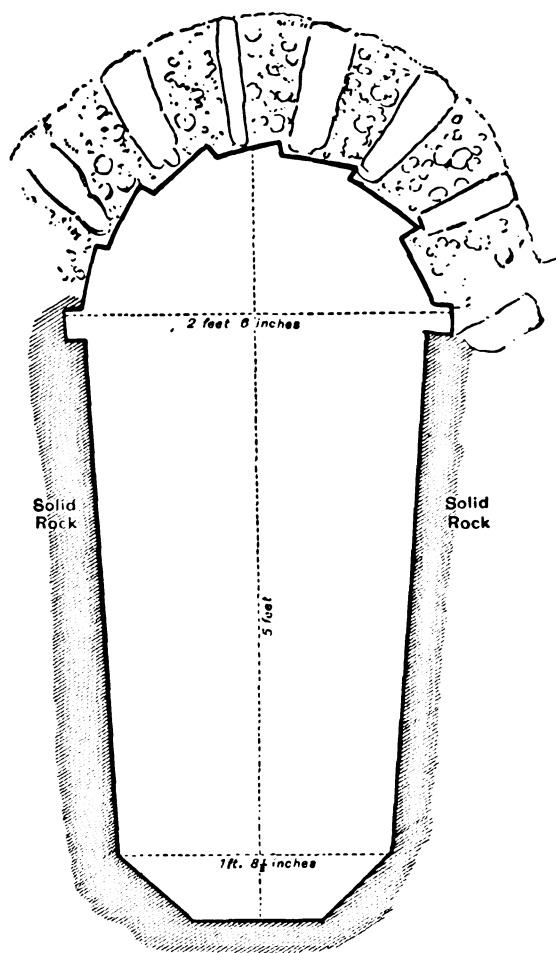
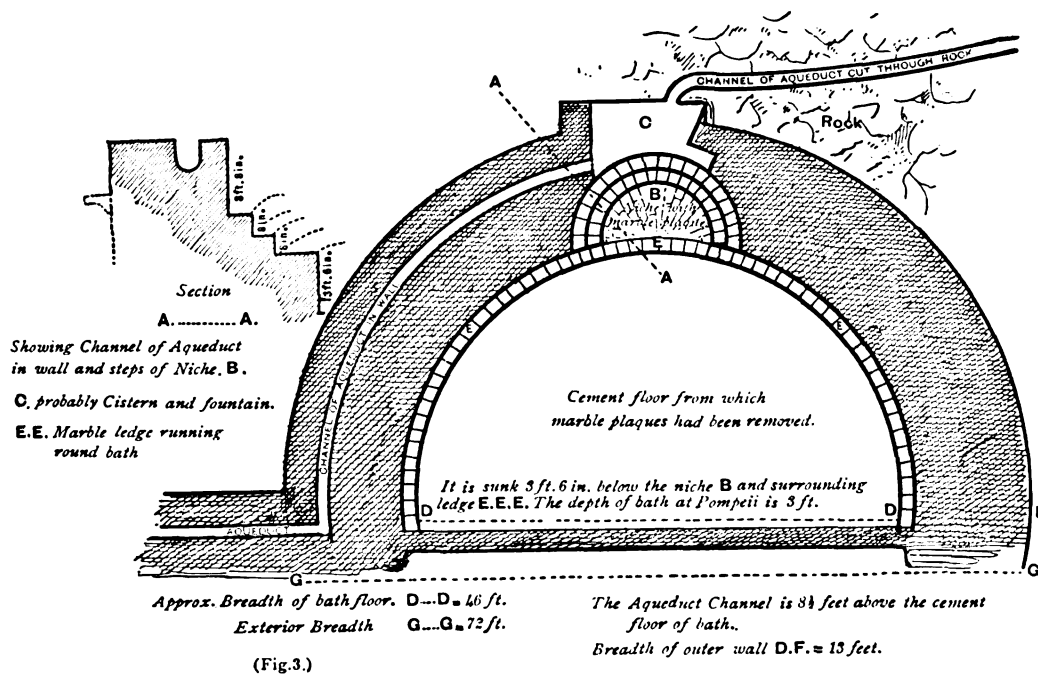


Fig. 2. SECTION OF AQUEDUCT TUNNELLED THROUGH ROCK.  
EPITAEURUM.

The most remarkable feature, however, is the vaulting above the rock channel. The concrete with which its surface is coated presents a curious coggled or serrated section, due to the impression of the planks of the wooden framework or centering on the soft material, as is proved by the grain of the wood being itself in places reproduced. From this it appears that the centering employed by the

Epitaurian architect was different from those generally in use at the present day. That it consisted of overlapping planks supported below on a semicircular framework is evident, but it is difficult to understand what the special advantages of this form of centering may have been. The fact, however, that no interstices are left between the planks, shows that the concrete used was of a very soft nature.



(Fig.3.)

Bath Chamber at Epitaurum.  
(Ragusa Vecchia.)

The semicircular basin into which the channel of the aqueduct runs was excavated by me in 1878 (fig. 3). The water entered the Chamber by a semicircular niche containing two steps 8 inches high. This again opens into what was evidently a semicircular Piscina, about 46 feet in diameter, floored with cement, and surrounded with a ledge on which the bathers could stand. The depth of the Piscina is 3 feet 6 inches, about half a foot deeper than a similar bath at Pompeii. Not only the niche and surrounding walls and ledge, but the concrete floor of the bath itself, had been covered with plaques of marble, all of which—with the exception of fragments—had been removed by the inhabitants. The channel of the Aqueduct is continued along the middle of the western wall of the building, and thence along another wall which follows the line of the straight

side of the Piscina. Unfortunately, however, the ruin of the rest of the bath buildings has been too complete to admit of reconstruction.

The hitherto known inscriptions discovered on this site are collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and many of those still existing on the spot have been personally examined by Professor Mommsen. The most important of these, containing an honorary dedication by the cities of Upper Illyricum to P. Corn. Dolabella, who, as Pro-prætor under Tiberius, directed the execution of at least five great lines of roadway from Salona into the Dalmatian interior, now, unfortunately, exists only in a fragmentary condition.\* According to the accounts of the Ragusan antiquaries, this inscription was originally discovered, together with a head and other fragments of a statue, at Obod, in 1547, in the remains of a small quadrangular building that lies about a mile distant on the line of the Roman roadway that leads to Epitaurum from the north. The building itself has the appearance of a low tower, about 18 feet square, and, according to the testimony of a local antiquary, originally showed traces of a cupola.

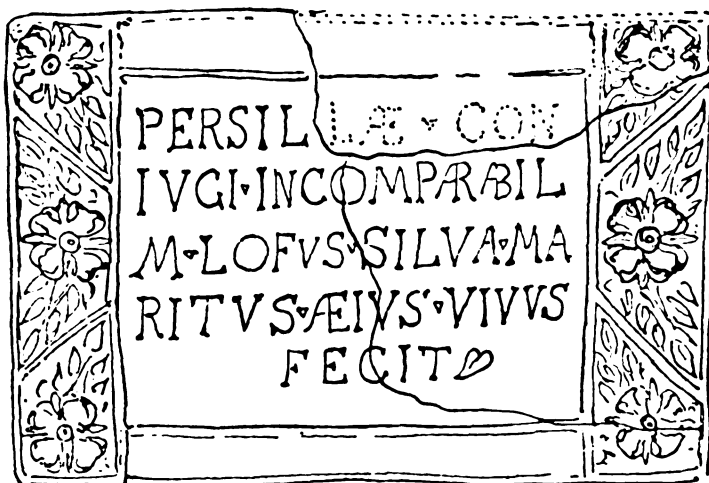


Fig. 4. EPITAURUM.

It has certainly been built up of the remains of an earlier building, as frag-

\* C. I. L. iii. 1741. In its perfect state the inscription ran: P. CORNELIO || DOLABELLAE COS || VII. VIRO. EPLONI || SODALI TITIENSI || LEG. PRO. PR. DIVI. AVGVSTI || ET. TI. CAESARIS. AVGVSTI || CIVITATEN SVPERIORIS || PROVINCIAE ILLYRICI. This Dolabella is referred to by Vellejus Paterculus, who, after mentioning the good government of his Illyrian province by Junius Blæsus in A.D. 14, continues: "Cujus curam ac fidem Dolabella quoque, vir simplicitatis generosissimæ, in maritima parte Illyrici per omnia imitatus est."



ments of moulding and a portion of a triangular arch had been built into the walls.

To the inscriptions discovered at Ragusa Vecchia I am able to add the following. The right hand portion of fig. 4 I found in 1875, embedded in a recently constructed wall in the upper part of the town. I afterwards learnt that the inscription had originally been discovered in a more perfect state, and succeeded in obtaining from an inhabitant of Ragusa Vecchia a native copy of the inscription in its entirety, from which I here supplement my own.

On the lower part of a sarcophagus carved out of the solid rock, in the Roman cemetery already mentioned as existing on the summit of the Epitaurian peninsula, I was able to decipher the following fragment of an inscription (fig. 5) :



Fig. 5. INSCRIPTION ON SARCOPHAGUS HEWN OUT OF THE ROCK.  
EPITAUROM.

Hearing that a "written stone" had been found some time since, embedded in the Roman Aqueduct, at a point near the north-east corner of the ancient city, but had subsequently been removed for building purposes, along with other fragments from the same source, and buried in the foundation of a wall, I prevailed on the owner of the wall to permit its re-excavation. It proved to contain the following not uninteresting inscription. (See fig. 6.)

The portion of the inscription that has been preserved may be completed :

|| AQVILIO // . F. TROM(entina sc. tribu) AQVILINO  
AEDILI II VIRO IVRE DICVNDQ QVINQVENNALI.

We are thus presented with the first epigraphic record of the highest municipal dignity at Epitaurum—that of the *Duumviri Quinquennales*—elected every



Fig. 6. EPITAUURUM.

lustrum, or five years, to discharge in their Municipium duties analogous to those performed by the Censors at Rome, whose title, indeed, they on occasion assumed.\* One of their most important functions was to revise, in accordance with the fundamental law of the city, the list of the *Decuriones*, or local Senators, and to enter it in the album, or *Libro d'Oro*, of their civic Republic. The Patrician Roll of Epitaurum, perpetuated and renewed by its offspring Ragusa, was closed by Napoleon within the memory of man.

The mention of the local *Ædile* is also new on Epitaurian monuments. The Aqueduct in the ruins of which the inscription was found would have been under his special charge; and we are tempted to believe that the magistrate whose name it records, and who added to his duties of municipal Consul and Censor that of guardian of the public works,<sup>b</sup> had connected his name in some honourable manner with this important fabric.

\* Cf. Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, pt. iii. sec. i. p. 360. Their financial functions seem to have been later on transferred to the *Curatores*.

<sup>b</sup> At Dyrrhachium (Durazzo), *Ænona* (Nona), and *Apsorus* (Oszero) on this coast, the titles of *ÆDILIS* and *II VIR QVINQVENNALIS* are coupled on inscriptions. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 611, 2977, 3138.) *ÆDILIS II VIR* is common: but on the other hand there were *Ædiles* who were not *Duumvirs*, and *Duumvirs*

Considering the peninsular position of the town, the character of the soil, and the climate, which rendered it liable to droughts, the water supply of the city, notwithstanding the existence of an aqueduct, must have been a special care of the civic officers; and we find accordingly another Epitaurian monument recording the restoration by the Duumviri Jure Dicundo, at the public expense, of a large cistern or reservoir.<sup>a</sup> The present city of Ragusa, though provided with an aqueduct constructed by a Neapolitan architect in the fifteenth century, stands greatly in need, during a dry season, of such a reservoir as was provided for her Roman predecessor by the wisdom of the Epitaurian magistrates. The Duumvirs, or local Consuls, are referred to on two other monuments. From an unpublished letter of the then Secretary of the Republic, Antonio Alleti,<sup>b</sup> the brother-in-law of the great Ragusan antiquary, Banduri, it appears that part of the bust of the Duumvir M. Pomentinus Turbo was, in 1724, still attached to the monument recording his name. In three instances decrees of the Decuriones are preserved, in which these municipal senators pay, in the name of their city, the last honours to citizens that had served it. In two instances they vote a public statue: in one case the mother and grandmother of the deceased treating the Decurions, the Sacral College of the Augustals, and their officers or Sexviri, to a banquet, and the citizens at large to a show of prizefighters.<sup>c</sup> The third inscription, relating to

who were not *Ædiles*. At Naronæ we read of *ÆDILIS IIIIVIR*: at Salonæ of a Curule *Ædile*. (C. I. L. iii. 2077.)

<sup>a</sup> P. VIBIVS . P . F . VRBICVS || P . ANVLENVS . BASSVS || II . VIR . I . D || CISTERNAM . EX pecunia . Publica . REFICIEN||DAM . CVRAVERVNT. (C. I. L. iii. 1750.)

<sup>b</sup> Antonio Alleti, Segretario della Repubblica di Ragusa, al Rev<sup>do</sup> Don Georgio Mattei, a Roma, Dec. 14, 1724: "Mi sono impossessato di un mezzo busto di marmo ed è la figura di M. POMENTINO figlio di M. POMENTINO TVRBONE IIVIRO I. D." The inscription has been published by Aldus Manutius and others and is given by Mommsen, who had himself personally collated it, in C. I. L. iii. 1748; but the hitherto unpublished passage in Alleti's correspondence is, I believe, the only reference to the bust which formerly accompanied it. The inscription itself at present exists in the Casa Gozze at Ombla. Alleti adds, "Anche allo scoglio di Mercanna ho trovato frammenti di vari iscrizioni senza però che abbia potuto cavare altro che un barlume indistinto." (Mercanna is a rocky isle opposite the peninsula on which Epitaurum stood; personally I have been unable to find Roman remains there.) In a letter written from Ragusa in April 1714 he describes an urn found near Ragusa Vecchia with *TIPANSIANAS* stamped on the lid. The stamp of the *Figlinæ Pansianæ* is common on Dalmatian sites. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 3213.)

<sup>c</sup> P. AELIO . P . F || TRO || OSILLIANO || NOVIA . BASSILLA || MATER . ET . NOVIA . IVS || TILLA . AVIA . POSVE- RVNT || ET . SPORTVLIS . DECVRIO || AVGVSTALIBVS ET SEXVI||RIS DATIS ITEM PVGILVM || SPECTACVLO DEDICAVE||RVNT HVIC VNIVERSVS || ORDO DECVRIONATVS || HONOREM ET LOCVM || STATVAE DECREVIT. (C. I. L. iii. 1745.) Discovered in 1856 in the ruins of an ancient building on the shore.

a decree of the Decurions, has been only imperfectly given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*,<sup>a</sup> and I therefore reproduce it—

L. F INVITILLA  
FILIO PIÏSSIMO  
VFL<sup>D</sup>DDN.

Nothing, indeed, is more instructive on this site than the large proportion of inscriptions illustrating the municipal life of Epitaurum. Out of twenty-three extant inscriptions no less than ten, or nearly half the total number, refer to the civic government or record the public benefaction of some citizen to the town. Of *tituli militares* there are only two. This overwhelming preponderance of civil and civic records becomes all the more noticeable when we compare the case of Epitaurum with that of the neighbouring coast towns on either side. At Risinium, indeed, out of twenty inscriptions only two have any reference to the common weal. Even at Naronā, where there are some splendid records of private munificence to the city, the proportion of municipal records is far smaller than at Epitaurum. At that city the nucleus and germs of the later municipality are to be found in an informal commercial colony of Roman citizens in an Illyrian emporium who formed a *vicus* governed by two Magistri and two Quæstors.<sup>b</sup> On the deduction hither of a formal colony about the time of Augustus we find the city governed by IIIIVIRI, but the civic life of the place seems rather to have centered in the sacral guild of the Augustales, whose *Sexviri* are mentioned in no less than eighteen inscriptions found in that site; and the liberality of the citizens is chiefly displayed in vows of temples and altars to the Gods. The government of a *vicus* was based on sacral rather than purely political relations, and this characteristic seems to have clung to the city even in its later colonial days. At Epitaurum, on the other hand, which was not in its origin a native market, a mere Illyrian tribal aggregation, later moulded into shape by a guild of Roman merchants, but, as its very name proclaims, a Greek colonial city, the case would have been very different from that of Naronā. At Epitaurum we may believe that the local Senate, or *Ordo Decurionatus*, and the Plebs of the Roman Municipium, were in some degree, at all events, nothing more than a recasting in a Roman guise of the Boulê and Dêmos of the original

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1746, on the authority of Dr. Eitelberger (*Jahrbuch der Central Commission*, &c. v. 288), who makes the third line simply L D D. The letters, however, as given in my copy, are perfectly clear.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1820, and cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 291, s. v. NARONĀ.

Dorian colony, still known by their old names in the Greek-speaking half of the Empire on the borders of which this city never ceased to stand. In the Parian colony of Pharia, in the isle of Lesina, which lies a little further up the Adriatic coast, inscriptions<sup>a</sup> have been discovered referring to the Boulê and Dêmos of the Greek city, to the Dêmach and Prytanês. We find a self-governing community, waging war with the Illyrian mainlanders,<sup>b</sup> striking coins in its own name, receiving legates from another city, and sending a deputation to consult the Delphic oracle. Issa, a Syracusan insular colony on the same Dalmatian shore, presents us with similar monuments,<sup>c</sup> and her Roman Municipium<sup>d</sup> was only a perpetuation of the earlier and more complete autonomy of her Hellenic days. The discovery of Greek coins and gems on the site of Epitaurum to which I have already referred gives us something more than etymological evidence that the Roman city sprang out of an earlier Greek foundation; and though, in the absence of epigraphic records, we are at present debarred from knowing the exact form of its autonomous institutions, we may with confidence infer their general character. To these Hellenic antecedents, to the abiding Hellenic contact of the Roman city, I would refer the specially high development of the civic sense noticeable on the existing monuments of Epitaurum.

Among the gems of Roman date discovered at this site I have noticed another interesting indication of the Hellenic traditions of Epitaurum. Three of those in my possession contain representations of Æsculapius, in two cases associated with Hygieia. This may be taken as fair evidence that the special cult of the Saronic Epidauros was perpetuated in its Illyrian namesake. Dedicatory inscriptions to the God are unfortunately wanting, but the fact that the cult of Æsculapius flourished in the neighbouring city of Naronæ, and that his name appears there twice under the quasi-Greek form of Æscelapius, is not without significance, as showing the extent to which the cult of the Epidaurian patron had taken root in Roman times on this part of the Dalmatian coast. The serpent form under which the God of healing was worshipped in his inmost shrine may still indeed be said to haunt the ruined site of the Starigrad Pitaur. St. Jerome, writing in the fifth

<sup>a</sup> C. I. G. ii. add. 1837, b, c, d, e. All these Pharian inscriptions are now in the museum at Agram. Vide S. Ljubić, *Inscriptiones quæ Zagabrie in museo nationali asservantur*. Zagabrie, 1876, p. 71 seqq.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. G. ii. add. 1837, c. The mainlanders with whom the Pharians seem to have been at war were the Jadasini, the inhabitants, that is, of the later Jadera (Zara) and their Liburnian allies.

<sup>c</sup> C. I. G. ii. 1834.

<sup>d</sup> In C. I. L. iii. 2074, are mentioned two *decuriones* of the Roman Municipium of Issa.

century,<sup>a</sup> mentions that the inhabitants of the Dalmatian town of Epitaurum, who we may inferentially assume to have been then Christian, had handed down a most marvellous tale of how St. Hilarion had freed their city from a portentous serpent or "Boa,"<sup>b</sup> that was devouring both men and cattle, and in this early legend<sup>c</sup> we may be allowed to see reflected the final triumph of Christianity over the local cult. The horrible aspect of this Epitaurian serpent will surprise no one who understands the peculiar animosity displayed by the early missionaries against the God of healing, who as the pagan master-worker of miracles did most to rival their own. At a centre of Æsculapian worship, more than elsewhere, the counteracting tradition of mighty Christian miracles was necessary, and Hilarion, we are told, not only compelled the portent to mount his *auto da fè*, but during a great earthquake, probably the historical earthquake of Julian's time,<sup>d</sup> rolled back the waves that were threatening to engulf the city. The cult of the new and Christian miracle-worker of Epitaurum still survives on the spot,<sup>e</sup> and an unfathomed cavern,<sup>f</sup> whose precipitous recesses descend into a watery abyss, is pointed out by local tradition as the former habitat of the portentous *Boa*. At the present day the peasants tell you that it is the haunt of the Serbian nymphs or Vilas, and that at times a terrible "Neman," or portent, somewhat akin to the Irish Phooka, plunges into its depths. Lying as it does, near the upper or northern wall of the Roman city, it is reasonable to suppose this mysterious abyss to have supplied a local habitation for mythic beings in ancient as well as

<sup>a</sup> S. Hieronymi *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 2, *Vita Sancti Hilarionis*.

<sup>b</sup> "Draco miræ magnitudinis quas gentili sermone Boas vocant." The word *boa* = huge serpent, was known to Pliny (8, 8, 14). It is remarkable that a large species of snake still found in this district is known to the present Slav-speaking inhabitants as *kravosciac*, i. e. cow-sucker, as it is supposed to suck the milk of cows. As Coleti, however, judiciously remarks, it is hardly big enough to *swallow* a dove.

<sup>c</sup> The words of St. Jerome, who must have had opportunities of taking down the tale from the lips of the Epitauritans themselves, are worth notice: "Hoc Epidauros et omnis illa regio usque hodie prædicat matresque docent liberos suos ad memoriam in posteros transmittendam."

<sup>d</sup> This earthquake is placed by the Chronicle of Idatius in the year 385.

<sup>e</sup> In the sonorous words of Appendini (*Storia di Ragusa*, vol. i. p. 68): "Il culto verso questo Santo non è punto scemato appresso i Ragusei: anzi una parrocchia di cui egli è il Titolare: il concorso nel dì della sua festa ad una piccola capella vicina a Ragusa Vecchia (e cio per voto), e tre altre piccole chiese innalzate nel sobborgo di Ragusa in sua memoria perpetueranno in tutti secoli avvenire la tenera pietà e gratitudine dei Ragusei verso un sì gran Santo e Protettore."

<sup>f</sup> The existing popular tradition given by Appendini and others, that this and another cave on Mt. Sniesnitza (about five hours distant from Ragusa Vecchia) were sacred to Æsculapius or Cadmus, is of course of later engrafting, and is akin to the appearance of Dolabella in Ragusa-Vecchian folk-lore.

modern times. It is known to the inhabitants by the name Scipun or Šipun, a word of no Slavonic origin.

It is certain that another ancient cult connected with rocks and caverns, and therefore singularly adapted to the limestone ranges of Dalmatia, that of Mithra, "the rock-born,"<sup>a</sup> flourished at Epitaurum during the Roman Empire. In my work on Bosnia I have already described the discovery of a rock containing a rude bas-relief of Mithra, which stands on the Colle S. Giorgio, that overlooks the site of Epitaurum on the land side. The relief, which is unfortunately much weather-worn, represents Mithra in the usual attitude, sacrificing the mystic bull between two ministers, one with a raised, the other with a lowered, torch, and both with their legs crossed. The representation does not, as is so usually the case, stand in connexion with a natural cave. The Mithraic *spelæum* was necessary to the worshippers as the mystic image of this sublunary world, to which the spirit of man descended, and from which when duly purged by ritual it was to ascend once more, according to their creed, to its celestial abode.<sup>b</sup> We are therefore left to suppose that, in this as in some other instances, the "cave" itself was artificially constructed against the natural rock on which the icon itself is carved. The rock itself faces east, according to the universal Mithraic practice, and within the area which would have been included in the artificial *spelæum*, now wholly destroyed, are two square blocks hewn out of the solid rock, and with a small gutter round them, which were evidently altars. In the artificial *spelæum* found at Kroisbach, in Hungary,<sup>c</sup> two votive altars were found. In the Mithraic temple at Ostia, attached to the baths of Antoninus Pius,<sup>d</sup> there was one large square altar before the chief icon at the east end, and seven smaller ones near what may be described as a side chapel. Representations of these

<sup>a</sup> Τὸν πετρογέννη, the epithet applied to Mithra by Johannes Lydus. So St. Jerome (*Adv. Jovinianum*, 247), "Narrant et gentiliū fabulæ Mithram et Erichonium de lapide vel in terra de solo libidinis æstu esse generatos;" and Commodianus (*Liber Instructionum*), "Invictus de petra natus . . . . . deus." At Carnuntum, in Pannonia, an inscription was found—PETRAE GENETRICI. It has been supposed that the idea took its origin from the fact that fire was produced by means of flint; but this method of ignition was apparently, at least among Aryan peoples, a late usage. The real origin of the connexion of Mithra with rocks and mountains should be sought in cloudland.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Porphyrius, *de Antro Nympharum*, c. vi. &c.

<sup>c</sup> Das Mithræum von Kroisbach. Dr. F. Kenner (in *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central Commission*, 1867, p. 119 seqq.)

<sup>d</sup> *Del Mitreo annesso alle terme Ostiensi di Antonino Pio.* C. Visconti (*Annali di Corr. Arch.* 1864, p. 147 seqq.)

smaller altars occur on other Mithraic monuments; they represent the sevenfold nature of fire in the Magian religion.

Although in the present instance there was no trace of a cave, artificial or otherwise, I observed a natural fissure in the rock, below the Mithraic slab, and on clearing it as far as was feasible from the black earth which choked it up, found three small brass coins, one of Aurelian, one of Constantius Chlorus, and the third of Constantius II. From this it may be inferred that Mithraic worship went on at this spot during the third and the first half of the fourth century. Mithraic worship survived, in fact, to a considerably later date in Western Illyricum.

Near the village of Mocici, in the district of Canali, and about an hour distant from the site of Epitaurum, I found a more perfect Mithraic relief carved over the mouth of a limestone grotto known as "Tomina Jama," or "Tom's Hole" (fig. 7). The lower part of the grotto forms a natural basin containing a perennial supply of fresh water, which had been vaulted over to serve as a cistern for the villagers. Situated on a rugged range of hills, still to a great extent covered with a woodland growth of sea pines, cypresses, and myrtles, and its rocky brows overhung when I saw it with the azure festoons of ivy-leaved campanulas, the cavern seemed singularly appropriate for its religious purpose. In selecting such a natural temple the local votaries of Mithra were faithfully following the example of Zoroaster, who, we are told,<sup>a</sup> when founding the worship in its later, established form, sought out a natural cave in the neighbouring Persian mountains, overgrown with flowers, and containing a fount within, which as the microcosm of the created world he consecrated to Mithra, the *Demiurge* or Father of all.

The relief itself gives the conventional representation of Mithra sacrificing the generative Bull of Persian cosmogony, by which, according to this belief, he was to give a new and spiritual life to all created beings, and the typical sacrifice of which at the hands of his votaries brought them Regeneration unto Eternal Life.<sup>a</sup> From below, as is usual on these Mithraic groups, the scorpion, snake,

<sup>a</sup> "Πρῶτα μὲν, ὡς ἔφη Εὐβουλος, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυῆς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος ἀνθηρὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιερῶσαντος εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου εἰκόνα φέροντας αὐτῷ τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου ὃ ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημοῦργησε." Porphyrius, *De Antro Nympharum*, c. vi.

<sup>b</sup> In the Mithraic mysteries the initiated died fictitiously in order to be born again by the symbolic sacrifice of a bull. TAVROBOLIO IN AETERNVM RENATVS occurs on a monument of a Mithraic votary in C. I. L. vi. 510. Darmesteter (*Ormuzd et Ahriman*, p. 329) observes that Mithra has usurped the part



and dog, animals supposed to be specially connected with generative power, dart forward to quaff the life-blood of the victim, while on either side stand the two

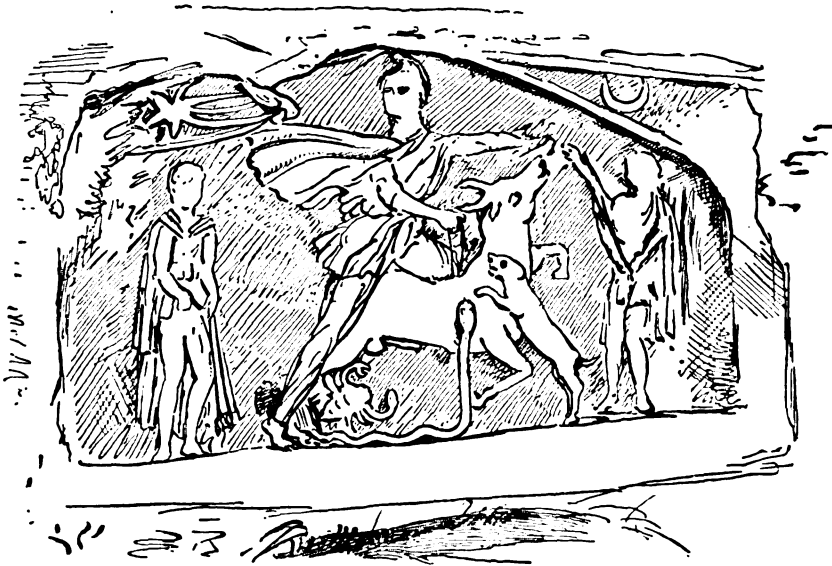


Fig. 7. MITHRAIC RELIEF. TOMINA JAMA, CANALI.

ministering Genii, one with a raised, the other with a lowered, torch, symbolical in ancient art of Day and Night, Grief and Joy, Life and Death; but in the present connexion bearing a direct and undoubted reference to the descent of the soul to earth and its subsequent re-ascent to the heavenly spheres<sup>a</sup> through the purifying grace of Mithra. In the two spandrils of the arch above these figures are seen the crescent moon, from which the human spirit was believed to descend, and the rayed sun, the gate of its return. Three of the seven mystic rays of the orb of light are seen to be prolonged in the present representation, as if to illuminate in a special way the bird which leans forward over the sacrificing divinity. This is

performed by Çaoshyant in the Mazdean religion, who according to the Bundelesh (75, 6) will give men an immortal body from the marrow of the immolated bull Hadhayaos.

<sup>a</sup> The soul was thought to descend from the moon through the "gate" of Cancer, and to ascend again through the "gate" of Capricorn to the sun. Plato had learned this Magian doctrine (cf. Porphyrius, *op. cit.* c. xxx.) On their return to their celestial abode the spirits of men were thought to pass through the seven planets (answering to the seven Mithraic grades on earth), by which they were purified and rendered worthy to enter the fixed heaven, the dwelling-place of Ormuzd.

the Eorosh, the Celestial raven described as "speaking the language of heaven," and the symbol of Mithra as interpreter of the divine will. The projecting rays on the present monument may seem to have a special significance when it is remembered that one of the distinguishing epithets of the Mithraic raven in the Zendavesta is "irradiate with light."<sup>a</sup> Pray to him, we are told in another passage, and "he will shed much light, both before him and behind him."

The celestial raven, Hierocorax, among the Mithra worshippers of the Roman Empire, gave its name to an inferior grade of devotees, and to the rites connected with their initiation called *Coracica*. The grotto itself, and the rugged ranges that surround it, was admirably adapted for these Mithraic hermits and fakirs to be the scene of the successive trials through which they hoped to mortify the flesh and fit themselves for "the better life."<sup>b</sup> In some remarkable monuments<sup>c</sup> discovered in Transylvania and Tyrol, many of the self-inflicted tortures,—the scorching by fire, the bed of unrest, the flagellations and fasts,—are still to be seen depicted as they once were undergone by the predecessors of Simeon Stylites in these Illyrian wilds that were soon to rival Lérins and Iona as the retreat of Christian ascetics. The basin within the grotto supplied in this instance a natural font for the Mithraic rite, alluded to by Tertullian,<sup>d</sup> of baptism for the remission of sins.

From the site of Epitaurum itself I have obtained an engraved stone, such as, apparently, was given to those who, after the due period of fasting and mortification of the flesh, were admitted to share the Mithraic Eucharist.<sup>e</sup> It is a white

<sup>a</sup> In Lajarde's translation of the passages in the Zendavesta referring to the Eorosh: "Éclatante de lumière" (*Recherches sur le culte de Mithra*, p. 355.) The elongation of the sun's rays is observable on another Mithraic monument, found at Rome in the Via di Borgo S. Agata (*Annali di Corr. Arch.* 1864, p. 177). In this case a ray is made to shoot through a sacred cypress towards Mithra.

<sup>b</sup> *Βίον τὸν κρείττονα*—the words used by Himerius the Sophist (*Orat.* vii. 9) in describing the state of the initiated.

<sup>c</sup> See Hammer (*Les Mithriaques*, Pl. V. VI. VII.), and cf. Greg. Nazianz, *Orat.* 3, who describes several of the tortures.

<sup>d</sup> *De Præscriptionibus adv. hæreticos*, c. xl. "(Diabolus) ipsas res sacramentorum divinorum idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam utique credentes et fideles suos. Expiationem delictorum de lavacro reponittit."

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Augustine (*in Johannis Evangelium*, Tract. vii.): "Et magnum est hoc spectare per totum orbem terrarum victum Leonem sanguine Agni . . . ergo nescio quid simile imitatus est quidam Spiritus ut sanguine simulacrum suum emi vellet quia noverat pretioso sanguine quandocumque redimendum esse genus humanum." The *Spiritus quidam* is Mithra, as appears from the succeeding paragraph, in which the Christian Father alludes to the honey mixed with the sacramental water of the Persian rite: King's

carnelian, streaked appropriately with blood-red, containing a singularly rude representation of a figure sacrificing the Mithraic bull before a lighted altar, above which are the crescent moon and rayed sun (fig. 8). The absence of the characteristic Phrygian cap and flowing mantle in the sacrificing figure makes me hesitate to suppose that it is actually Mithra himself who is here depicted. The two ministering Genii, and the scorpion and other animals representing the generative principle, are also conspicuous by their absence. It might have been thought that in any design, however barbarous, of the Mithraic sacrifice, these characteristic features would not have been omitted. Or, have we here, perhaps, simply the representation of the actual liturgic sacrifice performed by the Mithraic priest? So far as the vestment is delineated at all it seems to be simply a short-sleeved tunic or dalmatic. The style of the head would indicate a post-Constantinian age.



Fig. 8.  
MITHRAIC GEM.  
From site of Epitaurum.  
(Enlarged two diams.)

Another class of gem, discovered on this and other Dalmatian sites, engraved with the Mithraic lion, characterised by its peculiar radiated mane, may not improbably have been the badge of the high Mithraic grade known as *Leontes* or Lions, and whose special ritual was called from them *Leontica*.

In this connexion I cannot pass over another engraved stone which appears to me to be intimately connected with Mithraic symbolism (fig. 9). It is a red carnelian, acquired by me at Scardona, on this same coast, presenting a figure of what, judging by other somewhat conventional designs, is intended for a bee, from whose mouth, in place of a proboscis, proceeds the twisted end of a caduceus. Now, from two passages in Porphyry, *de Antro Nympharum*,<sup>a</sup> it appears that the bee, amongst the worshippers of Mithra, was the special emblem of the soul. As bees, according to the ancient idea, were generated by bulls' carcasses,<sup>b</sup> so bees, representing the vital



Fig. 9.  
MITHRAIC GEM.  
From Scardona.  
(Enlarged two diams.)

inference (*Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 61), that by the *simulacrum* given to the initiated is betokened an engraved Mithraic gem, affords a reasonable explanation of the passage. It would even seem from St. Augustine's words that he had in view a representation such as the present one of a Mithraic sacrifice, which result gives special point to his parallel. Even as "the Lamb" slays "the roaring Lion," the Devil, so the false Spirit, "the Capped One," is represented by his worshippers as slaying the Bull, which, according to their creed, was to herald the resurrection.

<sup>a</sup> C. xv. and c. xviii.

<sup>b</sup> "ὡς (sc. μέλισσας) βουγενεῖς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν." Porph. *op. cit.* c. xv. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* iv. v. 554:

principle, sprang from the Cosmic bull of Persian mythology. So, too, no fitter emblem could be found for the spirits of men that swarmed forth, according to this creed, from the horned luminary of the heavens, the Moon, their primal dwelling-place, to migrate awhile for their earthly pilgrimage below. In this way the Moon itself was sometimes known, in the language of the mysts, as "the bee,"<sup>a</sup> and it is noteworthy that the bee appears on the coinage of Ephesus, the special city of the Asiatic Moon-Goddess. The line of Sophocles—

βομβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν σμήνος, ἔρχεται τ' ἄλλη,<sup>b</sup>

may be taken as evidence that the identification of bees with spirits had early invaded Greek folk-lore. Everything seems to point to a Persian origin for the idea, at least in its elaborated form, and had Eubulus's copious history of Mithra been preserved we should doubtless find that it entered largely into the Magian philosophy. On the Roman monuments of the sect a bee is sometimes seen in the mouth of the Mithraic lion,<sup>c</sup> as the emblem of the soul—*βουγενής* like to insect—and, connected with this symbolism, was the practice of mixing honey in the eucharistic chalice, and the singular rite performed by the *Leontes* or Lion priests of Mithra,<sup>d</sup> of purifying their hands with honey in place of lustral water. From all this it will be seen that the present conjunction of the bee and the well-known symbol of Mercury, the shepherd of departed souls, has a deep mystic significance. In the hands of one of the ministering Genii, symbolising the ascending soul, on a Mithraic monument, Von Hammer<sup>e</sup> detected

"Hic vero subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum  
Aspiciunt liquefacta boum per viscera toto  
Stridere apes utero et ruptis effervere costis."

It is to be observed that this portent is obtained by sacrifices offered to the shades of Orpheus and Eurydice; an indication that Virgil was conscious of a mystic connexion between bees, the Magian bull, and the spirit-world.

<sup>a</sup> "σελήνην τε οὔσαν γενεσεως προστάτιδα μέλισσαν ἐκάλουν, ἄλλως τε ἰπεί ταῦρον μὲν σελήνη, καὶ ὕψωμα σελήνης ὁ ταῦρος, βουγενεῖς δὲ αἱ μέλισσαι." Porph. *op. cit.* c. xviii. An allusion to the same idea will be found on a very interesting engraving on a gold ring from Kertch (in the Siemens Collection) representing a bee above a full-faced bust of *Deus Lunus*.

<sup>b</sup> *Fragmenta* (Dindorf. 693). Quoted by Porphyrius, *op. cit.* in this connexion. Bergk emends the *ἔρχεται τ' ἄλλη* of Porphyrius, as above.

<sup>c</sup> As for instance on one engraved by Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum*, Oxonii. 1700, tab. I.

<sup>d</sup> Porph. *op. cit.* c. xv.

<sup>e</sup> *Les Mithriaques*, p. 252.

a wand, described by him as resembling that of Mercury; from which it may be inferred that the caduceus was by no means alien to the later Mithraic iconography.

It is impossible to close this account of the traces of Mithra worship existing on the site and in the immediate neighbourhood of Epitaurum without recalling a sepulchral inscription described as existing here by Aldus Manutius and the early Ragusan antiquaries,<sup>a</sup> the spiritualism of which bears striking witness to the triumph of Oriental religious ideas in the Roman city :

CONVBII · DECVS · EGREGIVM · LVX · ALMA · PARENTVM  
EXIMIVMQ · BONVM · CORPORIS · ATQ · ANIMI  
INVIDIA · FATI · RAPITVR · VINCENTIA · FLORENS  
ET · NVNC · ANTE · PATREM · CONDITVR · HELIONEM  
QVIN · POTIVS · CORPVS · NAM · MENS · AETERNA · PROPECTO  
PRO · MERITIS · POTITVR · SEDIBVS · ELYSIIS.

The belief in the immortality of the soul, in the reward of the righteous and the incorporeal resurrection, set forth in this epitaph, are among the characteristic features of the Mithraic creed, and its language suggests comparisons with such formulæ as "MENTIS DIVINAE DVCTV" and "IN AETERNVM RENATVS," of known Mithraic monuments. The imagery of Elysium, as portrayed by Virgil (not untouched himself by Persian influences),<sup>b</sup> had certainly much in common with the starry paradise of these children of "the Unconquered Sun :"

Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit  
Purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.<sup>c</sup>

Among the smaller relics found amongst the ruins of Epitaurum, the engraved gems, of which this and the other Roman sites of the Dalmatian littoral are astonishingly prolific, are by far the most interesting. At least a hundred of these from this spot have come under my personal observation, and in such abundance are they discovered in a field near the point of the Epitaurian peninsula that we are perhaps justified in inferring that a jewellers' quarter of the city lay on that side. As I propose to take a more collective view of the gems

<sup>a</sup> Given in C. I. L. iii. 1759. I have been unable to find any trace of its present existence.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 23, *note* <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> *Æn.* vi. 640.

discovered on the Dalmatian sites, I shall here content myself with calling attention to one which, like the Æsculapian and Mithraic stones already mentioned, seems to have a special local interest. In the *Reliquiario* of the Cathedral at Ragusa I noticed a ring, a peasant offering to the Madonna, set with a carnelian intaglio, which, from the character of the subject and the workmanship, must be assigned to the fourth or fifth century of our era (fig. 10). It represents an Emperor on horseback, robed in the *paludamentum* or military mantle, facing the spectator, and with both hands raised in the attitude of adoration common in figures of saints and martyrs in the catacombs, and in Byzantine representations of the *Theotokos*.



Fig. 10.  
ROMAN CHRISTIAN  
GEM—EPITAUREUM.  
(Enlarged two diams.)

Above, on either side of the riding figure, are two crosses, and in the exergue below are the crescent moon and star, the emblems of Byzantium. There can be little doubt that it is intended to represent the Vision of Constantine, on the eve of his crowning victory over Maxentius :

Hoc signo invictus transmissis Alpibus ultor  
Servitium solvit miserabile Constantinus.<sup>a</sup>

The appearance of *two* crosses in the design suggests some variation from the recorded versions of the Vision, but the moon and star below sufficiently connect the adoring figure with the founder of New Rome. The only existing contemporary monuments directly referring to the alleged miracle hitherto known are the coins of Constantius II. and the Mœsian usurper Vetricius, both from Illyrian mints, and dating from the year 350,<sup>b</sup> on which these Emperors are severally depicted holding the Labarum standard and surrounded with the legend *HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS*. The present gem supplies an actual representation of the celestial Vision, hitherto, so far as I am aware, entirely unknown on early Christian monuments.

<sup>a</sup> Prudentius, *Contra Symm.* i. 467.

<sup>b</sup> In the case of Constantius possibly also of 351. As Vetricius was deposed in January of that year the design can have nothing to do with the appearance of a cross in the heavens recorded four months later in the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* and in a letter of Cyril, both which authorities fix the date of the meteor, or whatever it was, on May 7, 351. Still less can it have any reference to the Vision of Constantius, which, according to Philostorgius, took place on the eve of the battle of Mursa, in September or October 351.

A silver ring obtained by me from the same Epitaurian site (fig. 11) proved to be a Roman-Christian relic of probably still later date than the gem in the *Reliquiario*. Its bezel contains an incised monogram, which, like many similar monograms of the fifth and sixth centuries, is difficult to decipher, and has besides been cut about by a later hand. On the exterior of the ring, in late letters inlaid in darker metal or niello in the silver, is the inscription, curiously inverted, VIVA IN VIVA, apparently standing for VIVAS IN VITA.



Fig. 11.

ROMAN CHRISTIAN  
RING—EPITAUURUM.

These two Roman Christian relics, with some Byzantine coins—including an aureus of Phokas—are the latest Epitaurian antiquities that I have been able to discover. The statement, repeated by the latest writer on Dalmatian history,<sup>a</sup> that Epitaurum was destroyed by the Goths in 265 A.D. and its successor, Ragusa, founded shortly afterwards by the surviving citizens, rests on no authority whatever, and is wholly at variance with recorded facts. St. Hilarion, as we have seen, wrought his miracles at Epitaurum in Julian's reign, about a century later, and St. Jerome—Illyrian-born—took down the local tradition of the Saint's mighty works, apparently from the lips of the Epitauritans themselves, in the first quarter of the fifth century.

Equally impossible is it to accept the statement (probably due to an error of transcription) made by Constantine Porphyrogenitus,<sup>b</sup> who observes of the year 949—in which he wrote his account of the Dalmatian Theme—that it is the fifth centenary of the founding of Ragusa, built, as he tells us, by refugee citizens from the overthrow of Salonæ and Epitaurum. There is no evidence that Attila destroyed, or even approached, these cities. The Dinaric Alps seem, in fact, to have been as useful in shielding the Dalmatian coast-cities from the Hunnish cavalry as they were nearly a thousand years later in breaking the fury of the Tartar invasion; and at a time when Siscia and Sirmium lay in ruins Salonæ and

<sup>a</sup> H. Cons. *La Province Romaine de Dalmatie* (Paris 1882, p. 285): "Les Goths avaient encore fait irruption au-delà du Danube, pénétré de nouveau jusqu'à l'Adriatique et détruit la Colonie d'Epidaure (Ragusa Vecchia, 265). Les habitants de cette malheureuse ville se réfugièrent au fond de la baie cachée où bientôt s'éleva Raguse." Now, although the Eastern provinces of Illyricum, including Macedonia and Greece, suffered fearfully at this time, there is no mention of Dalmatia being invaded, much less of Epitaurum having been destroyed.

<sup>b</sup> *De Adm. Imp.* c. 29: "Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ 'Ραουσαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκράτουν τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦν ἰσχυρὰ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκρατήθησαν κάστρα παρὰ τῶν Σκλάβων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ θέματι, ἐκρατήθη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν οἱ δὲ ῥυπαλωτρίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ θύνηντες ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ διασωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς ὑποκρήμους τόπους κατέφυγον . . . ἂφ' οὗ δὲ ἀπὸ Σαλῶνα μετέφυγον εἰς 'Ραούσιον εἰσὶν ἔτη φ' μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἰνδικτικῶνος ἐβδόμης ἔτους στυνζ'."

Epitaurum were still flourishing. In 536, during Justinian's Gothic war,<sup>a</sup> we find the Byzantine commander making Epitaurum—still, as is to be gathered from Procopius's words, a city of some importance—a preliminary base for his descent on Salonæ. Six years previous to this, in the provincial council of Salonæ of 530,<sup>b</sup> Fabricianus, bishop of Epitaurum, was the fourth in order to attach his signature.

Still later, in 591, the bishop of Salonæ appears exercising his metropolitan authority to deprive and exile Florentius, bishop of Epitaurum, in a fashion so uncanonical as to provoke a remonstrance from Gregory the Great.<sup>c</sup> Seven years later Florentius is still in exile, and Gregory, stirred by a renewed appeal from "the inhabitants of the city of Epitaurum," again urges on his brother of Salonæ the necessity of bringing the matter to a canonical issue.

Whether he attained his object we are not told, but this letter of 598<sup>d</sup> is the last mention of Epitaurum as a city. The "*Sancta Epitauritana Ecclesia*,"<sup>e</sup> to whose spiritual head, Pope Zacharias,<sup>f</sup> in 743, concedes an extended charge over the southernmost Dalmatian cities, and the, by that time, Serbian and Zachulmian lands of the interior, can hardly be more than an ecclesiastical anachronism, and must refer to the church of Ragusa which claimed Epitaurum as its ancient self. In the first year of the seventh century, Gregory sends the bishop of Salonæ the expression of his vehement affliction for what Dalmatia and its border lands were already suffering from the Slavonic hordes.<sup>g</sup> From another of his letters, written

<sup>a</sup> Procopius, *de bello Gothico*, lib. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 163. The bishop of Epitaurum signs next to the bishop of Siscia, what Attila had left of that once great city being now in ecclesiastical subjection to Salonæ.

<sup>c</sup> Farlati, *op. cit.* t. vi. p. 4 *seqq.*

<sup>d</sup> Gregorius Sabiniano Episcopo Jadertino (in Farlati, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 269) *ad fin.* :—*Præterea habitatores Epidaurensis Civitatis Florentium quem suum dicunt esse Episcopum sibi a nobis restituendum studiosissime poposcerunt.*"

<sup>e</sup> In the same way after the destruction of Salonæ, the church of Spalato was still known as "*Sancta Salonitana Ecclesia*."

<sup>f</sup> This important letter, formerly in the Ragusan archives, begins "Dilecto in Christo filio Andree archiepiscopo Sancte Epitauritane ecclesie. Constituimus te omnibus diebus vite tue esse pastorem te et successores tuos super istam provinciam. Imprimis Zachulmie regno et regno Servulie, Tribunieque regno. —Civitati namque Catarensi seu Rosa atque Buduanensi, Avarorum (Antivarorum?), Liciniatensi (Ulciniatensi), atque Scodrinensi, nec non Drivastinensi atque Polatensi cum ecclesiis atque parochiis eorum." Owing to the insertion of the Archiepiscopal title doubts have been thrown on the genuineness of this letter. It is, however, accepted by Kukuljević, who gives it in the *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae*, &c. p. 35.

<sup>g</sup> Gregorius Maximo episcopo Salonitano . . . "Et quidem de Sclavorum gente quæ vobis valde



about the same time, we learn that Lissus—in the language of the times the *Civitas Lissitana*—the present Alessio, on the Dalmatian coast south of Epitaurum, was already in Slavonic hands, and its bishop an exile.<sup>a</sup> Salonæ, itself, seems to have been overwhelmed in the great Avar-Slave invasion of 639. Epitaurum, at the most, could not long have survived the fall of the greater city. It is, perhaps, something more than a coincidence that 649, the year in which Pope Martin dispatched his legate to Dalmatia for the redeeming of captives and the rescuing of the sacred relics from the hands of the heathen Slaves,<sup>b</sup> attained its tercentary in the year 949, mentioned by Constantine as the five hundredth anniversary of the founding of Ragusa by the refugee citizens of Epitaurum and Salonæ. If we may suppose that the Φ, representing 500 in the original MS. of Constantine, or in some MS. notes from which the Emperor copied, has been accidentally substituted for a T=300, his notice may conceal a genuine historical date.

The mainland behind the peninsular site of Epitaurum, and, in a certain sense, the whole region between it and the next sea-gulf to the South-East, the Bocche di Cattaro, derives its name, Canali, from the artificial *canal* of the Roman Aqueduct already described which traversed a great part of its extent. It is, indeed, remarkable that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in whose valuable account of tenth century Dalmatian geography the name Canali first occurs, should have assigned to it a different derivation<sup>c</sup> from the sufficiently obvious one of Canalis in its sense of a watercourse, and his remarks on the origin of the name have been hitherto placed in the same category with his suggested derivation for the Dalmatian city of Jadera, “jam erat.” But the etymology of the Byzantine Emperor is by no means always of this fantastic kind,<sup>d</sup> and in the

imminet affligor vehementer et conturbor. Affligor in his quæ jam in vobis patior; conturbor quia per Istriæ aditum jam Italiam intrare cœperunt.”

<sup>a</sup> Mansi, *Collectio Concil.* t. ix. Gregory appoints the refugee bishop to the bishopric of Squillace. Should, however, his own city be liberated at any time from the enemy he is to return to it.

<sup>b</sup> Farlati, *op. cit.* t. iii. p. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Šafarik for example (*Slawische Alterthümer*, ii. 271) imagines Constantine's derivation of Canali to have been founded on some blundering reminiscence of “*Kolnich*,” which appears as the Slavonic equivalent of *Via Carri* in a document of the year 1194 referred to by Lucius (*De regno Dalmatiæ et Croatia*, lib. vi.)

<sup>d</sup> His explanation for instance of the name of the neighbouring old Serbian district of Zachulmia, “ὀπίσω τοῦ βουνού” is a perfectly correct piece of Slavonic etymology. Equally exact is his rendering of the Croatian *Primorje* by “ἡ Παραθαλασσία.” His derivation for the river-name *Bona* contrasts favourably with Šafarik's.

present instance he had more warrant for his suggested explanation than may at first sight appear. Constantine, whose Dalmatian topography is singularly accurate, after mentioning the Serbian district of Terbunia, observes that beyond this is another district called Canali. "Now Canali," he continues, "in the Slavonic dialect means a wagon-road, since from the level nature of the spot all transport service is accomplished by means of wagons."<sup>a</sup> If we now turn to the Theodosian Code we find that the word *canalis* is used there in the sense of a highway or post-road. In the law on the public posts promulgated by Constantius II. a special provision is made against the abuse of wealthy or powerful citizens requisitioning the pack animals<sup>b</sup> (post-horses), reserved for the public service of the province, to convey the marble required for their palaces along the *canalis* or highway. In the law regulating the functions of the *Curiosi*, or imperial post-inspectors, the *canales* are spoken of in the sense of the post-roads along which wheeled traffic of all kinds was conducted.<sup>c</sup> In the Acts of the Council of Sardica (A.D. 347) the word occurs in the same sense, and in this case has special reference to the great postal and military highway across Illyricum from the borders of Italy to Constantinople. Gaudentius,<sup>d</sup> bishop of Naissus, in Dacia Mediterranea, a city which derived its importance from its position on what was then the main line of communication between the Eastern and Western halves of the Empire, proposes a canon specially affecting bishops, who, like himself, are on the *canalis* (in its Greek form *κανάλιον*) or highway; and Athanasius in his *Apologia* alludes in a similar manner to the bishops on the *kanalion* of Italy.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> "Τὸ δὲ Καναλὶ ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἀμαξιά, ἐπειδὴ, διὰ το εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐπίπεδον, πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς δουλείας διὰ ἀμαξῶν ἐκτελοῦσιν." *De Adm. Imp.* c. 34.

<sup>b</sup> *De Cursu Publico*, xv. "Mancipium, cursus publici dispositio Proconsulis formâ teneatur. Neque tamen sit cujusquam tam insignis audacia qui parangarias aut paraveredos ad canalem audeat commovere quominus marmora privatorum vehiculis provincialium transferantur." Du Cange (*s.v. Canalis*) interprets this to mean that pack-horses, &c. destined for lanes and bye-ways are not to block the highway, but agrees in the important point that *canalis* = *via publica*.

<sup>c</sup> *De Curiosis*, ii. "Quippe sufficit duos (sc. agentes in rebus) tantummodo curas gerere et cursum publicum gubernare ut licet in canalibus publicis hæc necessitas explicetur." (Law of Constantius and Julian, 347 A.D.) Gothofred (ad loc.) observes, "Illud satis constat hic non pertinere ad aquarum seu fluminum canales, quandoquidem in his rhedæ, birotum, veredi, clabulæ, moveri dicuntur."

<sup>d</sup> Gaudentius (*Conc. Sardic.* can. 20) speaks of "ἑκαστος ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς παρόδοις ἦτοι καναλίῳ καθιστώτων." In the Latin translation (Mansi, t. iii. p. 22): "Qui sumus prope vias publicas seu canales." Ducange supposes that the word *canalis* in a charter of A.D. 1000, published by Ughellus (*Episcopi Bergamenses*), has the same meaning of "*via publica*."

<sup>e</sup> *Apol.* i. 340, οἱ ἐν τῷ καναλίῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

Whatever associations, however, the word *canalis* had in the mouth of a Byzantine, the natives of Canali itself seem to have derived this name for their district from the Roman Aqueduct.<sup>a</sup> The word, indeed, as used in this sense, passed from the Illyro-Roman inhabitants to the Slav-speaking occupants of a later date, and, when the new aqueduct connecting Ragusa with a mountain source in another direction was built in the fifteenth century, it, too, was known by a Slavonized form of the Roman *Canalis*.<sup>b</sup> The district of Canali itself had by Constantine's time become the Serbian *Župa Konavalska*, otherwise *Konavli*, but the parallel preservation of the word in its Roman form, which his record attests, is of interest as corroborating what we know from other sources as to the considerable survival of the Illyro-Roman element throughout this whole region.

Politically the country outside the limits of the still Roman coast-towns was by Constantine's time in the hands of Slavonic *Župans*, but side by side with the dominant race the older inhabitants of the land continued to inhabit the Dinaric glens and Alpine pastures. The relics of the Roman provincials who survived the Slavonic conquest of Illyricum were divided, in Dalmatia at all events, into two distinct classes, the citizens of the coast-towns, who retained their municipal and ecclesiastical institutions and something of Roman civilization under the ægis of Byzantium, and the Alpine population of the interior, the descendants for the most part of Romanized Illyrian clansmen recruited by the expropriated *coloni* of the municipia, or at least that part of them who had been forced to give up fixed agricultural pursuits for a semi-nomad pastoral life. Both classes spoke the Latin language, approaching, in various stages of degradation, the Romance variety still spoken by the Rouman population of parts of Macedonia and the Danubian provinces; and both were indiscriminately spoken of by their Slavonic neighbours as *Vlachs*, or *Mavrovlachs*: Romans, or Black Romans.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In Serbian it often appears in the plural form, *konavle* = the channels, showing that the name took in the lateral system of irrigation which ramified across the plain from the main Aqueduct. The plain of Canali is still (as has already been noticed) one of the best irrigated regions in Dalmatia—the inhabitants having in this respect inherited their Roman traditions.

<sup>b</sup> *Konô* (i. e. *konol*).

<sup>c</sup> The earliest Dalmatian chronicler, the Presbyter of Dioclea, who wrote about the year 1150, expressly identifies this Rouman population with the descendants of the Roman provincials of Illyricum. After mentioning the conquest of Macedonia by the Bulgarians under their Khagan he continues: "post hæc ceperunt totam provinciam Latinorum qui illo tempore Romani vocabantur modo vero Morovlachi, hoc est nigri Latini, vocantur." *Regnum Slavorum*, 4.

Ragusa<sup>a</sup>—the new Epitaurum—was in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus still a Roman city, and though in the course of the succeeding centuries Ragusa became a Slav-speaking community there are still interesting traces of her older Illyro-Roman speech to be found in the later dialect,<sup>b</sup> while the names of many of the surrounding villages clearly indicate a Neo-Latin origin. The name Cavtat (in its earlier form Capĕtatĕ) still applied by the present Slav-speaking population of the neighbourhood to the town that occupies the Epitaurian site is, as we have seen, simply a Rouman *Civitate*, to be compared with the Wallachian *Cetate* or *Citat*, and the Albanian *Giutet* or *Kiutet*. Molonta, Vitaljina, and other Canalese villages, still present us with non-Slavonic name-forms,<sup>c</sup> and there is documentary evidence that as late as the fifteenth century the shepherds who pastured their herds on the mountains of Upper Canali were still Rouman or Wallachian.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The materials relating to the Rouman population of Dalmatia, Herzegovina, &c. existing in the archives of Ragusa have been collected by Dr. Const. Jireček in his paper entitled *Die Wlachen und Maurovlachen in den Denkmälern von Ragusa*. (*Sitzungsberichte der k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1879).

<sup>b</sup> e. g. *Dókes* = decessus (of the tide), *rekesa* = recessus, *plaker* = placere, *lukjérnar* = lucernarius. (Prof. Luko Zore, *Naš jezik tijekom naše književnosti u Dubrovniku*. (Our language in the course of our literature in Ragusa.) (*Dubrovnik*, iii. 1871.) The preservation of the *k* sound of the Latin *c* is also a characteristic of the Latin forms contained in Albanian. The discovery of a Roman-Christian glass bowl of sixth-century date among the ruins of Doklea (Dukle in Montenegro), presenting inscriptions in the local dialect, shows that this guttural survival was an early peculiarity of the Romance dialect of this part of Illyricum. On the Doclean vase under the figure of Jonah and the whale occurs the line "*Diunan de ventre queti liberatus est*," where the "*queti*" for "*ceti*" is, as the Comm. di Rossi (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1877, p. 77) points out, not a mere barbarism but an archaistic survival carrying us back to the "*oquoltod*" for "*occulto*," "*quom*" for "*cum*," &c. of the S. C. de Bacchanalibus. On a Dalmatian inscription (C. I. L. iii. 2046) *QVELIE* occurs for *COELIAE*. In the matter of the survival of the *k* sound of the *c* Dalmatia showed itself more conservative than the West. The epigrammatic address of Ausonius to Venus,

"Orta salo, suscepta solo, patre edita cælo"

loses its alliterative point unless the *cælo* be pronounced as beginning with a sibilant: and the natural inference is that in fifth-century Gaul the guttural sound of the Roman *c* had been already softened down.

<sup>c</sup> E. g. Vergatto (Sl. Brgat), mediæval Vergatum, from Latin *Virgetum*; Zonchetto, Latin *Junchetum*; Rogiatto (Sl. Rožat) = *Rosetum*; Delubie, on the bank of the Ombla, = *Diluvies*. (Cf. Jireček, *Die Handelstrassen*, &c. p. 8.) Montebirt, the name of a pine-clad height near Ragusa, seems to me to be a *Mons Viridis* (cf. *Brgat* for *Virgetum*), though the derivation from a combination of the Latin and Slavonic name for mountain—*brdo*—has been suggested by Professor Zore. In the latter case it would find a parallel in "Mungibel." The rocky promontory of Lave or Lavve on which the earliest city of Ragusa was built derives its name from a low Latin form *labes* = land-slip. Constantine Porph. (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29) gives it under the form *λαῦ* and makes it = *κρημνός*.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Jireček, *Die Wlachen und Maurovlachen*, &c. p. 6.

Excavations made by Dr. Felix von Luschan and myself in the mediæval cemeteries of Canali have supplied craniological proofs of the existence here in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of a non-Slavonic race presenting apparently Illyrian and Albanian affinities. What is especially pertinent in this regard, a large number of the skulls on which this generalisation is based were obtained from a mediæval graveyard above the present village of Mrcine, known from old Ragusan records<sup>a</sup> to have been a Vlach or Rouman centre as late as the fifteenth century. The name Mrcine itself, written *Marzine* according to the Ragusan orthography, appears to me to be of the highest interest. It is a characteristically Rouman word, and is found with its derivatives in the present Rouman lands north of the Danube under the form *Mrăcina* or *Măracină*, meaning the prickly thorn of Eastern Europe,<sup>b</sup> *Cratægus Oxyacantha*, the Slav *Drač*, with which indeed the rocks of Mrcine are covered. The Roumanian antiquary Hajdeu,<sup>c</sup> who notices its appearance as a Vlach surname in a chrysobull of the Serbian Emperor Dušan, which contains many references to the still existing Rouman population in the old Serbian regions, after pronouncing the word, justly enough, to be neither of Latin nor of Slavonic origin, expresses his opinion that it is probably derived from the old Dacian tongue. It would seem to be rather of Illyrian origin, for the modern word for blackthorn among the Albanians, the existing representatives of the Illyrian stock, is *Muris-zi*, in the plural *Muriza-te*.<sup>d</sup> The name Mrzine or Mrcine appears in this case to have been a Rouman equivalent for the old Slavonic name of the hilly district on whose borders it lies:—*Dračevica*, or the “Thorny Country,” from *drač*, *drača*, the Serb equivalent of the Wallachian *Măracina*.

The colossal stone blocks with their curious devices and ornamentation that cover the graves at Mrcine show that those who built them had considerable resources at their disposal.<sup>e</sup> In the Middle Ages indeed these descendants of the

<sup>a</sup> *Libri Rogatorum*, 1427-32. The older name for Mrcine in the Ragusan records is Versigne. Cf. Jireček, *Die Wlachen*, &c. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> *E. g.* *Măracinișu*, = a place overgrown with thorns; *Măracinosu*, = thorny.

<sup>c</sup> *Archiva istorică a României*, t. iii. București, 1867. *Resturile unei carti de donatiune de pe la anul*, 1348, *emanata de la Imperatul Serbesc Dušan*, &c.

<sup>d</sup> This etymology, if admitted, would be a strong argument against the exclusively Thracian origin of the Wallachians, which at present finds so much favour.

<sup>e</sup> Similar mediæval megalithic cemeteries, of which I hope to say something on another occasion, are scattered over a large part of what is now Herzegovina, Bosnia, Northern Montenegro, and certain districts of Dalmatia, and are common to both old Serbian and old Rouman districts. They are therefore not by themselves of ethnographical value. The inscriptions when found are always Serbian, and in Cyrillian

Illyro-Roman provincials were the carriers and drovers of the peninsula. In the Balkan interior they were the pilots of Ragusan commerce. Their wandering enterprise reopened ancient trade routes, and they seem not unfrequently to have availed themselves of old Roman road-lines known only to themselves. On the mediæval caravan route, leading from this Vlach station to the Trebinje Valley, is another station of the same kind, at present conspicuous only by its ancient sepulchres and monuments, but which still bears the distinctively Rouman name of Turmente. *Turma* was the name given by these mountaineers to their caravans, and I found that the word in this sense has not been wholly forgotten by their Slavonized successors.

The disappearance of the Roman-speaking element at Ragusa itself<sup>a</sup> and in the regions around, was, as a variety of still-existing records shows, of a most gradual character. The Illyro-Roman inhabitants seem to have early discovered the necessity of acquiring the speech of the new settlers and conquerors by whom they were surrounded, and to whom in most cases they were politically subject. The result of this was that they passed through a bilingual stage, continuing to speak their own language among themselves, while able to converse in Slav with their neighbours, a condition of things almost universal on the borderlands of conflicting nationalities, and finding its parallel still in the Dalmatian coast-cities, though there the case is at present reversed, the citizens for the most part speaking Slav among themselves, while holding converse with outsiders in Italian. One result of this habit has been that throughout a large part of Dalmatia, and notably in the neighbourhood of Ragusa, we find a number of Neo-Latin or Illyro-Roman village names with an alternative Slavonic form<sup>b</sup> exactly translating their meaning; and finally, in many cases, as the inhabitants forgot even the domestic use of their native Rouman, the original Latin form has altogether passed away, leaving no trace of its existence beyond its Slavonic

characters; the "Vlachs" do not seem to have had a written language. A rich "Vlach," however, being bilingual, might put up an inscription in Serbian, which was to him the language of Church and State.

<sup>a</sup> The Ragusans early found a more convenient Romance language in Italian. Nor is it necessary to suppose that they ever spoke a Rouman dialect in the sense that the Dalmatian highlanders spoke it. The correspondence between Ragusa and the other Dalmatian coast-cities, Cattaro, Budua, Antivari, &c. was conducted in Latin.

<sup>b</sup> This fact had already struck Lucius (*De regno Dalmatiæ et Croatia*, lib. vi. Francofurti, 1666, p. 277), who instances "*Petra*" = Sl. "*Brus*"; "*Via Carri*" = Sl. "*Colnich*"; "*Circuitus*," = Sl. "*Zavod*"; "*Calamet*" = Sl. "*Tarstenich*." Cf. "*Cannosa*," near Ragusa, Sl. "*Trstenik*." In the same way Vlach personal names were early translated into Slavonic equivalents, so that in Ragusan records we hear again and again of "Vlachi" with Serbian names.

translation. This process has been, in all probability, of far more frequent occurrence in this part of Illyricum than can at present be known. It is only, for instance, by the chance that Constantine<sup>a</sup> refers to the earlier name of the place that we know that the name of the Herzegovinian stronghold of Blagaj is simply a translation of the Bona of formerly Romance-speaking mountaineers. Another curious revelation of the survival of ancient nomenclature in a Slavonic guise is due to the quite modern discovery of a Roman monument. In 1866 an inscription,<sup>b</sup> apparently of second or third-century date, was discovered in the Kerka Valley, revealing the ancient name of the rocky crest that there overhangs the stream, *Petra longa*. To the present inhabitants, who for centuries have spoken a Slavonic dialect, the crag is still known by its Roman name in a translated form, *Duga Stina*, "the long rock."

Physical types, distinctively un-Slavonic and presenting marked Albanian affinities (an Illyrian symptom), are still to be detected among the modern Canalese, Brenese, and Herzegovinian peasants, mingled with types as characteristically Slav. Their language, however, is at the present day a very pure Serbian dialect, and, taken by itself, affords us no clue to the fact, illustrated in this case by historical record, by craniological observations, and by the stray survival of local names, that their forefathers were as much or more Illyro-Roman than Slavonic. This interesting phenomenon, repeated in the case of many districts of Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro,<sup>c</sup> may throw a valuable light on similar

<sup>a</sup> *De Adm. Imp.* c. 33: "ἐν τῇ τοιούτῃ χωρίῳ βουνός ἐστι μέγας, ἔχων ἀνωθεν αὐτοῦ δύο κάστρα, τὸ Βόνα καὶ τὸ Χλόυμ· ὅπισθεν δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτου βουνοῦ διέρχεται ποταμὸς καλούμενος Βόνα, ὃ ἰρμηνεύεται καλόν." At present the castle on the peak is called Blagaj, the river which wells in full volume from its foot is still called Buna. This passage of Constantine affords valuable evidence of the existence in the tenth century of an Illyro-Roman population among the interior ranges of what is now Herzegovina. *Bona* is a characteristic Rouman name for good, clear, streams (cf. Sl. Dobravoda, &c.), and re-appears in this sense in the North Albanian Alps, where the Val Bona indicates the former presence of Romance-speaking highlanders in a glen which so far as language is concerned is at present Albanian. In the same way we find forms like *Alp'bona* in the Ladine or Romance districts of Tyrol.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. L. iii. 6418.

<sup>c</sup> The Ragusan records and old Serbian chrysobulls reveal a great extension of Rouman tribes in this part of Western Illyricum in the early Middle Ages. Amongst those in the present Herzegovina and Montenegro were the Vlachi Banjani, Nikšići, Mirilović, Pilatovci, and the Rigiani in the mountains that overlook the ruins of Risinium. Their Alpine villages were called Cantons, in Slav. Katun, from whence the Katunska Nahia of Montenegro has its name. Like the Dokleates, the Illyrian tribe that once occupied a considerable part of the same mountain region, and of whom they were in part the Romanized descendants, they were great cheese-makers. The foundation charter of the church of St. Michael and St. Gabriel at Prizrend (1348) presents us with a number of Wallachian personal names with the Rouman suffix *-ul*, showing the Illyro-Roman survival in the ancient Dardanian province and its border-lands.

researches regarding Britain, the conquest of which by the English presents some striking analogies with the Slavonic conquest of Illyricum. It cuts, at all events, the ground from the feet of those who, because the people of England speak a language containing few Welsh or Romano-British elements, and can trace most of their institutions to a Teutonic origin, would have us therefore believe that the earlier inhabitants of a large part of Britain were either expatriated or exterminated wholesale. The inhabitants of Southern Dalmatia, of Herzegovina, and Montenegro, are at present Serbian, not only in language but in customs, in popular traditions, in village and domestic government, and yet we have in this case irrefragable proofs that, down to a late period of the Middle Ages, a considerable proportion of them were still speaking an Illyrian variety of Romance.

Although enough has been said to explain Constantine Porphyrogenitus's derivation of the word Canali, it seems, as we have seen, to be tolerably certain that the local term owed its origin solely to the course of the Epitaurian Aqueduct. The general accuracy, however, of Constantine's information as to Dalmatian matters, and the acquaintance which he shows with the prevailing physical characteristic of Canali itself, may embolden us to believe that when he seeks the etymology of the plain in the late Roman signification of *canalis* as a highway on which wheel-traffic was conducted, he may not have been without some apparent foundation for his statement. In Roman times, at all events, the district of Canali was a *canalis* in the sense in which the word is used in the Theodosian Code, and by the fourth-century Illyrian bishop. There can be no question but that the Roman road from Epitaurum to the next great Illyrian city to the south, Risinium, ran through the present Vale of Canali, emerging on the Bocche, the ancient Sinus Rhizonicus, through the Suttorina gorge, in the neighbourhood of Castelnuovo.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, so fertile in difficulties for this part of Dalmatia, makes the distance from Epitaurum to "Resinum" only twenty miles, about half the real distance. The idea that Epitaurum itself was ever situate on the Sinus Rhizonicus, and therefore nearer Risinium, I have already scouted. It only remains, therefore, to imagine either that a numerical error here occurs in the *Tabula* or that an intermediate station has been left out. Professor Tomaschek<sup>a</sup> accepts this latter theory, and imagines Castelnuovo to have been the site of the omitted station.

Local researches had long convinced me that a Roman station of some importance existed between Epitaurum and Risinium. Its site, however, was

<sup>a</sup> *Die vorlawische Topographie*, &c. p. 37.



not Castelnuovo, where, so far as I am aware, no Roman remains have been discovered. Near the village of Gruda, about the centre of the plain of Canali, have been found Roman coins, *intagli*, fragments of pottery, and other relics; and it is a common saying among the Canalese peasants that there once existed a city at this spot. The locality where these remains are found is known to the natives as Djare, from *djara*, a jar, owing to the *amphoræ* and other vessels discovered here. A little to the east of Djare rises an isolated height capped by the small church of Sveti Ivan (St. John), a sanctuary, as the early mediæval monuments round it show, of considerable antiquity. Visiting this spot, in company with my friend Dr. von Luschan, I had the good fortune to discover, walled into the church porch and partially concealed by plaster, a Roman inscription, which, when cleared of mortar and cement, read as follows (fig. 12):



Fig 12. SVETI IVAN, CANALI, from probable site of Roman Municipium between Epitaurum and Risinium.

D                    M  
 Q FVLVIO / *Filio*  
 II VIR *Iure Dicundo*  
 ET TAVRAE MAXI  
 MAE VXSORI EIVS  
 TAVRVS MAXIMVS  
 ET FRATRES *Titulum Posuere*

Taken by itself the mention of a Duumvir Jure Dicundo, the chief municipal magistrate, on this monument raises a fair presumption that the Roman station at this spot was itself a *Municipium*, and not a mere *Vicus* of the Ager Epitauritanus. On the other hand, the course of the Epitaurian Aqueduct, across the whole extent of the plain of Canali, in the midst of which Djare and Svéti Ivan lie, certainly tends to show, as was pointed out long ago by the Ragusan historian Cervarius Tubero, that, originally at least, Canali was comprised in the territory of Epitaurum. It is to be observed that the name of a Q. Fulvius Clemens occurs among the tituli found at Ragusa Vecchia.<sup>a</sup>

Be this as it may, it is certain that there was a considerable Roman station in this vicinity; and the position is itself admirably adapted for a half-way post between Epitaurum and the Rhizonic gulf. Opposite the isolated height of Svéti Ivan, on which the inscription stands, opens a pass in the mountains dividing the huge mass of Mount Sniesnica on one side from the offshoots of Mount Orien on the other. It is at the opening of this pass that the village of Mrcine is situate, already mentioned as an important Rouman centre in the Middle Ages, and above which was the ancient cemetery, also, in all probability, belonging to these descendants of the Illyro-Roman provincials. It is certain that the pass itself, which served these later representatives of Rome for their caravan traffic with the inland countries between the Adriatic and the Drina, would not have been neglected by the Romans themselves as an avenue of communication. The remains of a paved mediæval way may still be traced threading the gorge, and we have here, perhaps, the direct successor of a Roman branch line of road connecting the station, which appears to have existed at Svéti Ivan, with another Roman station, of which I hope to say more, in the valley of Trebinje.

On the other hand, there are distinct indications that Svéti Ivan lay on the direct Roman road between Epitaurum and Risinium. The old Ragusan road

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1739.

through Canali to the Bocche di Cattaro ran past this position, and the old bridge over the Ljuta lies just below it. What, too, is extremely significant, a long line of hedges and ancient boundary lines, that originally bisected the plain, runs from the direction of Ragusa Vecchia towards this point. Any one who has endeavoured to trace Roman roads in Britain must be aware how often, when other traces fail, the continuous hedge lines preserve the course of the ancient Way.

The distance from Djare and Světi Ivan to Risinium is as nearly as possible twenty miles. It is, therefore, not impossible that at this point was the station *ex hypothesi* omitted in the *Tabula*. It is probable, as I hope to show in a succeeding paper, that this was also a point of junction between the road Epitaurum-Risinium and a line communicating with the interior of the Province.

From this point the way to the Bocche runs down the Suttorina Valley, reaching the Adriatic inlet near Castelnovo. After following the coast for some miles, the road would again strike inland, over the Bunović Pass, which forms the shortest line of communication with the inner gulf on which Risinium stood. From this point the course of the Roman road is no longer a matter for theory. Between Morinje and the western suburb of the little town of Risano that preserves the name of the Roman city its course can be distinctly traced along the limestone steep that here overhangs the sea.

The site and early history of Rhizon, or Risinium, form a marked contrast to that of Epitaurum, as, indeed, to most of the Græco-Roman sites on the Dalmatian shore. Here there is neither peninsula nor island: no natural bridge nor moat to secure the civilized colonist from the barbarism of the mainland. The peak which formed the Acropolis of Rhizon is but a lower offshoot of the greater ranges beyond. An Alpine pass, communicating with highland fastnesses as rugged and inaccessible as any to be found within the limits of Illyricum, zigzags directly into the lower town. Thus the early history of Rhizon is neither Greek nor Roman, but pre-eminently Illyrian.

In 229 B.C. Teuta, the Illyrian Pirate Queen, defeated by the Romans, took refuge at Rhizon, as her securest stronghold. From the expression of Polybios<sup>a</sup> that Rhizon was "a small city, strongly fortified, removed from the sea, but lying directly on the River Rhizon," some writers, including Sir Gardiner Wilkinson,<sup>b</sup> have endeavoured to discover its site somewhere in the mountains of

<sup>a</sup> "Πολισμάτιον εὖ πρὸς ὀχυρότητα κατασκευασμένον, ἀνακχωρηκὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ κείμενον τῇ Ρίζωνι ποταμῷ." *Polybios*, ii. 11.

<sup>b</sup> *Dalmatia*, vol. ii. p. 234.

the interior. As, however, I have elsewhere shown,\* there can be no doubt that the Rhizon of Queen Teuta is identical in site as well as in name with the later Roman colony, which gave its name to the Rhizonic gulf, the present Bocche di Cattaro, and which still prolongs its continuity in the little town of Risano. The Rhizon Potamos of Polybios is used, in fact, as a general term for the winding, river-like fiord itself, otherwise known to ancient poets as the "Illyrian river," the chosen lurking-place of piratic craft. In its narrower local application it may be taken to signify the small torrent, the *Fiumara*, which bursts from a cave in the mountains, about half-a-mile from the head of the fiord. The name Risano, applied to two similar torrents on the East Adriatic coast, one in Istria, near Trieste, the other near Durazzo, leads us to infer that Rhizon or Risinium was an aboriginal Illyrian river-name, which, in the present case, attached itself to the town past which the torrent ran.

The remains of the old street terraces are distinctly traceable on the flanks of the peak that dominates the right bank of the torrent. It is evident that this was the ancient Acropolis, the chosen stronghold of Queen Teuta, but I have been unable to discover any remains of primeval walls, such as are to be seen on the more southern Illyrian peak stronghold of Acrolissos (Alessio). The lower town lay unquestionably on the level space between the Acropolis and the shore, to the right of the torrent. Here I have at different times excavated the foundations of houses and narrow streets lying at a depth of about ten feet beneath the present surface. I was not so fortunate, however, as to hit on the remains of any remarkable building. Foundations may also be seen, as at Ragusa Vecchia, beneath the sea, proving a slight submergence of the land within the historic period. The most important architectural relic is the remains of the eastern city-wall, to be seen in places overhanging the right bank of the torrent, which must have washed this wall of the city almost throughout its length.

The remaining fragments of this wall, built of huge oblong blocks, recall the long walls connecting Salonæ with its Piræus, a work dating in all probability from the period preceding the actual conquest, though executed under Græco-Roman influences. It is remarkable that epigraphic evidence exists, showing that, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, the inhabitants of Risinium traced back the antiquity of their walls to heroic times. At Lambæse, in Numidia, in a shrine of the temple of Æsculapius, was discovered a votive inscription raised by a native

\* See "On some recent discoveries of Illyrian Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. pp. 269-302.

of Risinium, who had risen to the position of Legate of Numidia and Consul Designate (afterwards elect), in honour of the patron divinity and "public Lar" of his native Dalmatian city. In this poetic dedication the walls of Risinium are referred to as "*Æacia Mœnia*," and the expression has created some difficulty. It seems to me, however, to be susceptible of a perfectly natural and probable explanation. The Epirote Princes, in right of their Thessalian connexion, had always insisted on their descent from Achilles the son of *Æacus*; and one at least of them appears in history as *Æacides* pure and simple. The connexion between the reigning families of Epirus and Southern Illyricum was intimate, and we are expressly told of King *Glaucias*, the Taulantian, that his wife was of the *Æacid* race.<sup>a</sup> The South Illyrian princes who succeeded him, and who, like their Epirote kinsmen, affected Greek manners, and adopted a Greek style on their coinage, would certainly not neglect this claim to Achæan descent. The *Æacia Mœnia* of the inscription would, therefore, indicate the local tradition that the walls of Risinium, this ancient stronghold of the native kings, were reared by one of these Illyrian *Æacidæ*.

As any account of the antiquities of Risinium would be incomplete without some reference to this remarkable inscription, I here reproduce it.<sup>b</sup>

"Mœnia qui Risinni Æacia qui colis arcem  
Delmatiae, nostri publice Lar populi,  
Sancte Medaure domi e(t) sancte hic: nam templa quoq(ue) ista  
Vise precor parva magnus in effigia.  
Succussus læva sonipes (c)ui surgit in auras  
Altera dum letum librat ab aure manus.  
Talem te Consul jam designatus in ista  
Sede locat venerans ille tuus ∅ ∅ ∅  
Notus Gradivo belli vetus ac tibi Cæsar  
Marce, in primore clarus ubique acie."

"Adepto Consulatu ∅ ∅ ∅ ∅  
Tibi respirantem faciem patrii numinis  
Hastam eminus quæ jaculat refreno ex equo  
Tuus, Medaure. dedicat Medaurius"

The continuance of the cult of Medaurus, the Illyrian Lar of Risinium, in

<sup>a</sup> Justinus, lib. xvii. 3: "(Pyrrhus) defertur in Illyrios et traditus est Beroæ uxori regis Glauciæ quæ et ipsa erat generis *Æacidarum*."

<sup>b</sup> As edited by Mommsen in C. I. L. iii. p. 285.

Roman Imperial times, is itself a proof of the strength of the indigenous element at this spot. The excavations and researches made by me on the site of the ancient city have brought to light abundant evidence of the importance of Risinium as an Illyrian staple and royal residence before the days of the Roman conquest. This evidence, which is almost exclusively derived from Illyrian coins, discovered in abundance on this site, has formed the subject of a communication by me to the Numismatic Society, so that I may here content myself with summarising the results at which I was enabled to arrive.\*

In the numismatic history of the Illyrian city two periods are to be noticed; the first during which the Rhizonian mint was under Greek influence, and the later period, during which Roman influence predominated. The coins are of three main varieties:—

1. Autonomous coins, struck in the name of the city, with the legend PIZO, or PIZONITAN, showing that here, as at Lissos (Alessio) and Scodra (Scutari d'Albania), there was a Republican period in the history of the city: in all probability the period immediately succeeding the break-up of the Illyrian kingdom of Genthios by the Romans in 167 B.C.
2. Coins of an Illyrian Prince Ballæos, unknown to history, but who possessed another prolific mint in the Isle of Pharos (Lesina). It is probable that this prince reigned in the second half of the second century B.C. and that his dominion represents a revival of the old Ardiaean dynasty. These coins have Greek legends, like those of Genthios.
3. Coins of one or more successors of Ballæos, some with the legend MYN. In the figure of Artemis, on the reverse, these coins resemble those of Ballæos, but the obverse presents us with heads imitated from the Pallas, Libertas, and Virtus on Roman consular *denarii*.

The general conclusion which we are enabled to draw from these coins is, that Rhizon, or Risinium, remained in a position of independence or quasi-independence of Rome, at least under the government of native princes, at a period when large tracts of the Illyrian coast both north and south of this point had been placed under direct Roman government. We are, in fact, informed by Livy<sup>b</sup> that, as a reward for their timely defection from King Genthios, the inhabitants

\* See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. p. 269 *seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> Lib. xlv. c. 26.

of Rhizon and Olcinium, with the Pirustæ and others, were not only left free to govern themselves but were exempted from all tribute.

Among the coins of præ-Roman date found at Risano silver pieces of Corinth, Dyrrhachium, and Apollonia, are of comparatively frequent occurrence, and I have obtained one of the Pæonian King Lykkeios. But the extraordinary feature of this site is its inexhaustible fertility in the small brass pieces of the native King Ballæos and his successors. Considering that these coins themselves occasionally attain to a fair art level, that the inscriptions are in Greek, and that they are universally associated with fragments and remains that are undoubted products of Greek and Roman civilization, we are justified in inferring that already in Illyrian days Rhizon was beginning to present many of the external features of a civilized city. The historians of Greece and Rome, from whom all our written knowledge of the Illyrian coast-lands in their yet unconquered days is due, naturally lay stress on the piratic and barbarous side of Illyrian life. But the indigenous coinage existing at Rhizon, Scodra, Lissos, and the Isle of Pharos, and even among the mainland tribe of the Daorsi, is itself a proof that more commercial instincts were developing among the aborigines of the Adriatic coast. The ancient trade route between Greece and the lands at the head of the Adriatic could not have been without its civilising influence on the inhabitants of the littoral, and there is strong presumptive evidence that Phœnician, Pontic, and Etruscan merchants frequented the Illyrian havens in still earlier days. This Phœnician contact has left its trace in the persistent repetition by Greek writers of legends connecting Cadmus and his consort with the Illyrian towns, and in a special way with Rhizon itself. That coins of the Illyrian king Genthios have been found in Sicily tends to prove that his dominion had a mercantile as well as a piratic side, and this drunken barbarian, as he is described by Polybios and Livy, has deserved well of medical science by bringing into use the herb *Gentian*, that still preserves his name.\* Nor are there wanting ancient writers who have passed a more favourable verdict on the inhabitants of the Illyrian coast. We read of their cities, of their regular government, now under chieftains, now under kings, now autonomous in its constitution, and Scymnos adds, that "they are very pious, just, and given to hospitality, that they respect the ties of social life, and

\* Pliny, *H. N.* lib. xxv. 34: "Gentianam invenit Gentius rex Illyriorum. ubique nascentem, in Illyrico tamen præstantissimam."

live in an orderly manner.”<sup>a</sup> The splendid booty collected by Anicius on the capture of King Genthios in his royal city of Scodra renders it tolerably certain that King Ballæos and his successors at Rhizon knew how to surround their court with the luxuries of civilisation, and a silver coin of this prince in the British Museum, in all probability coined in his Rhizonian mint, proves that on occasion he could employ Hellenic workmen.

The history of the Illyrian mint at Rhizon, as illustrated by the coins, undoubtedly reflects the general course of civilisation in the Illyrian city. During the period marked by the autonomous coins and the coins of King Ballæos, the external culture introduced was Greek so far as it went, and the numerous coins of Greek cities found on this site evidence considerable mercantile intercourse with Hellas. The semi-Roman character of the coins of Ballæos’s successor, taken in connexion with the presence of numerous consular *denarii*, tends to show that towards the end of the second century B.C. Roman commercial enterprise, following in the wake of political supremacy, was supplanting the old Greek connexion with this part of the Adriatic coast.

Greek inscriptions have been found at Risano,<sup>b</sup> one or two of præ-Roman date, but the greater part of the remains found at Risano belong rather to the later period, when Roman influences preponderated. Among the pottery however obtained from this site I have one good example of Greek fictile art. It is an *askos* of reddish brown and yellow ware, of that peculiar form that seems to be characteristic of Magna Græcia, and which certainly bears a greater resemblance to a small china teapot than a “bladder.” (See Pl. II.) On its upper surface is stamped a medallion containing a highly artistic Faun’s head, with pointed ears pricked, and flowing locks. The funnel-shaped opening of the spout is unfortunately broken off. It is difficult to understand for what use this kind of vessel may have served.

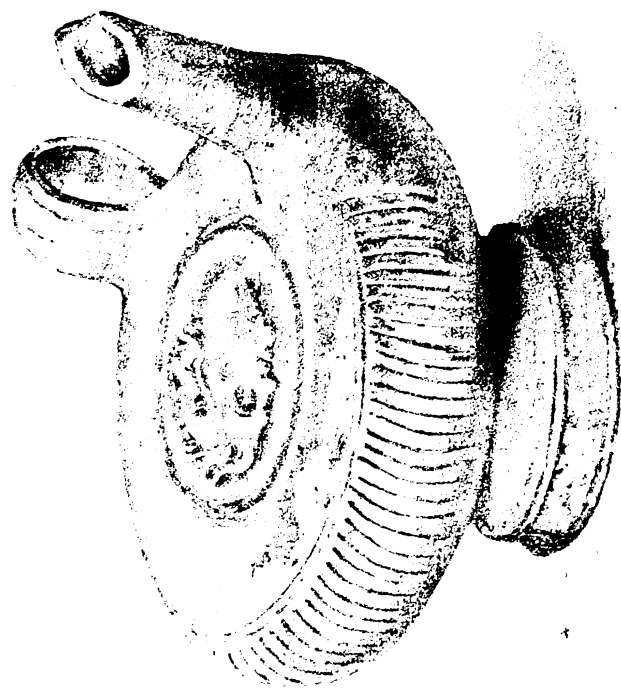
<sup>a</sup> V. 420 seqq.

“Καί τινα μὲν αὐτῶν βουλευτικαῖς ἐξουσίαις  
ὑπῆκο' εἶναι, τινὰ δὲ καὶ μοναρχίας,  
ἃ δ' αὐτονομεῖσθαι θεοσεβεῖς δ' αὐτοὺς ἄγαν  
καὶ σφόδρα δίκαιους, φασί, καὶ φιλοξένους,  
κοινωνικὴν διάθεσιν ἡγαπηκότας  
εἶναι, βίον ζηλοῦν τε κοσμιώτατον.”

His words have a special reference to the south Dalmatian coast, as he places opposite the region of these civilized mainlanders the Greek island colonies of Pharos (Lesina) and Corcyra Nigra (Curzola).

<sup>b</sup> Cf. G. Gelchich, *Memorie storiche sulle Bocche di Cattaro*, pp. 10, 11, and Ljubić, *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arkeologičkoga Društva*, an. iii. p. 52. Most of these have been transported to Perasto.





ASKOS, FROM SALONE.  
(FULL SIZE)  
See p 44



SACRIFICIAL KNIFE, FROM NARONA.  
(FULL SIZE)  
See p 77

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM, BY A. J. EVANS F.S.A.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1883*



The expanding mouth of the spout seems to preclude the idea that it was used for filling lamps, and the fact that it has no other orifice but the spout must have prevented free flow from it for any purpose. Possibly it served for letting the oil drip in the process of anointing. This vase was found at Carine, on the western part of the ancient site, by a peasant digging in his vineyard. In the same grave, for so he described to me the place in which it lay, were a patera and another vase which has lost its handles, but which also bears a Magna Græcian character.

It is noteworthy that at the present day the East Adriatic ports obtain their pottery almost exclusively from the Apulian coast, and the modern potters of the Terra d'Otranto are thus only keeping up a connexion begun, as these Risinian relics prove, in days before the Roman conquest of Illyricum. Compared with the handiwork of the ancient artists of Uria and Lupiæ the modern crockery is rude, but in some of the forms a distinct Hellenic tradition is perceptible, and amphoras, especially, of singularly old Greek aspect are still to be seen exposed for sale on the quay of modern Risano.

The *askos* and vase described belong to the latest præ-Roman period of Greek art. There is, however, evidence that Greek mercantile enterprise was supplying the Illyrian aborigines with earthenware, and that from a more remote quarter, at a considerably earlier period. Theopompos<sup>a</sup> of Chios, who wrote in the fourth century B.C. and who ought certainly to be an authority on matters that relate to the wares of his own island, informs us that Thasian and Chian pottery was found in the Naron, the next river-inlet on the Illyrian coast beyond the "Rhizonic gulf." This notice is supplemented by a passage in the pseudo-Aristotelian work, "On Wondrous Reports,"<sup>b</sup> in which the author of that work states that between Mentoricé and Istria is a mountain called Delphion, "from the peak of which the Mentores who inhabit the Adriatic coast are said to see ships sailing on the Pontic Sea," and that "in the intervening space is a common market where merchants coming from Pontus sell the wares of Lesbos, Chios, and Thasos, and others coming from the Adriatic coast sell Corcyræan amphoras."<sup>c</sup> Apart from

<sup>a</sup> Fr. 140. Theopompos imagines that the vases must have reached the Naron by some underground river course forming a connexion between the Adriatic and the Ægean. Strabo, to whom the preservation of this notice is due, is justly sceptical as to the geological deduction of Theopompos: "Καὶ ἄλλα δ' οὐ πιστὰ λέγει· τὰ τε συντετρηῆσθαι τὰ πελάγη ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρίσκεσθαι κεραμὸν τε θάσιον καὶ Χίον ἐν τῷ Νάρονι." (vii. p. 488.)

<sup>b</sup> Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, c. cīv.

<sup>c</sup> "εἶναι δὲ καὶ τινα τόπον ἐν τοῖς ἀνὰ μέσον διαστήμασιν εἰς ὃν ἀγορᾶς κοινῆς γενομένης πωλεῖσθαι παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἱμπόρων ἀναβαίνοντων τὰ Λέσβια καὶ Χῖα, καὶ θάσια, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου τοὺς Κερκυραίκοις ἀμφορεῖς."

the geographical absurdity of Pontus being visible from a mountain near the Adriatic coast, there can be little doubt that this notice, containing as it does an allusion to the old Danubian trade-route between the Euxine and the head of the Adriatic, is true so far as it relates to the importation of Greek wares and pottery to some native market on the Illyrian coast, in all probability either Rhizon itself or the old Illyrian staple of the Narenta. In the Greek insular settlements in these waters at Issa, Black Corcyra, Pharos, and elsewhere, there was naturally a demand for such wares, and fine Greek vases and *οἶνοχοαί* have been found at Lissa<sup>a</sup> and elsewhere. It is reasonable to suppose that a part of these imported wares found its way to the native markets of the mainland, and it would even appear that the fictile works of the native potters were, at an early period, rudely imitated from Greek models, though without their colouring and ornament. On a fragment of a cup discovered by me in a pre-historic stone-barrow in Canali, an account of the excavation of which I hope on some future occasion to communicate to this Society, and which dated apparently from the later period of the Illyrian bronze age, Hellenic influence appears to be distinctly traceable.

That in Roman times the suburbs of the city embraced a considerable area is shown by the fact that the foundations of houses, including a mosaic pavement, are to be seen about half-an-hour up the mountainous steep on the East and near a delicious fountain. The sepulchral remains lie for the most part either at Carine or in a *campagna* to the left of the Risano Fiumara. I copied the following,<sup>b</sup> (v. figs. 13—17) not contained in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* or *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.

The name Plætoria or Plætorius, as it appears to occur on another Risinian inscription,<sup>c</sup> with its variant forms Plætor, Plator, and Pletor, is a Latinization of one of the most characteristic Illyrian names,<sup>d</sup> and derives special interest from

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Glavinich, *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central Commission*, 1878, xcii. In the museum at Ragusa is a Greek painted vase said to have been found on the site of Epitaurum.

<sup>b</sup> Since I took down these inscriptions copies of figs. 13, 14, 15, and 17 have been sent to the Croatian Archæological Society, and are given by Dr. Ljubić in *Viestnik* (an. i. p. 127; an. ii. p. 101), where my excavations are referred to. The examples in the *Viestnik* will be found to differ in some small details from mine, and do not represent the original lettering. Figs. 14 and 16 are at present in the Casa Mišetić. Fig. 13 was found in the *campagna* of Paprenica. Fig. 15 is from the left bank of the Fiumara; I have since deposited this stone in the museum at Ragusa.

<sup>c</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1730, as completed by Mommsen.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2751, 2752, 2773, 2788, among inscriptions found at Verlikka and S. Danillo in Dalmatia; 3144 in the Isle of Cherso; 3804, 3825, at Iggy near Laibach, here in a Celtic connexion;—"VOLTREX PLAETORIS"; in a Privilegium (C. I. L. iii. D. vii.) granted by Vespasian—PLATORI . VENETI . P . CENTVRIONI . MAEZEIO; at Apulum and Alburnus Major (VICVS FIRVSTARVM) in Dacia where was a large Illyrian mining colony (1192, 1271.)



Fig. 13.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 14.

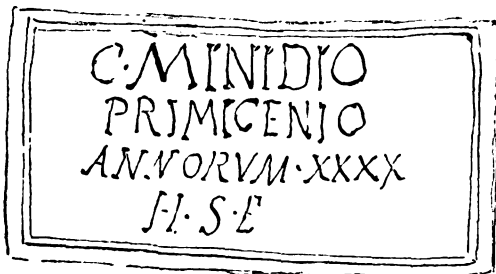


Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM RISINIUM (RISANO).

its reappearance among the Messapians<sup>a</sup> of the opposite Italian coast, the Illyrian affinities of whom are undoubted. The occurrence of this and other indigenous names on Risinian monuments, taken in connexion with the abiding cult of the native Lar, show that the Illyrian element continued to hold its own in the Roman city; and I may observe that the modern Risanotes, though at present entirely of Slavonic speech, must ethnologically be classed with the Albanian descendants of these same Illyrians. The finely-modelled head, the aquiline nose, such as King Ballæos displays on his Rhizonian coins, the "stricti artus, minax vultus," recall at once the Illyrian aborigines of ancient writers and the modern Skipetar. Meanwhile the Risanote tales about Queen Teuta or Czaritza Tiuda, as they call her, may be safely placed in the same category with the Ragusa-Vecchian traditions of Dolabella and Cadmus.

The Roman city appears to have drawn its water supply direct from the cavern from which the Risano Fiumara issues. On the right bank of the stream I found the channel of an aqueduct, resembling that of Epitaurum, hewn out of the solid rock. This channel leads into the vast atrium of the cavern, the floors and walls of which have been hewn out apparently to form a large reservoir. There can be no doubt that in ancient times this was filled with water, and that the supply of water was considerably greater than it is now. At present in summer the bed of the Fiumara is almost dried up; and the aqueduct would be useless even in the rainy season. That the character of the source should have altered will surprise no one who has observed the vagaries of streams and sources in a limestone country; and its diminished volume may be connected with the continued deforesting of the Dalmatian coasts during the last two thousand years, which here, as in Greece, has contributed to decrease the rainfall. The cavern is still, however, a considerable reservoir. Following it by an easy descent of about one hundred yards into the mountain you arrive at the brink of a subterranean pool of unknown dimensions. In Roman days the summer level of this pool must have reached the excavated chamber in the mouth of the cavern, from which the channel of the aqueduct issues. The Slavonic-speaking natives, having wholly forgotten its former application and origin, regard the rock-hewn channel as of supernatural creation, and call it "Vilin Put," "the Fairies' Way."

<sup>a</sup> Cf. inscriptions found at Capo di Leuca, Πλατορας Παλετας Ισαρις, and at Ceglie beginning ΠΑΤΟΡΑΣ, given in Mommsen, *Die unteritalienischen Dialekte*, p. 51. The plebeian family name Plætoria at Rome was derived from this source.

Engraved gems are not so abundant on this site as on that of Epitaurum, where Græco-Roman culture was less alloyed with indigenous barbarism. I have, however, procured four or five; and a fine gold ring set with an onyx engraved with a lion, recently discovered here, was presented by the Commune of Risano as a baptismal gift to the second son of Prince Nikola of Montenegro.<sup>a</sup> One *intaglio*, a pale sard from this site, in my own possession, is remarkable as presenting an unique Roman-Christian composition (fig. 18). On it is seen the Good Shepherd, not in the usual attitude, but holding forth what appears to be intended for the typical lamb, which he has lowered from his shoulders.<sup>b</sup> Before him stands a ram, while to the left is a tall amphora-like jar, probably meant to represent one of the water-pots of Cana of Galilee. Above is seen the Christian monogram, and another symbol consisting of three upright strokes crossed by one transverse.



Fig. 18. ROMAN-CHRISTIAN INTAGLIO FROM RISINIUM. (Enlarged.)

As late as the end of the sixth century the Christian Church of Risinium seems to have been still flourishing and important. Two letters are extant addressed by Pope Gregory the Great to Sebastian, Bishop of Risinium, one of 591 and the other of 595 A.D.<sup>c</sup> In the latter of these Gregory speaks of "*dulcissima et suavissima fraternitatis tuæ verba*," but laments at the same time the evil which he suffers from Sebastian's friend, Romanus, Exarch of Ravenna, to whose government Risinium with the other Dalmatian coast-cities then belonged, and whose malice towards the representative of St. Peter cut sharper in Gregory's opinion than the swords of the Lombards.<sup>d</sup> The next mention of a Bishop of Risinium occurs after an interval of seven hundred years.

Of a date still later than the Christian intaglio, and by far the most beautiful object, to my knowledge, discovered at Risano, is a gold pendant, inlaid on either side with cloisonné enamel, dug up in a *campagna* at Carina in 1878 by a man whom

<sup>a</sup> Amongst other objects of Roman jewelry obtained by myself from this site may be mentioned a part of a gold earring terminating in a lion's head, and two spiral snake bracelets of silver, much resembling a kind of bangle which has lately again become fashionable.

<sup>b</sup> On another Christian gem, obtained by me at Salona, the Good Shepherd stands at the side of a group of sheep and goats beneath a palm tree. The material is green jasper.

<sup>c</sup> Given in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. vi. pp. 411, 412. The letters are headed "Gregorius Sebastiano Episcopo Rhiziniensi."

<sup>d</sup> "Quia ejus in nos malitia gladios Longobardorum vicit."

I had employed to make excavations (fig. 19). It presents on one side a crested beast of grotesque and mythical aspect, with a projecting tongue, the colours of

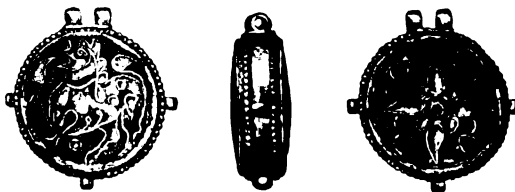


Fig. 19. GOLD ENAMELLED PENDANT, CARINA, 1878.

the animal being green, yellow, red, and bluish white on a dark blue ground. On the other side is a conventional rose, with dark blue and yellow petals, and red centre on a green ground. This rose, which has much in common with the familiar rose of heraldry, is of a form frequent on Roman mosaics, and not least upon those that adorn the walls of Roman-Christian basilicas. The four round excrescences attached to the broader petals may be regarded as singular, otherwise there is nothing in the design on this side alien to the Roman art of the Western Empire to which Risinium in Justinian's time belonged. So far as the colours go they recall with singular fidelity the predominant tints in the mosaics of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, of the church S. Apollinare Nuovo and other Ravennate monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries. The sombre blue and green ground in mosaic work, at least, is more distinctive of Western than of pure Byzantine traditions.

The quasi-heraldic animal on the other side of the pendant is suggestive at once of Oriental influences. It bears a strong family likeness to the griffins, winged lions, and other fabulous monsters, on some remarkable vessels found at Szent Miklos, in the district of Torontal, in Hungary, in 1799, and which are now among the treasures of the Antiken Cabinet at Vienna.\* Among the points in which the animal on the Risano pendant bears a special resemblance to some of those of the Torontal hoard may be signalled the character of the head and eye, the drop-shaped spots or stripes on the body, and the attitude of the legs and tail. On the other hand, the crest or mane is of a more cocks-comb-like form; the wings with which most of the Torontal monsters are equipped, as

\* See Von Arneth, *Monumente des k. k. Münz und Antiken Cabinettes*, Wien, 1850, Pl. G. IV., G. V., G. XIV. &c.



well as their arabesque appendages, are wanting, and the general elegance and spirit of the design is considerably diminished.

The Torontal objects are unquestionably of Persian origin;<sup>a</sup> the mythic representations that occur on them are thoroughly Oriental, and the monsters represented are the true forerunners of the Mahometan *Borrah*, of which fabulous animal we learn that it had a mane of pearls and jacinths, that its ears were as emeralds, and its eyes as rubies. The form of the Torontal gold vessels is also characteristically Persian, much resembling the cups which every Persian hangs at his saddle-bow when he goes out riding. Von Arneth considers them to be of fifth-century workmanship, though they bear inscriptions of later date. One of these, in Greek characters, seems to be a line of a Byzantine missionary hymn. Another gives the names of two chiefs, apparently of Bela, Župan of the Theiss, and Butaul, Župan of the Jazyges, a people, be it observed, of Medo-Sarmatian stock.<sup>b</sup>

The Risano pendant may therefore be taken as illustrating the influence of these fifth-century Persian models on late Roman and Byzantine art, an influence which, from this time onwards, becomes more and more perceptible. No example of any perfectly analogous jewel has come under my observation; there is, however, one feature besides the general character of the enamel and goldwork, which it shares with some other ornaments of Byzantine date. The outer rim is provided with a groove and five loops—three below and two above. The use to which these were applied is shown by an earring in the British Museum, with similar groove and loops, to which a circlet of pearls—strung on a golden wire—is still attached. Two other Byzantine earrings, in the Burges Collection, enriched on one side with that well-known Christian emblem, a pair of doves, enamelled, in one case, on a gold field, and dating probably from the seventh century, show an arrangement of the same kind.

Taking into consideration on the one hand this Byzantine feature in the form, and, on the other hand, the distinct reflection in the design of Persian models, the introduction of which into the Illyrian provinces was probably not unconnected with the great Hunnish irruption of the fifth century, we cannot greatly

<sup>a</sup> An account of the Torontal treasure will be found in Von Arneth, *op. cit.* p. 20 *seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> This inscription reads: ΒΟΥΗΛΑ · ΖΩΑΠΑΝ · ΤΕΣΗ · ΔΥΓΕΤΟΙΓΗ · ΒΟΥΤΑΟΥΑ · ΖΩΑΠΑΝ · ΤΑΓΡΟΓΗ · ΗΤΖΙΓΗ · ΤΑΙΣΗ. Von Hammer (*Osmanische Geschichte*, iii. 726) compares ΤΑΓΡΟΓΗ · ΗΤΖΙΓΗ with Δακρυγοί *Idzuyes*, a tribe of Jazyges mentioned by Dion (lxxi. 12). The Tagri are mentioned by Ptolemy (iii. c. 5). The inscription is cited by Šafarik (*Slawische Alterthümer*, i. 345) as a monument of the early connexion of Slavs and Sarmatians. ΖΩΑΠΑΝ cannot be other than the Slav *Župan*, the governor of the *Župa* or Mark.

err in assigning the present work to the period of comparative peace and prosperity that dawned on Dalmatia in the first half of the sixth century. Of later date than the sixth century it cannot well be, as Roman Risinium itself was utterly wiped out some time in the first half of the next century by a barbarous horde of Slavs and Avars. The early part of the century that preceded this awful overthrow—which Risinium shared with its sister cities, Epitaurum and Salonæ—was marked in Dalmatia, as in Italy, by the beneficent Ostrogothic dominion. The Dalmatian cities gained a new lease of life, and the relative abundance of Ostrogothic coins on these Trans-Adriatic sites is itself a tangible proof of their prosperity. On the recovery of Dalmatia by Justinian's generals, the Roman cities of its coast ranked among the most valuable possessions of his Exarchs at Ravenna, and the Province was then reckoned "the stronghold of the West." There can be no good reason for doubting that the Risano jewel was of Dalmatian, perhaps of local Risinian, manufacture; indeed, its somewhat heavy Occidental aspect, coupled with the purely Roman form of the rose, associated as they yet are with undoubtedly Oriental features, render the work peculiarly appropriate to the character of a Province which formed the borderland between the Eastern and Western Worlds.

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## II.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES,—SISCIA, SALONÆ. EPITAURUM, SCODRA.

### SYNOPSIS.

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## II.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES,—SISCIA, SALONÆ, EPITAURUM, SCODRA.

Two lines of communication between the Dalmatian capital, Salonæ and the great Pannonian city, Siscia, are indicated by the *Tabula* and *Itinerarium Antonini*. One ran through Æquum, near Sinj, and thence by an obscure route across what is now North-West Bosnia, to Servitium, identified with Gradiska, on the Save, where it met the important valley line connecting Siscia and Sirmium. The other, followed the Via Gabiniana to Promona, marked by the abiding name of the mountain, Promina. Thence it proceeded to Burnum, identified by the extensive ruins near Kistanje, known, from the still-standing portion of a Roman triumphal arch, as *Archi Romani*,—to the Morlach natives as the “Hollow Church” or “Trajan’s Castle,”—an account of which was communicated to this Society,<sup>a</sup> in 1775, by John Strange, Esq. from information supplied by the Abbé Fortis. From Burnum the road crossed the steep slopes of the Velebić range into the ancient Iapygia, at present the Lika district of Croatia. At a point called Bivium it divided into two branches, one running to the port of Senia, the modern Zengg, the other, traversing what is now the Kraina, to Siscia, past the station of Ad Fines, which has been recently identified with the hot springs of Topusko<sup>b</sup> in the valley of the Glina.

Taking Burnum as a fixed point, Professor Mommsen has identified the next station, thirteen miles distant on the route, Hadre, with the village of Medvidje, where Roman inscriptions have been discovered, and to which the traces of a Roman road from Burnum certainly conduct. Were this identification to be accepted, it would follow that the Roman route from the Liburnian district of Dalmatia into the Japygian interior approximately coincides with the course of the present highway which winds up the steep slopes of Velebić from the Dalmatian town of Obrovazzo, and descends into what has been not inaptly called the Croatian Siberia at the little village of St. Roch. Near here, at St. Michael, and

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. iii. p. 346.

<sup>b</sup> Prof. Ljubić in *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arheološkoga Društva*, 1880, No. 1.

again at Ploča, Roman inscriptions<sup>a</sup> have been discovered, and it is in this district accordingly that Professor Mommsen places the site of Ausancalio, marked on the *Tabula* as 29 miles distant from Hadre.

On the other hand, it may be urged that the natural pass into the Lika district from Kistanje, the site of Burnum, lies rather up the Zermanja valley and past Mala Popina to Gračac. A good road runs through its whole extent, and this is the route which a native would undoubtedly take at the present day. In this case the site of Hadre would have to be sought in the Zermanja valley, somewhere near the mediæval ruins of Zvonigrad. The next station, "Clambetis," 13 miles distant, would lie in the neighbourhood of Gračac, where, at Omšica, a fragment of a Roman inscription has been discovered, and the succeeding station, Ausancalio, 16 miles further, should be sought at Udbina, to which place a natural route, of about the requisite length, conducts us from the plain of Gračac.<sup>b</sup>

Two Roman inscriptions from Udbina are already known. I am now enabled to describe another, which remarkably corroborates the view that here, rather than at St. Michael, is to be sought the ancient Ausancalio (fig. 1<sup>a</sup>). The inscription itself had been transported from Udbina to the neighbouring town of Lapac,

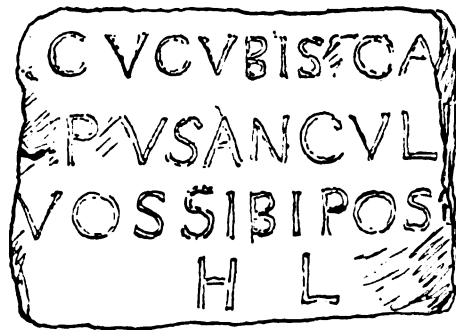


Fig. 1<sup>a</sup>. INSCRIPTION REFERRING TO THE MUNICIPIUM OF AUSANCALIO.  
Found at Udbina.

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 2992, 2995.

<sup>b</sup> This is far from denying that there was an alternative road from Liburnia into Japygia by way of the Municipium that apparently occupied the site of the present Obbrovazzo. It stands to reason indeed that this line of communication was known to and used by the Romans. All that I have been maintaining is, that the natural route from *Burnum* towards Siscia and Senia would run through the easier pass of the Zermanja. I am, personally, well acquainted with both routes.

where I saw it in the out-house of a local eccentric called Omëikus, who had collected a variety of antiquities and other miscellaneous objects under his roof, amongst which he lived, in what he was pleased to call a state of nature.

The two penultimate lines may, perhaps, be completed:—

MUNICIP . AUSANCVLION . || VIVOS SIBI POSUIT

The preceding word must be regarded as uncertain, but the reference to the name *Ausancalio*, here *Ausanculio*, is clear.\*

The long plain of Corbavia (Krbava), extending from Udbina to the north-west, would afford an admirable avenue for the continuation of the Roman road. The position of Bunić, 15 miles distant, at the other extremity of this plain, would answer to the succeeding station Ancus, which, as we may infer from its containing an element common to *Ausancalio* or *Ausanculio*, must have stood in some obvious geographical opposition to the latter. So in Southern Dalmatia we find a *Derva* and an *Anderva*.

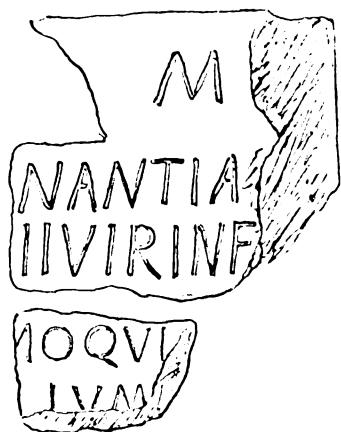


Fig. 2<sup>a</sup>. FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIPTION.  
Lower Lapac.

From Udbina a road leads eastward, over the wild and romantic forest-mountain known as the Kuk Planina, to the fertile plain of Lapac. Here, in the lower village of that name, and in the same locality as the last, I copied the following Roman inscription, found on the spot (fig. 2<sup>a</sup>). The inscription was, unfortunately, in a fragmentary condition, the lower portion being detached from the rest.

The mention of the IIVIRI IVRE DICENDO is an indication that a Roman Municipium existed on the site, or in the immediate neighbourhood, of Lapac. Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, those I saw being mostly of fourth-century date, and from the Siscian and Aquilejan mints. From the same site I obtained a Gnostic gem of green jasper, and of remarkably good workmanship, presenting the legend IAO ADONIS ABRAXAS.

\* A copy of this inscription was sent by its present possessor to Dr. Kukuljević, and has been communicated by him to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (vol. iii. n. 570). The version given there, however, is misleading.

Beyond Lapac, to the East and South-East, on the other side of what till lately was the Turkish frontier, stretches the rugged Alpine district of the Upper Kraina, watered by the Unna and its tributary the Unnac, which is one of the wildest and least-explored districts in the whole of Bosnia. During the recent troubled years its inaccessible glens formed the strongholds of rayah insurgency against the Ottoman; and the wholesale exodus of the Christian population from the Turkish districts filled the limestone caverns and rock shelters, which abound throughout the region, with a new race of cave-dwellers. In the heart of this region, archæologically speaking a *terra incognita*, but which I had occasion to traverse throughout the greater part of its extent, I discovered interesting traces of mediæval and Roman civilization. At Preodac, Vissuça and elsewhere are considerable remains of feudal castles, dating from the days of the Bosnian kingdom. At Upper Unnac are the remains of an ancient church, surrounded by the huge sepulchral blocks usually found in mediæval Bosnian graveyards; while lower down the valley are interesting ruins of a tower and an ancient minster, whose name, Ermanja, would lead us to connect them with Hermann of Cilli. But the most remarkable feature of the district is the trace of an ancient paved way. The whole country-side abounds in legends connected with this ancient way, which perpetuate in an extraordinary manner the memory of an historical event which occurred in this part of the world in the thirteenth century. A contemporary writer, Thomas the Archdeacon of Spalato,<sup>a</sup> informs us with the vividness of an eye-witness, how on the occasion of the great Tatar invasion of Hungary of 1241 King Bela fled from Agram with his queen, Maria Lascaris, the shattered relics of his chivalry, and his royal treasures, across the Dinaric ranges to his maritime Dalmatian stronghold of Spalato, the mediæval successor of Salonæ. The Tatar Khagan, we are told, Utegai, the son of the terrible Genghis Khan, or rather the Khagan's general, pursued King Bela, to quote the Archdeacon's words, "with a furious host across the mountains, flying rather than marching, scaling the most inaccessible heights,"<sup>b</sup> till he finally swept down on the Dalmatian littoral, there to dash his forces in vain against the walls of the coast-cities, and to see his horse-flesh waste away on the Dalmatian rocks. It is said that the

<sup>a</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, c. xxxix.: "Rex relictis stationibus Zagrabiensium partium cum omni comitatu suo ad mare descendit . . . Rex vero et totus flos reliquorum Ungarorum ad Spalati partes devenit." Later he retreats to Traù, "cum uxore sua et cum omnibus gazis suis."

<sup>b</sup> "Venit autem non quasi iter faciens sed quasi per aerem volans loca invia et montes asperissimos supergrediens unde numquam exercitus ambulavit." *Op. cit.* c. xl.

names of Monte Tartaro, near Sebenico, and of Kraljazza, or the King's island, whither King Bela transported his treasures, still perpetuate the memory of the great Tatar invasion and the royal flight on the Adriatic coast. In the Unnac district the record of the Tatar invasion and of King Bela's escape has been even more distinctly preserved, although in some cases partly confounded with the later flight of the last King of Bosnia from the Turks, which found its tragic termination in the field of Bilaj, on the borders of the same district. So deeply had this earlier episode of the terrible Mongol inroad impressed itself on the imagination of the inhabitants, that not even the Turkish conquest has been able to efface its record among the Kraina peasants. Without entering into details on the present occasion, I may here briefly relate the legend as it was told to me by the inhabitants.

"When the Tatars invaded Bosnia, the King, Bela, took refuge in his stronghold, the Starigrad of Bravsko, that lies on the forest-mountain of Germeć.\* There he sate with his family, and his nobles, and his treasures; but when the Tatars came nearer he resolved to fly once more, leaving only his daughter behind him, who for her tarrying was transformed into a dragon, to guard his hoards. And there, above Bravsko, is a walled enclosure, still known as Kraljevo Torine, or the King's Yard; and there is a fountain called the King's fountain. But the King fled with the Queen and the rest of his family, and part of his treasure, to the South, into Dalmatia, and as he went he laid down a road wherever he passed, and placed milestones along it, round in shape and five feet above ground, and five feet under the earth. And these milestones are to be seen to this day along the King's road from Bravsko onwards to Resanovce."

Such is the legend in its main outline. The road itself runs from Bravsko to Crljevica and crosses the Unnac near the village of Drvar, from which point I have myself traced it to Resanovce and thence in the direction of the Tiskovac Valley. At Resanovce I was pointed out a square pillar about eight feet high now in the churchyard, but which was said to have been transported from the "King's Way." A spring further along the road is still known as "Mramor," from the "Marble Stone" that is said to have existed there. Although I was not fortunate enough to find any of these milliary columns *in situ*, it is certain

\* The name Germeć covers a greater area to the South-East than that assigned to it in the Austrian *General-Stub's Karte*.



that more than one was to be seen within the memory of man. The description of their deftly-rounded form, of their deep socketing in the earth, which I had from more than one native, leaves no doubt in my mind that they were of Roman origin, and that this now forgotten route by which King Bela fled represents a section of an important line of Roman road bringing the Dalmatian coast-cities into communication with the Save Valley and the great cities of Siscia and Sirmium. In all probability it forms part of the line already mentioned at the beginning of this paper leading from Salonæ viâ Æquum to Servitium, the course of which on the Dalmatian side has never yet been satisfactorily traced. From Bravsko, a road, which is in fact the continuation of the "King's Way," leads down to Kliuč, the ancient "Key-fortress" of the Upper Sana. We are thus brought within a stage of Dobrinja, the village to which Dr. Blau<sup>a</sup> traced a Roman way leading from Gradiska, the site of Servitium, on the Save, past Banjaluka, where the hot springs still well up, as at Novipazar, under a late Roman cupola, and thence across the ranges which form the water-shed between the Verbas and the Sana. The line followed by Dr. Blau was identified by him with every appearance of probability with the northern end of the Roman road connecting Salonæ with Servitium and the great Pannonian cities. He, himself, looked for its continuation from Dobrinja in a more southerly direction, on the strength of a hearsay account of an old Kalderym, or paved way, running from Han Podražnica (where he seeks the ancient *Leusaba*), in that direction. Dr. Blau, however, himself acknowledges the absence of ancient remains about Podražnica,<sup>b</sup> while on the other hand he mentions the existence of two marble sarcophagi,

<sup>a</sup> *Monatsbericht der k. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1867, p. 741 *seqq.* Cf. *La Via romana da Sirmio a Salona* (in *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata*, 1882, p. 69). Hoernes, *Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, ii. 131 *seqq.*, accepts Dr. Blau's conjecture as to the course of the way from Dobrinja across the Crnagora, and sees in the Roman remains found at Glavice, Glamoč, and Livno, an indication of its subsequent course. Tomaschek advocates the same general line (*Die vordalmatische Topographie der Bosna*, &c. p. 16 *seqq.*), but his views on Dalmatian topography are not corrected by personal observation. A comparison of the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* seems to show that between Leusaba and Æquum there were two alternative routes. In the *Tabula* we have Æquo, viii. in Alperio, xiiii. Bariduo, — Ionnaria, xiii. Sarute, vii. Indenea, v. Baloie, xii. Leusaba. In Antonine: Æquo, xvii. Pelva, xviii. Salvia, or Silvîæ, xxiii. Sarnacle (or Sarnade), xviii. Leusaba.

<sup>b</sup> "in Ermangelung antiker Reste kann Leusaba nur im allgemeinen in der Hochebene Podraznica angegeben werden."

supposed to be Roman, at Radkovo,<sup>a</sup> in other words, on the road from Dobrinja to Kliuč, and only separated by a small range from the Sana Valley.<sup>b</sup>

It is indeed difficult to imagine that a main line of communication, which in its early aspect was before all things a coupling-chain of fortified posts wherewith to bridle the fierce highlanders of the Dalmatian Alps, should not have afforded access to such an important strategic point as Kliuč has shown itself down to the very latest days of Illyrian warfare.

In the Vale of Unnac itself,<sup>c</sup> I lighted on some important remains which greatly serve to corroborate the hypothesis that King Bela's road owed its original construction to Roman engineers. A little below the point where the old road crossed the Unnac by a bridge, now destroyed, at a spot called Vrtoča, is a large and apparently artificial mound, partly imbedded in which are a confused medley of accurately squared limestone blocks. Some of these had been used in later times as Christian tombstones, as was evidenced by the crosses carved on them<sup>d</sup> but the whole gave me the impression that I was on the site of some considerable Roman structure, and although the circumstances of my visit did not permit of a long investigation I found upon one of the blocks a bas-relief of really fine Roman workmanship, representing Mercury holding the *caduceus* (see fig. 3<sup>a</sup>). The block itself was about five feet square, its depth three feet, the height of the face of the relief itself about two feet and a-half.<sup>e</sup>

In front of the mound on which these ancient remains occur, a *vallum* about a hundred yards in length traverses the level part of the valley from the river-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien*, &c. p. 110.

<sup>b</sup> Near Varcar, to the North of Banjaluka and Eastward of Kliuč, have been recently discovered Roman remains, including a large hoard of *denarii*, mostly of the Emperors Alexander Severus, Gordian, Philip, Trajan Decius, Gallus, and Volusian, some sixty of which have passed through my hands. The discovery of Roman remains at this site establishes a link of connexion between the Sana Valley and the succession of Roman sites at Podlipci, Runić, Mosunj, Putačevo and Vitež, in the Valley of the Lašva, and points to an old line of communication between the Upper Bosna and the Sana, which opens the most natural route towards Siscia.

<sup>c</sup> Interesting remains have been lately discovered by Capt. Von. Handel in the Valley of the Unna about an hour to the south-east of Bihać. They consist of several inscriptions, one presenting the female Illyrian name-form *DITVEIO* and the Mazeian name *Andes*, a Mithraic relief, a figure of a Faun or Sylvanus, and other fragments. Prof. Tomaschek, who has published an account of the discovery (*Sitzungsberichte der k. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1881, h. 2, p. 466 *seqq.*), is inclined to identify the site with the ancient Rætinium. There is a height answering well enough to the description of the Acropolis of Rætinium, besieged by Germanicus.

<sup>d</sup> In one case a monogram appeared, *Æ*

<sup>e</sup> I have alluded to this discovery in my *Illyrian Letters*, London, 1878, p. 37.

bank. This is known as *Šanac*,<sup>a</sup> or “the dyke,” and on the neighbouring height of Mount Obljaj, are two more, known as *Gradine*.

More recently I learn that a schoolmaster from Srb on the triple frontier has discovered another Roman monument in the Unnac Valley, described in the

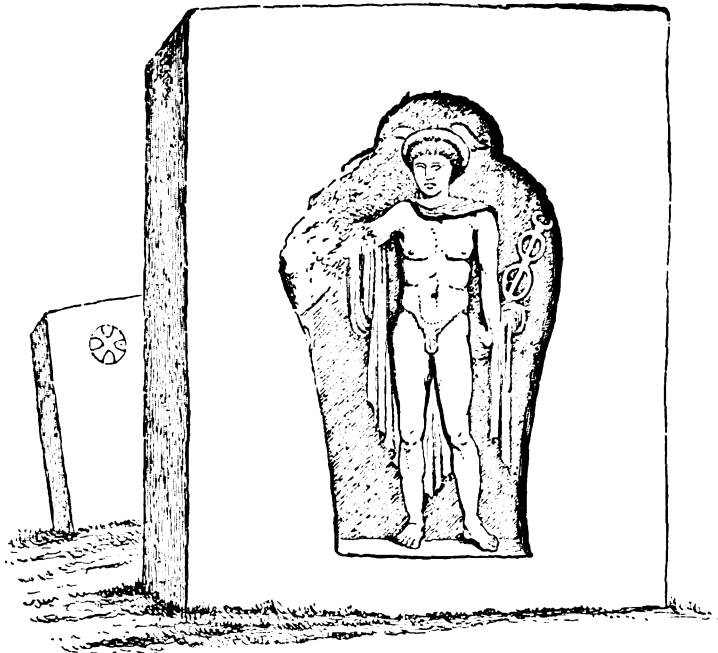


Fig. 3<sup>a</sup>. ROMAN BAS-RELIEF OF MERCURY.  
Vrtoča, in the Unnac Valley, Bosnia.

Croatian Archæological Journal as a fragment of a sepulchral slab showing a human figure in bas-relief with crossed arms, and beneath it an inscription too weather-worn to be deciphered, but in Roman characters.<sup>b</sup>

After crossing the water-shed the ancient road descends into the vale of the Tiškovac stream a little above the village of Strmica. Here, again, Roman remains are abundant. I have procured many good specimens of imperial and consular denarii from this site, and a sepulchral inscription was found here in

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Germ. *Schanze*.

<sup>b</sup> *Viestnik hrvatskoga arkeološkoga Društva*, 1880, p. 63: “jedan komad nadgrobne ploče na kojoj je u basirilifu ljučka slika skrstenima rukama izpod koje nadpis koj je zub vremena veoma iztrošio, no vidi se ipak da je rimski.” In the same communication is mentioned the discovery of Roman coins of Constantine’s time, together with other antiquities, at Kumićgrad, an hour’s distance from Srb.

honour of a soldier of the 11th Legion.<sup>a</sup> From Strmica the River Butišnica opens a natural avenue to the Vale of Knin, in the immediate neighbourhood of which and at Topolje, near the beautiful upper falls of the Kerka, Roman remains are of frequent occurrence.



Fig. 4<sup>a</sup>. MONUMENT, PERHAPS  
OF AN EARLY CROAT PRINCE.  
Knin, Dalmatia.

At Knin itself, apparently the ancient Varvaria—witness an inscription<sup>b</sup> found on the neighbouring banks of the Kerka, the ancient Titus or Titius—I observed, walled into a gateway on a public walk, a little below the old castle, or “Starigrad,” a monument dating probably from the period when the interior part of Dalmatia was in the possession of Croat princes, the coast-cities being still Roman under the more or less shadowy suzerainty of Byzantium. I paid, indeed, the by no means unexampled penalty of being arrested by the Austrian Commandant for my temerity in copying a stone which was within his “*rayon*,” but I was able to preserve at least the front view of this interesting memorial (fig. 4<sup>a</sup>). It has since, I am informed, been mysteriously removed from its ancient site; for there are still, it would appear, European countries in which archæology savours of sedition.

The monument is of a remarkable kind. Its face, so far as it is preserved, presents two compartments, in the upper of which stands a full-length figure holding a spear, and some unknown object; in the lower is the full-face bust of a larger figure, which suggests a direct tradition from Constantinian times, to the left of which is a sceptre. The acanthus leaf and chevron bordering—the latter of which is frequent on the Roman monuments of Dalmatia—also show the influence of Imperial models. The elaborate palmetto ornament (fig. 5<sup>a</sup>), which forms the border of the exposed side of the slab,<sup>c</sup> also occurs on the Roman

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 6417.

<sup>b</sup> The monument (C. I. L. iii. 6418) is erected to a veteran of the 11th legion killed here, “FINIBVS VARVARINORVM IN AGELLO SECVS TITVM FLVMEN AD PETRAM LONGAM.” It was found near the village of Puljane, at a spot still known as Duga Stina, “the long rock” (cf. p. 35).

<sup>c</sup> The other face of the monument when I saw it was built into the wall. Its height was about 2½ feet. The segment of this ornament (fig. 5<sup>a</sup>) is taken from a sketch which the susceptibility of the Austrian authorities prevented me from completing and which is therefore imperfect.

monuments of the province, and as an ornamental tradition was preserved by the Roman coast-cities of Dalmatia in the early Middle Ages. It is seen, for instance, on the *repoussé* silver *arca* of St. Demetrius at Arbe, an indigenous Dalmatian work of the eleventh or twelfth century,<sup>a</sup> as well as on the panels of the wooden door of the Duomo at Spalato, executed by that admirable Spalatine artist, Andrea Guvina, in the year 1214. In lapidary sculpture it seems to have been not unfrequent in Adriatic regions in the eighth century, occurring in a rather degraded form on the altar of the Lombard Duke Pemmo, of Friuli, who was deposed by Liutprand in 738.



Fig. 5<sup>a</sup>. SPECIMEN OF ORNAMENTATION ON THE SIDE OF THE MONUMENT.

The legend between the two panels on the face of the slab appears to be STEFATON|| (TE in ligature). It is possible, however, that the final letter may be part of an M. The sceptre to the left of the bust would certainly seem to indicate a princely personage, and I observe that a sceptre of similar form is repeated at intervals round the font of the Serbian Great Župan Voislav, or Višeslav, of Zachulmia, formerly in the church of S. Salvatore, at Venice, at present existing in the Museo Correr. The Great Župan, whose name it bears, and whom Dr. Kukuljević Sakcinski<sup>b</sup> first identified with the historical personage referred to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ruled over Zachulmia, the old Serbian region inland from Ragusa, embracing a good deal of what is at present the Herzegovina, between about the years 870—900. The son of this Zachulmian prince, Michael Višević, is twice brought into connexion with the Croatian King Tomislav. About the year 925, Pope John X. addressed to both a letter exhorting them to bring up their children in the knowledge of Latin letters;<sup>c</sup> and shortly after this exhortation, both princes are found presiding at a synod at Spalato,<sup>d</sup> in which the use of the Slav vernacular is again denounced. Could it be shown that Tomislav, like so many later Slavonic princes, attached the Christian name Stephanus, or

<sup>a</sup> Engraved in Eitelberger, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmaziens*, p. 150.

<sup>b</sup> *Arhiv za poviestnicu jugoslavensku*, vol. iv. p. 390 *seqq.* The frontispiece to this volume contains a representation of the font.

<sup>c</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, xc. (t. i. p. 76). The Pope continues, "Quis enim specialis filius sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, sicut vos estis, in barbara seu Sclavinica lingua Deo sacrificium offerre delectatur?"

<sup>d</sup> *Codex diplomaticus*, xcii. (t. i. p. 78).

Stefanus, to his Croatian name, the inscription on the present stone—the final letter of which is uncertain—might be taken for the commencement of the words STEFAN TOMISLAV. It is certain that Knin was highly favoured by the early Croatian princes; its bishops received from them the title of *Episcopi regii*, or *palatini*,<sup>a</sup> and the Latin style of the present inscription fits in well with King Tomislav's acquiescence in the Pope's injunction to abjure the barbarian letters, in other words, the Glagolitic alphabet.

It is probable that the course of the Roman road, with which we are at present specially concerned, passed rather to the east of Knin, skirting its plain, to the Roman site at Topolje.

From Topolje the present road leads by an easy pass to the town of Verlika, in the neighbourhood of which, and especially near the source of the Cettina, several Roman inscriptions have been found, presenting some Illyrian name-forms. While examining one of these in the mediæval graveyard that surrounds the ruined church of S. Salvatore (Svéti Spas)—itself, as some interlaced Byzantine ornament built into its walls shows, the successor of a still earlier foundation—I had the curiosity to ask my Verlika guide to whom he thought the ancient monuments owed their origin. He replied that they were made by the old inhabitants of the land, the *Goti-Romani*, or Roman Goths, who lived there before his own (Slavonic) forefathers took possession of it. The reply was curious, as this local tradition of the Goths was certainly, in his case, not derived from book-learning. The Ostro-Gothic dominion in Dalmatia, as has already been remarked, was a prosperous episode in the history of the province. The number of coins of Theodoric, Athalaric, and even the later kings, Witiges, and the Totila<sup>b</sup> of history, that are discovered on Dalmatian soil is remarkable, and we have the distinct statement of Procopius that there existed, side by side with the Roman provincials, a settled Gothic population in Dalmatia. That the name of the Goths should still survive in the local folk-lore is the less to be wondered at when we remember how large a part they play in the early Slavonic sagas collected by the first Dalmatian historian, the Presbyter of Dioclea.

From Verlika the road runs past Citluk, near Sinj, the site of the ancient Æquum, to Salona and Spalato. Thus from the upper Sana to the Adriatic, on a line of ancient communication between the valley of the Save and the local

<sup>a</sup> Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. iv. p. 280.

<sup>b</sup> On his coins, *Baduila* or *Baduela*. In this connexion I may mention that I have obtained from Bosnia a jacinth intaglio on which is engraved a monogram bearing the closest resemblance to that of Theodoric on his coins.

successors of Siscia and Sirmium on the one hand and the Dalmatian littoral and the local successor of Salonæ on the other, I have traced a succession of sites marked by the occurrence of Roman monuments and remains. It is difficult not to believe that this ancient line of communication and the paved road across the ranges of the Upper Kraina represent the Roman road by which, according to the Itinerary of Antonine and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the port of Salonæ was brought into connexion with the Pannonian cities Siscia and Sirmium. It was by no other road that, when Attila overwhelmed these two imperial cities, the fugitive remnants of their citizens made their way across the Dinaric ranges to what was then the great Dalmatian city of asylum. It does not appear that the ravages of Attila actually extended to the Dalmatian littoral, but in 591 A.D. we find the Avar Khagan making use of this avenue of communication to penetrate into the Adriatic coast-lands from the valley of the Save. According to the Byzantine chroniclers<sup>a</sup> the Avar Khagan, compelled to evacuate Singidunum, the present Belgrade, hurried to Dalmatia and the Ionian, we may translate the Adriatic, Sea, capturing on the way, with the aid of siege material, a city variously named *Bankeis*, *Balkes*, *Balbes*, and *Balea*, and destroying forty other strongholds. That his chief advance was made along the Roman high-road appears from the succeeding notice of Theophylact, that the Roman officer who was despatched with a small body of not more than two thousand men to observe the Khagan's motions kept to the byways and avoided the main roads<sup>b</sup> lest he should encounter the enemy in overwhelming forces. In this city, which from the context we may infer to have been the key stronghold of the Roman main line of communication across the Dinaric Alps, some have traced the *Baloie* which appears in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the midmost station between Servitium and Salonæ, and Šafarik<sup>c</sup> has discerned in it the peak-stronghold of Bilaj, about ten miles distant from the confluence of the Unnac and the Unna, famous in later history as the scene of the execution of the last King of Bosnia by his Turkish captors. Dr. Rački<sup>d</sup> prefers to see in it Baljke, near Darniš, within the modern Dalmatian border.<sup>e</sup> Personally, I would

<sup>a</sup> Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* vii. 11, 12 (Ed. Bonn, p. 291.) Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 428.

<sup>b</sup> Τὰς λεωφόρους.

<sup>c</sup> *Slav. Alt.* vol. ii. p. 238.

<sup>d</sup> *Mon. Spec. hist. Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. vii. p. 254.

<sup>e</sup> I can see no reasonable grounds for accepting Prof. Tomaschek's conjecture (in the teeth of all the MSS.), that the word is a corruption of *Salviis* (*Vorslawische Topographie*, &c. p. 19), or the suggestion of

venture to suggest that the alternative forms "*Βαγγκεις*" and "*Βαλκης*" simply represent a late Latin "*Balneis*" or "*Bagneis*," the Italian *Bagni*. The Roman word in its singular form *Balnea* has supplied the present Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of Illyricum with the word "*Banja*," universally applied to places where hot springs exist, and the thermal source and remains of the Roman bath-building at *Banjaluka* give the word a peculiar significance in connexion with the great highway from Pannonia to the Dalmatian coast, which, as has been already pointed out, passed by that position. In the *Tabula* Banjaluka appears as *Castra*,<sup>a</sup> but by the sixth century the town may have already begun to bear the vulgar Latin name that it has preserved to this day. Geographically, this identification squares well with the course of this Avar invasion, and, indeed, from a military point of view, the position holds the key to the northern end of the line of passes through which the Roman road ran after leaving the lowlands of the Save.

This Roman highroad was thus already in the fifth and sixth centuries an avenue at once of barbarian invasion and of civilised exodus towards the sunny shores of the Adriatic. Eight centuries after the time of Attila the descendants of the very hordes that had driven forth the Romans from the Pannonian cities were forced to flee from Mongols more savage than themselves, and the abiding traces and traditions that I have been able to point out serve to show that it was by this same Roman road-line that King Bela and the remnants of the Hungarian chivalry sought their Dalmatian City of Refuge. It is interesting to notice that on the site of Salonæ, and in its local successor Spalato, monumental records both of the later and of the earlier catastrophes have been preserved to us. At Salonæ, beneath the floor of the Roman-Christian basilica, there was recently discovered, above a violated tomb, a marble slab erected to the memory of the infant daughter of some high-born Roman, "who was brought," the inscription tells us, "from Sirmium to Salonæ" (fig. 6<sup>a</sup>):<sup>b</sup>—

DEPOSETIO INFANTIS  
DOMNICAE XII KALED  
OCTOBRIS QVAE A SIRMI  
O SALONAS ADVCTA EST

Dr. Hoernes (*Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, &c. vol. ii. p. 134), that "*Salviæ*" (in most MSS. "*Silviæ*") and "*Balbeis*" are alternative names for the same place.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps the AD LADIOS of Antoninus.

<sup>b</sup> This monument is at present in the Museum at Spalato, and has been described by Dr. Glavinić.



Written in a style and letters that proclaim the age of Attila, the simple record, "*Quæ a Sirmio Salonas aducta est,*" speaks for itself. Side by side with this

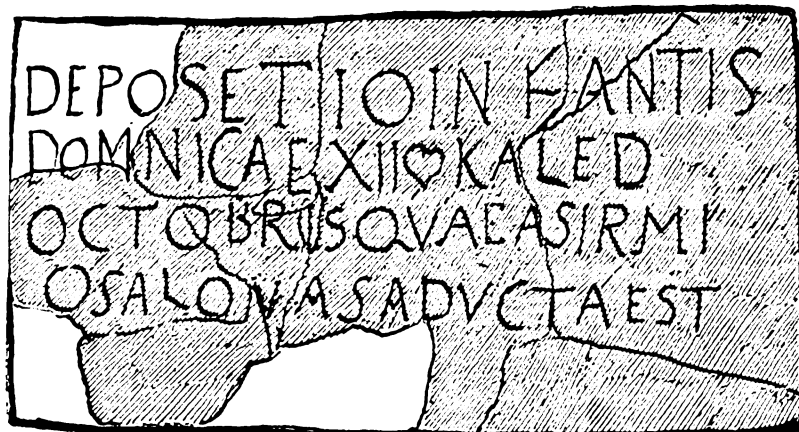


Fig. 6<sup>a</sup>. ROMAN CHRISTIAN SEPULCHRAL SLAB.  
From the Christian Basilica, Salona.

Salonitan memorial to this tender victim of the Huns and their associates may be set a monument formerly existing outside the Cathedral Church at Spalato, reared to the memory of the two young princesses, daughters of King Bela, who succumbed at Clissa to the hardships and terrors of the flight from the Tatars, and whose bodies were carried to Spalato:<sup>a</sup>—

CATHARINA INCLYTA ET FVLGENS MARGARITA  
IN HOC ARCTO TVMVLO IACENT ABSQVE VITA  
BELLE IIII FILIE REGIS HUNGARORVM  
ET MARIE LASCARI REGINE GRECORVM  
AB IMPIIS TARTARIS FVERVNT FVGATE  
MORTVE IN CLISSIO HVC SPALETVM TRANSLATE.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Thomas Archidiaconus, *op. cit.* c. xl. "Mortuæ sunt duæ puellæ virgines, scilicet filiæ regis Belæ et in ecclesia B. Domnis honorificè tumulatæ."

Lucius, who gives this inscription in his notes to Thomas Archid. (in *De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, Frankfort, 1666, p. 478), adds, "Gulielmus quoque, Belæ ex filia nepos, in hac eadem fuga mortuus, Tragurii sepultus fuit." The epitaph of this prince formerly existing at Traù is given by the same author in his Memorials of that city. It contained the lines,

"Arcente denique barbaro perverso  
Infinitis Tartaris marte sub adverso,  
Quantum Belam prosequens ejus consobrinum  
Ad mare pervenerat usque Dalmatinum."

The roads, the course of which I have been hitherto attempting to investigate, were of considerable importance as the highways of communication between the Dalmatian capital and the great Adriatic emporium of Aquileja, the key of Italy, on the one side and on the other between it and the imperial Pannonian cities, Siscia and Sirmium. From Salonæ onwards another main line of thoroughfare was opened out along the lateral valleys of the Dinaric ranges to Scodra and Dyrrhachium, where it joined the famed Egnatian Way and the Greek and Macedonian road system.

The course of this road—which forms, in fact, a continuation of the land route connecting the Italian cities with Athens and Thessalonica—has been ascertained with tolerable precision as far as the next important Dalmatian centre, Naronæ.

From Salonæ the road ran inland, past the key-fortress of Klissa, the Κλεισα of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that closes the mountain-pass conducting towards the Vale of the Cettina. That river, the ancient Tilurus, it reached at a bridge-station called from it Pons Tiluri, or Tilurium, the name of which still survives in that of the modern village of Trilj, near which, at a spot called Gardun, the ancient site is still distinctly visible.

Here, on the right bank of the Cettina, was discovered an important inscription referring to the restoration of the Roman bridge over the river by the citizens of Novæ, Delminium, and Rider, in the name of the Emperor Commodus.<sup>a</sup> The site of two of these cities has been fixed with certainty. Rider,<sup>b</sup> the Municipium Riditarum, was an important Illyrian staple near the present coast-town of Sebenico, the mediæval commercial relations of which with the interior it seems to have anticipated. The site of Novæ we shall pass at Runović, on the high road to Naronæ. The position of Delminium, the historic stronghold which

<sup>a</sup> IMP · CAES || M. AVRELIVS || COMMODVS || ANTONINVS || AVG · PIVS · SARM || GERM · MAXIMVS || BRITTAN-  
NICUS || PONT · MAX · TRIB || POT · VIII · IMP · VI || COS · III · P · P || PONTEM · HIPPI FLVMIS · VETVSTATE  
CORRVPTVM RESTITVIT || SVMPVTV ET OPERAS || SVBMINISTRANTIBVS || NOVENSIBVS DELMI-  
NENSIBVS RIDITIS · CVRANTE · ET · DEDICANTE || L · IVNIO · RVFINO · PROCVLIANO · LEG · PR · PR · (C. I. L. iii. 3202.)  
This inscription was discovered by Dr. Carrara and first published in the *Bulletino dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 1815. The name of Commodus had been defaced in accordance with the orders of the Senate recorded by Lampridius.

<sup>b</sup> The form in which it appears in Ravennas, the only geographer who mentions it. He gives it (5, 14) as the last station before reaching Scardona, on the road from Tragurion (Träú). Its actual site was at St. Danilo near Sebenico. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2767, &c.)

gave its name to the dominant Dalmatian race,<sup>a</sup> is more difficult to determine. Earlier writers had no hesitation in looking for it beyond the Prolog range that overhangs the Cettina Valley to the north, in the plain of Duvno, the mediæval name of which, *Dulmno*, is derived unquestionably from an Illyro-Roman form *Dalmino*;<sup>b</sup> and where, on the heights of Županjac, Roman remains have been discovered. On the other hand, the occurrence of the name on the inscription relating to the Cettina bridge, coupled with the existence of considerable Roman remains on the height of Gardun, has led the most recent authorities to fix here the site of Delminium.<sup>c</sup> Mommsen argues with some force that the bridge must have been comprised in the territory of one of the three cities that bore the expense of its restoration; that we know that neither the Novenses nor the Reditæ embraced the Cettina valley in their district, and that, hence, it follows that the bridge lay in the territory of Delminium,<sup>d</sup> which he fixes at the site of Gardun. Professor Tomaschek, judging by the general range of the campaign that preceded the capture of this famous Dalmatian stronghold by Figulus, in 156 B.C. had been already led to seek its site in the Cettina valley;<sup>e</sup> and Professor Glavinić, of Spalato, who shares this view, has traced to his own satisfaction both the line of the walls of the original Illyrian city and the more restricted circumvallation of the Roman town, as rebuilt after the capture by Figulus and Scipio Nasica.<sup>f</sup>

Still, it must be observed that the simple fact that Figulus took Naronas as his base in his campaign against Delminium does not by any means exclude its having been situated on the Duvno plain. The actual distance from Naronas to Duvno is considerably less than that from Naronas to Gardun, and a route might be chosen presenting few serious obstacles.<sup>g</sup> The evidence

<sup>a</sup> "Πόλιν Δελμίνιον ὄθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἐς Δελματίας εἶτα Δαλμάτας ἐγράφη." Appian, *Illyr.* ii. Cf. Strabo. vii. 5.

<sup>b</sup> The variant forms of the name occur: *Delminum*, *Dalmis*, *Dalmion*, *Delmion*.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Prof. W. Tomaschek, *Die vorlawische Topographie der Bosna, Herzegowina, Crnagora. und der angrenzenden Gebiete* (Wien, 1880). (*Separat-abdruck aus den Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft*), p. 9. The Catholic bishopric that existed here in the fourteenth century was still known as *Ep. Delmensis* or *Dulmensis*.

<sup>d</sup> C. I. L. iii. p. 358, s. v. DELMINIUM.

<sup>e</sup> *Die vorlawische Topographie der Bosna, Herzegowina, Crnagora und der angrenzenden Gebiete*. (*Separat-abdruck aus den Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft*), p. 10.

<sup>f</sup> *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 1878, p. 23.

<sup>g</sup> What is extremely pertinent in this regard, Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions that the "Župa of Dalen," the form given by him to the old Slavonic *Dulmno* (Duvno), belonged to the Pagani or Narentans: a fact which shows a certain facility of inter-communication between the inland plain of Duvno and the

again of the Itineraries is against Delminium having stood at Gardun, which answers to the station Tilurium or Pons Tiluri, a name as we have seen still perpetuated by the neighbouring village of Trilj. It is further noteworthy that, admitting that the ancient Delminium stood in the district which still preserves its name, the routes from Delminium and Novæ towards the port of the Reditæ would converge just at the point where the bridge was constructed. The name Delminium is absent in the Tabula and Itineraries, yet we know that it continued to survive from the fact that in the Second Provincial Council of Salonæ, A.D. 532, we find mention of an *Episcopus Delminensis Montanorum*,<sup>a</sup> a bishop, that is, whose district embraced what was then a mountain-girt territory, taking its name from the ancient city which itself, probably, was already in ruins. This sixth century "Delminian Weald" reappears in Constantine Porphyrogenitus<sup>b</sup> four centuries later as the Župa of Dalen, the Dulmno or Duvno of later Slavonic records; and the Presbyter of Dioclea, who composed his *Regnum Slavorum* (woven for the most part out of earlier Sagas) at Antivari in the twelfth century, places the fabled Synod of King Svatopluk on "the Plain of Dalma."<sup>c</sup> In the other version of this earliest Serbian Chronicle, that, namely, discovered in the Kraina and translated into Latin from the original Slav by Marcus Marulus in 1510, the King's name appears as Budimir, and the place of the great Moot is expressly mentioned as on the site of the ruins of Delminium. These traditions are at least valuable as showing the continued living on of the old Illyrian city-name on the Duvno plain in an ecclesiastical connexion; and this is further brought out by Thomas, the Archdeacon of Spalato, who, writing in the thirteenth century, speaks of Duvno as *Delmina*, and as containing the site of the ancient city *Delmis*. He further tells us that in his day there was still to be seen here a church with an inscription recording its dedication by St. Germanus, Bishop of Capua,<sup>d</sup> who, as we learn from other sources, was sent

Narenta Valley. (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 30.) Dr. Kukuljević, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, pt. I. p. 86, note, agrees in identifying the Zupa of "Dalen" with Duvno.

<sup>a</sup> Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173.

<sup>b</sup> *Loc. cit.* The geographical details of Constantine regarding Dalmatia and its borderlands are peculiarly valuable, and seem to have been supplied by trustworthy native informants; not improbably Ragusan patricians, amongst whom was a Byzantine *Protospatharius*. Constantine's words are: "ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δαλμανοῦ (Ζουπανία) μητρόθεν ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας ζῶσι τῆς γῆς."

<sup>c</sup> "In planitie Dalmæ," Diocleas, *Regnum Slavorum* (in *Lucius de Regno Dalmatiae*, &c. Frankfort, 1666, p. 289.)

<sup>d</sup> Marci Maruli, *Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta* (in *Lucius*, *op. cit.* p. 306).

<sup>e</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, cap. xiii. "Istaque fuerunt Regni eorum (sc. regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae)

by Pope Hormisdas to Constantinople in 509 A.D.<sup>a</sup> This is certainly an indication that the bishopric of Delminium, mentioned in the Council-Acts of Salona of A.D. 532, should be sought on the plain of Duvno, where in Thomas's days this ancient basilica was still standing. From the early part of the fourteenth century (1337) onwards we again hear of a regular series of bishops of Duvno, *Episcopi Delmenses*.<sup>b</sup>

The Roman monuments themselves discovered on the Gardun site supply strong negative evidence that the city that existed there was rather a Roman foundation than a great native centre. They are almost purely of a legionary character. On the other hand, if we examine the monuments discovered on the site of the Municipium of the Reditæ, which appears from the inscription relating to the bridge to have been the maritime outlet of the old Dalmatian capital, we find a very large proportion of pure Illyrian names, such as Panto, Madocus, Tritano, Aplo, Baezo, Vendo, Pladomenus, and if we turn to another inland example of an important native site, the old Illyrian hill-stronghold of St. Ilija, near Plevlje, we are again struck with the great preponderance of native names, the bulk of which are absolutely identical with those that occur on the monuments of the Reditæ. So remarkable, indeed, are the coincidences that we are reduced to infer that a strong commercial bond of some kind linked these two sufficiently remote Illyrian centres. How much the more must this community of names have existed between the Reditæ and the comparatively neighbouring Delminenses, whose cities, moreover, we know from the Gardun inscription to have been connected by commerce as well as by the affinities of race. And yet we are asked to believe that a site characterised rather by an absence of Dalmatian names was that of the city which gave its name to the Dalmatian race.

From all these considerations I am led, the high authority of Mommsen notwithstanding, to seek the site of Delminium on the more inland plain that still preserves a corruption of its name. Von Hahn's derivation of the name Delminium, as suggested by Albanian parallels, from an Illyrian word signifying a sheep-pasture,<sup>c</sup> fits in well with the character of the Duvno Polje, and this

confinia, ab Oriente Delmina ubi fuit civitas Delmis in qua est quædam Ecclesia quam B. Germanus Capuanus Episcopus consecravît sicut scriptum reperitur in ea."

<sup>a</sup> Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. iv. p. 169.

<sup>b</sup> Farlati, *op. cit.* t. iv. p. 168 *seqq.* From 1685 onwards the diocese was placed under Vicars Apostolic.

<sup>c</sup> *Albanesische Studien*, p. 232. Hahn is of opinion that Delminium answers to a Gheg Albanian form *delmîn-ua* = sheep-fold, or sheep-pasture. He further compares the name of the Dalmatian city with that of the two Epirote towns *Delvino* and *Delvinaki*.

pastoral origin would explain the statement of Strabo<sup>a</sup> that Scipio Nasica made the plain a sheep pasture at the same time that he reduced the size of the town.

Whether or not, however, the Roman city that stood on the site of Gardun bore any earlier name than that of Tilurium, under which it appears in the *Itineraries*, it is certain that the remains of an aqueduct and of an amphitheatre attest the former existence at this spot of a station of considerable importance. Gems and other minor antiquities are discovered here in great abundance, and a carnelian intaglio representing the head of the Emperor Antoninus Pius procured by me from this site is one of the most exquisite examples of Roman portraiture with which I am acquainted.

Beyond the bridge station of the Tilurus traces of the road have been detected,<sup>b</sup> running from Vedrine, on the left bank of the river, past the village of Budimir, and along the vale of Cista to Lovreč,<sup>c</sup> and thence to Runović, on the skirts of the plain of Imoski. Here was the site of an important Municipium, the identification of which with the AD NOVAS of the *Tabula* is established by the discovery at this spot of inscriptions referring to the *Novenses*.<sup>d</sup> Here were found two altars dedicated to Jove and the Genius of the Municipium, and other inscriptions referring to the local *IUVIRI* and Decurions. The remains of baths and of tasteful mosaic pavements attest the prosperity of the Roman town; and the Christian *Basilica* of the Municipium Novense is mentioned as late as 532 A.D. The bridge over the Cettina, in the construction of which, as we have seen, the inhabitants of this city participated,<sup>e</sup> must have been of the highest importance to the *Novenses*, as improving their communication with the North Dalmatian ports.

Beyond Runović the Roman road crosses the watershed into the upper

<sup>a</sup> *Geog.* vii. 5: "Δάλμιον δὲ μεγάλη πόλις ἥς ἐπώνυμον τὸ ἔθνος μικρὰν δ' ἐποίησε Νασικᾶς καὶ τὸ πεδίων μηλόβοτον διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων."

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Glavinić, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 1878, p. 54. A. K. Matas, *Prinos za iztraživanje tragova rimskih puteva u Dalmaciji* ("A contribution towards investigating the traces of the Roman roads in Dalmatia"), in the *Viestnik hrvatskoga arkeologičkoga Društva*, 1880, p. 32, mentions an alternative route along the right bank of the Cettina, but omits to specify the evidence on which his statements rest.

<sup>c</sup> According to Prof. Glavinić, *loc. cit.* traces of a Roman road are to be seen running from Lovreč to the Western part of the plain of Duvno.

<sup>d</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1892, 1908, 1909, 1910.

<sup>e</sup> *Acta Concilii ii. Salonitani*, in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173.

valley of the Tihaljina or Trebižat, where remains of it are still to be traced near the village of Neždravica and elsewhere, running along the left bank of the river.<sup>a</sup>

The next station along the road that can be determined with certainty is Bigeste, the last station before reaching Naronā. The ruins of this city are visible at Gradčine and Humac, near the Herzegovinian town of Ljubuški, still in the valley of the river Trebižat, and the foundations of a Roman bridge that spanned the river at this point are still preserved.<sup>b</sup> Several inscriptions have been discovered on this site, two of them recording the restoration of a temple and portico of Liber Pater by officers of the 1st and 11th Legions; <sup>c</sup> and a milestone, now, unfortunately, no longer to be seen, is said to have been found near the village of Humac.

To the inscriptions from this site I am able to add the following, a copy of which I obtained from the Pravoslav Kalugjer of Ljubuški, Kristofor Milutinović. It was found near Ljubuški, in January last, and exists at present near the Serbian church. (See fig. 7\*.)

The auxiliary cohort of the *Lucenses* to which this *Eques* belonged was from Lucus Augusti, the present Lugo, in Gallæcia. There is epigraphic evidence of the presence of the 1st cohort of the Lucenses in Pannonia,<sup>d</sup> in the year 80 A.D.; and there are references to the second and fifth Lucensian cohorts in other Illyrian military diplomas of the first and second century.<sup>e</sup> The name *Andamionius* has, as might be expected, a Celtic ring, recalling the *Andoco(mius)* and *Amminus* of British coins. *Andes* occurs as an indigenous Dalmatian name.

Between the site of Bigeste<sup>f</sup> and Naronā the Roman road is distinctly trace-

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Glavinić traced its course in 1856 from Runović past the villages of Ploče and Drinovce to the Upper Tihaljina. *Bullettino*, loc. cit. Cf. Dr. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien u. der Hertzegovina*, Berlin, 1877, c. 42.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Hoernes, *Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien u. der Hercegovina* in *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen*, vol. iv. p. 37 seqq.

<sup>c</sup> C. I. L. iii. 6362, 6363, one of A.D. 173.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the *Diploma of Vespasian*, C. I. L. iii. D. xi.

<sup>e</sup> II LVCENSIVM, C. I. L. iii. D. xxi. in Mœsia A. 105: V. LVCIENSIVM ET CALLAECORVM. A. 60 in Illyricum. D. ii.: A. 85 in Pannonia D. xii.: in Pannonia Superior D. xxxix. In the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii* (Occ. xlii. 29) is mentioned the *Tribunus Cohortis Lucensis, Luco*.

<sup>f</sup> From the occurrence of Roman remains at a succession of localities (Vitina, Kreindvor, Studenci, Gradnić, Čerin, Kruška), between Ljubuški and the Vale of Mostar, Dr. Hoernes conjectures that on this side a road branched off from Bigeste to the valley of the Narenta. (Cf. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien*, &c. p. 42).

able, being, indeed, in parts so well preserved that, if cleared of bushes, it might still be useful for traffic.<sup>a</sup> The natives, without taking in the meaning of their words,

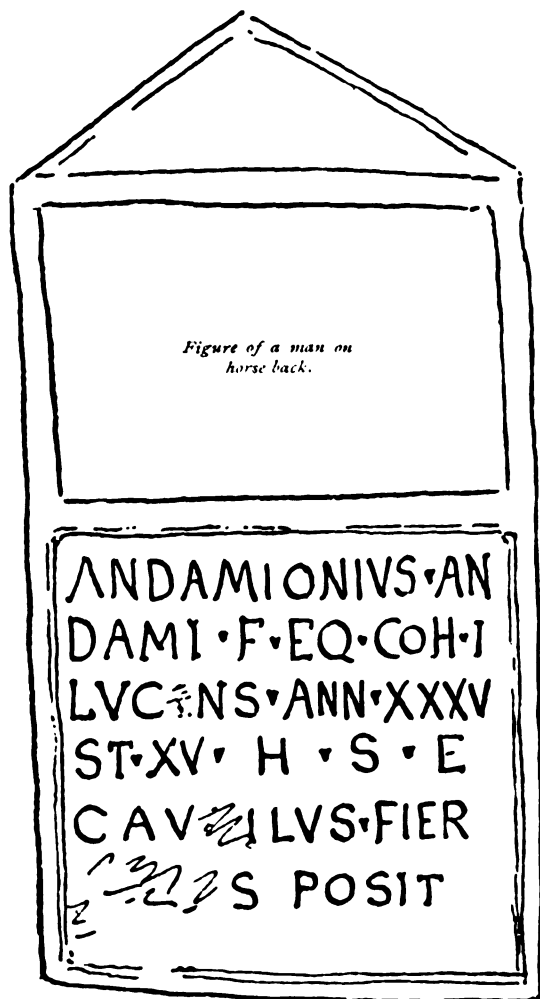


Fig. 7<sup>a</sup>. FROM LJUBUŠKI, HERZEGOVINA, THE ANCIENT BICESTE.

still repeat a tradition, that it leads from "Solin to Norin," in other words, from Salona to Naronā. They call it *Sekulan* or "Janko's Road," from a supposed connexion with the feats of the latter-day Illyrian hero, John Hunniades, the *Deli Janko* of South-Slavonic epic. At distances respectively of one and two miles from Viddo, the site of Naronā, the bases of two Roman milestones are still in position.

The site of the important Dalmatian city of Naronā has been better explored than most. One hundred and twenty-six inscriptions from this spot have been

<sup>a</sup> Glavinić, *Mittheilungen der k. k. Commission*, &c. 1880, p. xciii.



published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*,<sup>a</sup> and others have been added more recently by Professor Glavinić, being the result of excavations conducted at this spot on behalf of the Central Commission at Vienna.<sup>b</sup> The early existence of an Illyrian staple on the lower Narenta may be gathered from the passage of Theopompos of Chios, already cited;<sup>c</sup> and the fact signalized by Prof. Mommsen, that here alone among Dalmatian sites have been discovered Roman inscriptions of the age of the Republic, indicates that a Roman mercantile plantation had been established here at a period considerably anterior to the "deduction" hither, about the time of Augustus, of a colony of Veterans.

The chief remains are situate on a conical hill,<sup>d</sup> the existing village on which owes its name, *Viddo*, to a divinity of the Narentine Slavs,—the *Pagani* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Here, probably, was the *Castra* or citadel of Narona, of which Vatinius speaks in his letter, addressed to Cicero from this city;<sup>e</sup> the rest of the town lying in terraces on the mountain theatre behind.

A number of beautiful objects found on this site, besides the inscriptions recording the erection of temples and public baths by local benefactors, attest the former opulence of this Illyrian city. In the course of his recent excavations Professor Glavinić discovered here an amethystine glass bowl of exquisite fabric, and from the occurrence of glass tumblers of that late thorn-bossed kind,<sup>f</sup> which in the West we are apt to associate with Frankish and Saxon sepulture, we may infer that here, as at Doclea further to the South, glass manufacture continued till a very late date; at least, it is difficult to imagine that such fragile wares as I have seen excavated at Narona were transported from any great distance. It is possible that the Ostro-gothic chiefs in Dalmatia, like their Teutonic kinsmen of the West, patronised this curious excrescence of late-Roman luxury.

The smaller glass bottles and so-called lachrymatories, so common on this site, have a special interest in their connexion with a local product. Pliny tells us that only two unguents of the royal Persian kind are produced in Europe, the

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. p. 291 *seqq.* and p. 1029.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Glavinić, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, &c. *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iv. p. 86 *seqq.*

<sup>c</sup> See p. 45.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Glavinić, *Mittheilungen*, &c. 1880, p. xciv.

<sup>e</sup> "Vatinius Imp. Ciceroni . . . ex castris Narona." (*Ad. Fam.* v. ep. 9.) Vatinius complains of the Dalmatian winter.

<sup>f</sup> A specimen seen by me at Metcovich, and found at Viddo on the site of Narona, was precisely similar in form to tumblers found in Kent, in the Saxon cemetery at Fairford, in the Frankish graves at Selzen in Rhenish Hesse, in Normandy, and elsewhere. Cf. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. li. Lindenschmidt, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. i. Heft xi. t. 7, &c.

Illyrian *Iris* and the Gallic spikenard.<sup>a</sup> The best quality of *Iris* grew, he tells, in the wooded interior about the Drin and the city of Naronæ. The mouths of the Naron or Narenta,<sup>b</sup> on which this city lay, and the Drin, had already been celebrated for this herb by Nikander in his *Theriaca*,<sup>c</sup> and the naturalist Theophrastos<sup>d</sup> yields the palm to the Illyrian *Iris*. The flower from whose root the spikenard was prepared is abundant throughout all this region, and its rainbow petals may still be seen lighting up the ruins of Naronæ. To the natives it is known as *Mačić*, a translation of the Latin word *Gladiolus*,<sup>e</sup> but also as *Perunika*,<sup>f</sup> suggestive of the name of the old Slavonic Thunder-god Perun, and thus attesting the abiding veneration in which the herb was held. We may perhaps reasonably infer that many of these Naronitan *unguentaria* contained the precious balm

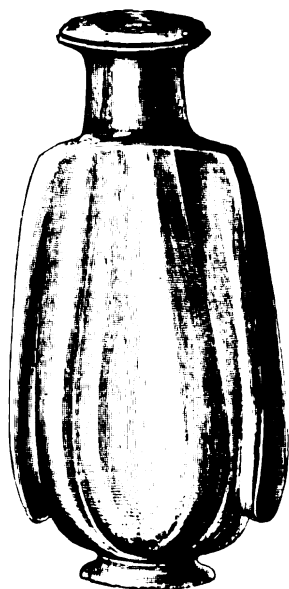


Fig. 7\*.

CRYSTALLUM FROM SALONÆ.

contents of a late-Roman grave; a variety of crystal vessels were found in the sarcophagus of Maria, the child-bride of Honorius,

<sup>a</sup> "Ergo regale unguentum appellatur quoniam regibus Parthorum ita temperatur . . . . Nihilque ejus rei causa in Italia victrice omnium, in Europa vero tota, præter irim Illyricam et nardum Gallicum gignitur." (*H. N.* lib. xiii. c. 2.)

<sup>b</sup> "Iris . . . . laudatissima in Illyrico et ibi quoque non in maritimis sed in silvestribus Drilonis et Naronæ." (*H. N.* lib. xxi. c. 19.) Pliny here names the city *Naronæ* and not the river *Naron*.

<sup>c</sup> "Ἰριν θ' ἣν ἔθρεψε Δριλῶν καὶ Νάρονος ὄχθη.

<sup>d</sup> *Hist. Plant.* lib. ix. c. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. the French word for *Iris*, *Glaieul*.

<sup>f</sup> Also as *Bogiša*, from *Bog* = God.

<sup>g</sup> xii. 74, "Cum tibi Niliacus portet crystalla cataplasus."

brought to light during some excavations at St. Peter's in 1544,<sup>a</sup> and, in the fifth century, Salonæ, the last refuge of Empire in the West, rivalled Rome and Ravenna themselves in the dignity of her interments.

Among the objects obtained by myself from Naronæ are two marble heads, one of a Roman lady, the style of whose *coiffure* appears best to tally with that of the daughter of Diocletian and wife of Galerius, the Empress Galeria Valeria, though the workmanship would seem to belong to a better age; the other head is of Mercury, and is executed in a fine Græco-Roman style. The cult of Mercury was specially popular at Naronæ, as is witnessed by an altar and another dedicatory inscription,<sup>b</sup> both raised by the Seviri Augustales, who add to their titles on several more of the local inscriptions the letters *M.M.* interpreted to mean *Magistri Mercuriales*.<sup>c</sup>

On the same occasion I procured the handle and part of the blade of a sacrificial knife (see Pl. II.), the use of which was possibly not unconnected with the sacral functions of these Naronese Seviri. The blade of this knife is of iron, the hilt of bronze, circled with an interlaced palmetto ornament, and terminating in a griffin's head of considerable spirit. The Roman sacrificial knife seems to have been of various forms and materials, and Festus<sup>d</sup> tells us of the gold and ivory handle of the "*secespita*" used by the flamens and pontifices at Rome. The present example answers exactly to a common form of the sacrificial knife as seen associated with other sacrificial utensils on ancient monuments. This monumental form, like the Naronese knife, is of great breadth in proportion to its length, and the handles, as in the present instance, terminate in the heads of animals such as lions and eagles.

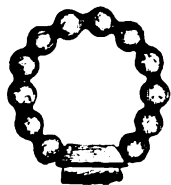


Fig. 7†.

TURQUOISE RING  
FROM NARONÆ.

Engraved gems are plentiful among the ruins of Naronæ, and I acquired a ring of peculiar form and material (fig. 7†). It is carved out of a single pale Turquoise, the highly valued *Sapphirus* of the Ancients, and has engraved upon it in high relief a two-winged insect resembling a moth with folded wings.

The coins that have passed through my hands from this site range from Dyrrhachian silver pieces of the third century B.C. to

<sup>a</sup> Luc. Faunus, *de Antiquitatibus Urbis Romæ*, c. x. Cf. King, *National History of Gems or semi-precious Stones*, p. 105.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1792, 1793.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 291.

<sup>d</sup> *Ad. Virg. Æn.* iv. 262. Festus' words are: "*Secespitam esse Antistius Labeo ait cultrum ferreum oblongum, manubrio rotundo, eburneo, solido, vincto ad capulum auro argentoque, fixum clavis æneis, ære Cyprio: quo Flamines, Flaminicæ Virgines, Pontificesque ad sacrificia utuntur.*" On Consular coins the instrument of sacrifice generally appears as an axe.

the fifth century of our era. Consular *denarii* and coins of the early Empire are abundant; the latest piece that I have noticed is of the Emperor Anastasius.

With reference to the early Greek mercantile connexion with the Narenta valley, the name of Trappano, a little town on the peninsula of Sabbioncello, opposite the Narenta mouth, suggests a Hellenic origin. Its peninsular position was precisely such as the old Greek colonists on the Illyrian coast were prone to choose for their plantations, and it would stand to the Illyrian staple of Naronæ in the same relation as the Greek settlement on the isle of Issa stood to the staple of Salonæ. The name of Drepanon, or "the sickle," seems to have been commonly applied by Greek settlers to similar promontories, and the horn of rock which here runs into the sea presents analogies with the Cretan Dhrépano and the Sicilian Trapani. At Trappano itself the stranger hears of antiquities at every turn. Below the town is a tower known to the inhabitants as Cæsar's Palace, but a very slight examination convinced me of its mediæval origin. The same is probably true of the remains of the castle on the hill, but I observed a cistern and a wall with narrow bricks and tiles alternating with masonry, that certainly seemed to be of Roman construction. Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, and I was informed that, two and a-half years since, in making the new road, some beautifully-wrought marbles, including several inscriptions, were brought to light and at once broken up for road material. It is to be observed, as explaining the apparently Hellenic origin of Trappano, that it lies on the natural transit route across the peninsula of Sabbioncello, between the ancient emporium of the Narenta and the port of Curzola, the *Κέρκυρα μέλαινα*, or Black Corcyra, of the ancients, one of the earliest Greek island colonies on the Illyrian shore, and which must have stood to the mainland staple of Naronæ in the same economic relation as that in which Issa and Pharia stood to Salonæ. At the present day the communications between Curzola and Metcovich, the modern local representative of Naronæ, follows this line.

Up to Naronæ the general direction, at times even the exact course, of the great Dalmatian-Macedonian highway is well ascertained. The distances from Salonæ and Naronæ of the three identified stations, Pons Tiluri, Ad Novas, and Bigeste fit in well with the numbers of the *Itinerary* and *Tabula*;\* and the total distance given—83 or 84 Roman miles—squares equally well with the actual

\* Adding on in the case of the *Tabula* the omitted distance of xiii. m. p.

distance from Viddo, the site of Naronæ, *viâ* Ljubuški, Runović, and Trilj, to the site of Salonæ, and at the same time approximates within a mile to Pliny's calculation.<sup>a</sup>

From Naronæ onwards to the neighbourhood of Scodra all is as dark and uncertain as it was clear before; and the last writer who has attempted to elucidate the problem, Dr. Hoernes,<sup>b</sup> in despair of reconciling the distances given with the probable localities of the stations, throws over the numbers supplied by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* altogether.

It must be observed, however, that, with the exception of a single omission in the *Tabula*, which Antonine enables us to supply, we have up to this point had every reason to rely on the mileage given by our two authorities; and that the sum of the mileage given between Naronæ and Scodra, 172 m.p. is very much what we should expect to find it. Admitting that we have lost our compass, that is no reason for throwing away our measuring-rod as well.

Hitherto, for the whole distance, Naronæ—Scodra, there has been no intermediate fixed point to guide us in our inquiry. In the course of my explorations of the Herzegovinian ranges that lie inland to the north-east of the site of Epitaurum, I have come upon some Roman remains which may help to supply this desideratum. In order, however, to show what I believe to be the full bearing of these new materials on the question at issue, I may be allowed to examine the whole subject from a point of view which appears to me to have been hitherto too little regarded.

Before proceeding further with this investigation, it may be well to give a comparative table of the route Naronæ—Scodra, as given by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* of Antonine.

<i>Itinerary.</i>	<i>Tabula.</i>
NARONA . . . . .	NARONA
	XII <sup>c</sup>
XXV	AD TVRRES
	XIII
DALLVNTO . . . . .	DILVNTO
	XIII

<sup>a</sup> lxxxv. m. p.

<sup>b</sup> *Alterthümer der Hercegovina und der südlichen Theile Bosniens*, vol. ii. p. 146.

<sup>c</sup> Accepting the correction of the xxii. given, in order to square with the xxv. m.p. given by Antonine as the distance, Naronæ—Dallunto.

<i>Itinerary.</i>	<i>Tabula.</i>	
XL	PARDVA	
	XVI	AD ZIZIO
	VIII	XXVIII
LEVSINIO . . . . .	LEVSINIO	ASAMO
	XII	XX
XXVIII	SALLVNT0	EPITAVRO
	XVII	
ANDERBA . . . . .	ANDERVA	
	VI	
XVIII	VARIS	
	XI	
SALLVNT0 . . . . .	SALLVNT0	
XVII	XVII	
ALATA . . . . .	HALATA	
X	X	
BIRZIMINIO . . . . .	BERSVMNO	
XVIII	XVI	
CINNA . . . . .	SINNA	
XII	XX	
SCODRA . . . . .	SCODRA	

It will be seen that the Roman road from Naronā to Scodra (the modern *Scutari d'Albania*), as given in the *Tabula*, forks at a point called Ad Zizio into two branches, one of which leads through the interior of the country to Scodra, the other runs to Epitaurum (Ragusa Vecchia), and follows thence the coast-line to Butua and Lissus (Alessio).

Hitherto, owing mainly to an expression of the Geographer of Ravenna, it has been assumed that the earlier part of this route, the route common to the two lines of communication, followed the coast-line from Naronā. This conclusion I am altogether unable to accept.

Ravennas, in a confused list of Dalmatian cities, all of which, according to his statement, are on the sea-coast,<sup>a</sup> adds after Epitaurum, "id est: Ragusium,"

<sup>a</sup> Lib. iv. c. 16: "Attamen Dalmatiæ plurimæ fuisse civitates legimus ex quibus aliquas designare volumus quæ ponuntur per litus maris, id est: Burzumi, Aleta, Saluntum, Butua, Decadoron, Buccinum, Rucinium, Epitaurum id est Ragusium, Asamon, Zidion, Pardua id est Stannes, Turres, Narrona," &c.

—“*Asamon, Zidion, Pardia, id est Stamnes, Turres, Narrona.*” The order of the names between Epitaurum and Narona shows an agreement with the *Tabula*, “Dilunto” alone being omitted, and the identification of Epitaurum with the site of Ragusa, by Ravennas’ time already a famous city, being correct within a few miles, it is inferred that Ravennas is an equally good authority for the approximate identification of Pardia with “Stamnes,” or Stagno, a town situate on the neck of the peninsula of Sabbioncello.

On the other hand it is equally probable that the Geographer of Ravenna, knowing the order of some of the most famous towns on the other side of the Adriatic, as they existed in his day, and knowing the connexion between Ragusa and Epitaurum (a fact which, as Ragusa Vecchia preserved the name of Pitaur to a much later date, must have been tolerably notorious), proceeded further to identify Stagno, the next modern seaport known to him, midway between Ragusa and the mouth of the Narenta, with what on the ancient chart from which he drew was the middle station between Epitaurum and Narona. Considering the grotesque blunders with which his list begins, placing “*in ipso litore maris*” three cities which lie, beyond all contestation, in the central glens of what is now Montenegro, the fact that Ravennas places Pardia, Asamon and Zidion (the *AD ZIZIO* of the *Tabula*), on the coast, can prove nothing as to their real position, and the situation of Stagno lying on a peninsula, off the line of any possible coast road, makes its identification with any station on the line Narona—Scodra highly improbable. Stagno derives its name from the *Stagnum* or shallow lagune of sea, whence from time immemorial salt has been obtained by evaporation. In Constantine Porphyrogenitus it appears already as *Stagnum*,<sup>a</sup> but there are no remains either on this site, or anywhere within miles of it, of Roman habitation.

To prove that the earlier stages of the great line Narona—Scodra lay along the Adriatic coast requires something more than a random statement of a writer like Ravennas. The *Tabula*, which from its distorted form can rarely be appealed to with confidence as to the exact direction of a road, observes in this case a judicious neutrality. The line of stations between Narona and the point of junction at Ad Zizio are represented as filling a narrow strip between the Narenta

<sup>a</sup> *Σταγνόν*. It is difficult to understand why Professor Tomaschek, *op. cit.* p. 36, should go out of his way to suggest a derivation for the word “Entweder aus einem vorauszusetzendem illyr. Worte *Stamen*, -*Maul*, *Rachen*, *Hals*, oder aus Gr. *στανόν*,—*Enge*.” The mediæval Latin form *Stannum*, like the *Stamnes* of Ravennas, is simply a corruption of *Stagnum*, and it is to be observed that these forms illustrate a Rouman characteristic, cf. Latin *Signum*, Wallachian *Semnu*, &c. The Slavonic abbreviation of the name is *Ston*.

(which is made to run parallel to the sea from East to West)<sup>a</sup> and the Adriatic. The road itself is not indicated till we reach Ad Zizio. In this chart Naronæ itself is placed on the sea, from which in reality it was distant about fifteen miles, and it is to be observed that the name of the next station, Ad Turres, has an inland tendency.

All *à priori* considerations should make us look for the course of the great highway between Naronæ and Scodra inland from the beginning. The road itself ought not to be regarded as if it was a merely local line, or series of local lines constructed for the convenience of the citizens of Naronæ, Epitaurum, or other individual cities. The only right way of regarding it is as a section of the highly important through route connecting the great city of Salonæ with Dyrrhachium, in a still wider sense connecting Italy with Greece. The main object of the highway Naronæ—Scodra was to open out the shortest land route between Dalmatia and Epirus, and we may be sure that all local considerations were subordinated to this aim.

We may assume, then, that the military engineer who superintended the construction of the section Naronæ—Scodra endeavoured to follow as direct a line between these two cities as the physical configuration of the country admitted. A straight line from Scodra to Naronæ would pass through Risinium on the inmost inlet of what is now the Bocche di Cattaro, but the intervening mass of the Black Mountain, in a less degree the Lake of Scutari itself, would prevent the route from taking anything like a direct course.

The mountain mass of what is now South-Western Montenegro has, in fact, in all historical times, operated to deflect the traffic between Albania and Dalmatia (to use the geographical language of more modern times) from its direct course, and the valley of the Zeta, that leads from the lacustrine basin of Scutari to the plain of Nikšić, must in all ages have been the avenue of communication between the North-West and South-East. From Scodra, therefore, to what is now the plain of Nikšić, the course of the Roman road was dictated by physical conditions, as cogent in ancient days as they are now. So far, indeed, all who have endeavoured to trace the course of this Roman highway are agreed. Whatever its subsequent direction, it must have run from Scutari, along the eastern shores

<sup>a</sup> A little to the west of the Narenta mouth the Drina is made to run into the Adriatic, coalescing in some strange way with the Cettina. The promontory of Sabbioncello is not so much as indicated. On the other hand the outline of the coast and islands in the neighbourhood of Salonæ has much greater pretensions to exactness.



of the lake between lake and mountains, it must have followed the Zeta Valley, and it must have debouched on the spacious plain of Nikšić.

As on this side we are, by all accounts, on certain ground, it may be well to take Scodra as our starting point and work backwards awhile along the shores of the lake and up the Zeta Valley to the plain of Nikšić. The position of Scodra itself lying between the river outlet of the lake and a branch of the Drin has been of considerable strategic and commercial importance in all times of which we have any record. Its rocky Acropolis, which forms the key of the whole lacustrine basin, was the royal stronghold of the most important of the Illyrian dynasties, and after its capture, together with the Illyrian king Genthios, by L. Anicius in 167 B.C., it became a Roman administrative centre and the appointed place for the *Conventus* of the native chieftains of the Labeate district. Of its intercourse with the Hellenic communities in early times a curious monument has been discovered in the neighbouring village of Gurizi, in the shape of a bronze statuette representing a female figure of archaic Greek workmanship, not unlike some of those discovered at Dodona,<sup>a</sup> and I have elsewhere described a new series of Illyrian coins discovered at Selci in the North Albanian Alps, which introduce us for the first time to Scodra as a free city under Macedonian hegemony.<sup>b</sup> On the other hand, after careful researches on the spot I have been unable to discover any such architectural or epigraphic traces as are to be found on other historic sites in Southern Illyria, at Alessio, for example, and Durazzo. On the South-western edge of the citadel peak, now known as Rosafa, there are indeed some traces of a rude wall built of huge uncemented blocks, the existing remains of which bear some resemblance to the so-called Cyclopean fragments in the foundation of the citadel walls at Alessio.<sup>c</sup> Excepting this, however, I was unable to obtain other relics of Scodra, Illyrian, or Roman, beyond coins and a few intagli. Among the coins, silver pieces of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia are still so abundant that they occasionally pass current along with old Ragusan and Venetian pieces in the bazaars of the modern Albanian town. An onyx gem in my possession from this site bears the legend AVSONI.

The disappearance of larger monuments on this site is no doubt due to the extraordinary deposits of alluvial matter resulting from the yearly inundations of the lake and river. So rapid is the growth of the soil owing to this cause that on the plain near Scutari I have myself seen the columns of the Turkish canopied

<sup>a</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, N.S. t. xxiv. p. 1, engraved pl. xv.

<sup>b</sup> See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. "On some recent discoveries of Illyrian Coins."

<sup>c</sup> A fragment of the Alessio wall is engraved in Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 122.

Tebés built during the last three centuries buried up to the spring of the arches that support their cupolas.

After leaving Scodra, the Roman road, the better probably to avoid the marshy tract near the borders of the lake, appears to have run for a few miles almost due north. On the spacious plain or common that opens to the north of the modern town of Scutari, which is studded with pre-historic barrows (here, unlike the stone mounds of the rockier Dalmatian region, mainly composed of earth), I have observed the remains of an ancient embanked way, now overgrown with heath and bracken, running to the West of the Kiri river and the "Venetian bridge" leading to Drivasto, almost midway between lake and mountains. In the neighbourhood of the village of Boksi the Roman road appears to have taken a westerly bend, and the distance of Cinna,<sup>a</sup> the first station beyond Scodra, given in the *Tabula* as twenty miles, must lead us to seek its site in the district of Hotti, where a marshy inlet of the lake juts into the mountains. I am informed by the Padre Superiore of the Franciscans that in their church at Hotti are two Roman inscriptions, and that on the neighbouring site of Helmi are the remains of a considerable ancient building which he believed to be a temple, as well as another inscription built into the house. On these remains I hope on a future occasion to be able to give a more satisfactory report.

Cinna, to be identified with the modern Helmi (an Albanian form of the Old Serbian *hulm*, a hill), bears the name of an Illyrian queen. In the mountains beyond it lay Medeon, where Anicius captured the consort and two sons of the last Scodran dynast, King Genthios. The name of this old Illyrian stronghold appears to survive in that of the hill-fortress of Medun, to the North-east of Podgorica, the mediæval *Medon*, so long the bone of contention between Montenegrin and Albanian Turk. Near Medeon, and below the heights on which its modern representative, Medun, lies, is the village of Dukle, which still preserves the name of the ancient Doklea, later *Dioclea*, the birth-place and name-giver of Diocletian. This site is rich in monuments of antiquity, amongst which was discovered an honorary dedication to the Emperor Gallienus by the Commonwealth of the Docleates.<sup>b</sup> It was here that the famous glass vessel, generally known as the

<sup>a</sup> According to the *Itinerary* of Antonine this station is only xii. miles from Scodra—probably an error for xxii. In the same way the *Itinerary* increases the distance between Cinna and Berziminium by two miles = m. p. xviii., as against xvi. in the *Tabula*. With regard to the name of the place I adopt the reading of Antonine, as being generally more correct than those of the *Tabula*, and as giving the name of an Illyrian queen. In Ptolemy it appears as *Xivva*.

<sup>b</sup> IMP · CAES · P · LICINIO · GALLIENO || PIO · FELICI · AVG · PONT · MAX || TRIB · POT · P · P · CONS · III · RES ||  
PVBL · DOCLEATVM · (C. I. L. iii. 1705). The best account of the ruins on the site of Dukle is in Kovalevski,

Vase of Podgorica, was found, engraved with typical scenes from the Old Testament by a Roman-Christian hand, explained by inscriptions which afford a most valuable indication of the provincial dialect of this part of Roman Dalmatia.<sup>a</sup> As a further proof of the indigenous character of this manufacture, I may mention that I have recently seen some additional fragments of late-Roman glass from this site, resembling in the style of their engraving the celebrated Vase, but without inscriptions.

Neither Doklea<sup>b</sup> nor Medeon appear in the *Tabula*, or Antonine, from which we may infer that they lay slightly off the main route between Scodra and Narona. In these authorities the next station is Birzinio, or Bersumno, according to Antoninus eighteen miles distant from Cinna; according to the *Tabula*, sixteen. This fits in well with the neighbourhood of Podgorica,<sup>c</sup> the cradle of the Nemanjas, the princely race which placed for awhile on Serbian brows the falling diadem of Diocletian and Constantine. The Roman station of Birzimi-

*Četyre mjesjaca v Černogoriji.* (Four months in Montenegro.) St. Petersburg, 1841, pp. 81-85, cited by Jireček, *op. cit.*. There are massive remains of an aqueduct, town walls in the form of a parallelogram, columns and ruins of a temple or large building known as "Carski Dvor—the Emperor's palace," sarcophagi with bas-reliefs and Latin inscriptions. Some new inscriptions from this site have been recently communicated by Dr. Bogišić to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. Doklea gave its name to the Slavonic region of Dioklia, from which in the early Middle Ages the Serbs extended the name *More Dioklitijsko*, "the Diocletian sea," to the Adriatic itself. The additional "i" of the later form of the name, *Dioclea*, is said to have been due to an endeavour to justify its etymological connexion with the name of Diocletian. But the alternative name Dioclea appears too early to justify such an artificial origin. The authority for Diocletian's birth at Dioclea is the almost contemporary Aurelius Victor, whose statement on this head is clear: "Diocletianus Dalmata, Anulini Senatoris libertinus, matre pariter atque oppido nomine Dioclea, quorum vocabulis donec imperium sumeret Diocles appellatus, ubi orbis Romani potentiam cepit Grajum nomen in Romanum morem convertit." (*Epit.* c. xxxix.) It is to be observed that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, while placing Diocletian's birth-place at Salona, makes Diocletian found Dioclea: "Τὸ κάστρον Διόκλεια τὸ νῦν παρὰ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν κατεχόμενον ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ψυχοδόμησεν." (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29, and cf. c. 35, where he speaks of it as being then *ληημόκαστρον*, as we should say, "a waste chester.") Ptolemy mentions a Διοκλεία (al. Δόκεια) in Phrygia; not unknown to ecclesiastical history.

<sup>a</sup> This vase is now in the Musée Basilewsky in Paris. It is described and illustrated by the Cav. di Rossi in the *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome, 1877, p. 77). The linguistic peculiarities of the inscriptions on it suggest interesting comparisons with the Romance survivals in the dialect of Ragusa. See p. 32, *Note*.

<sup>b</sup> It appears to me probable that the obscure "Diode," placed between "Lisum" and "Codras," or Scodra, in *Guidonis Geographia* (114), stands for "*Dioclea*," a hint that the name appeared under this form in some copy of the *Tabula*.

<sup>c</sup> The older Serbian name of Podgorica was Ribnica, still preserved by the small stream that flows beside its walls. (Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 20.) This place derived its importance as lying in the centre of the district of Zenta.

nium would have been the point of bifurcation for the road leading to Doclea and Medeon, and its identification with the site of Podgorica fits in very well with a hint of Ravennas, that "Medione" lay in its vicinity.

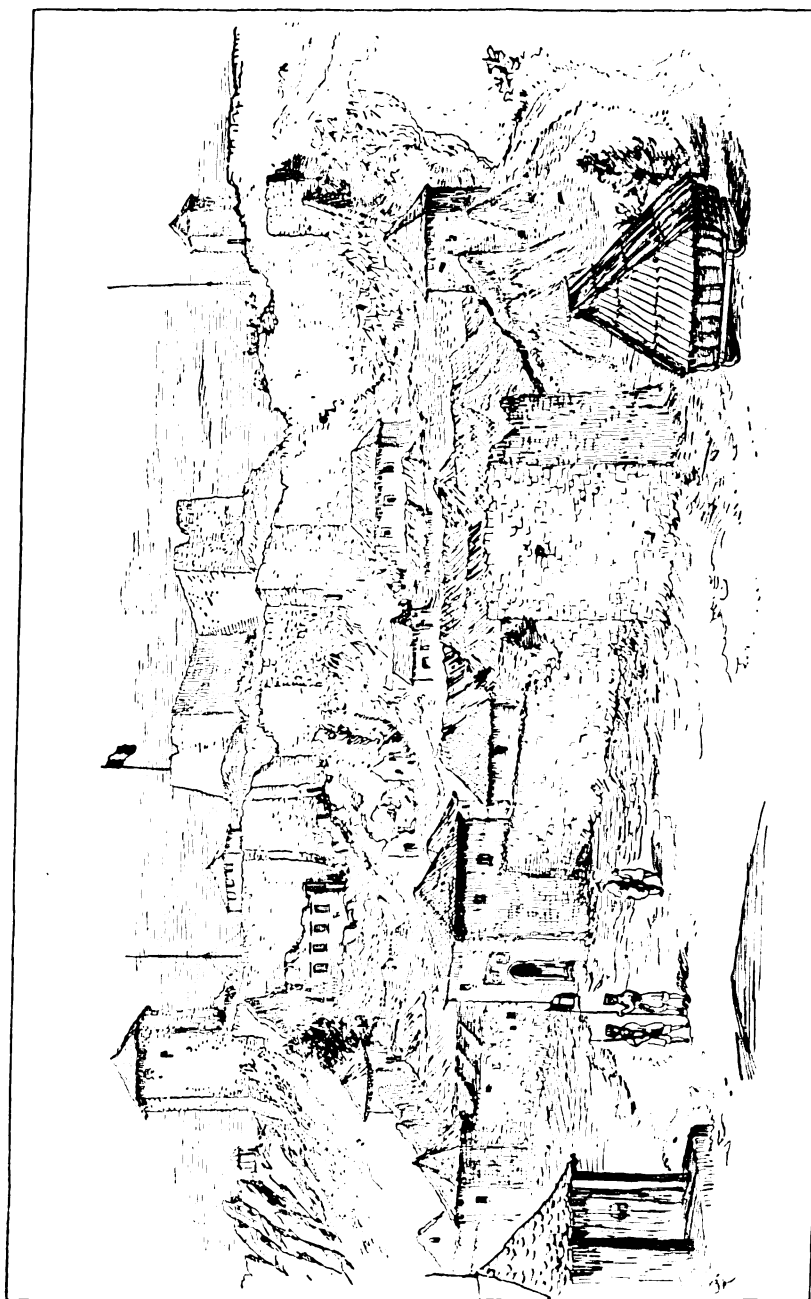
It is certain that from this point the Roman road must have followed the upward ascent of the Zeta valley. The next station, Alata or Halata, the Aleta of Ptolemy and Ravennas, ten miles distant from Birziminium, would thus take us to the neighbourhood of Danilovgrad,<sup>b</sup> and the seventeen or eighteen miles given as the distance from this to the next station, Salluntum, brings us over the pass of Ostrog to the plain of Nikšić. It is interesting in connexion with the proved affinities between the Illyrians and the Messapians of the opposite Italian coast to note the curious parallel between the juxta-position of *Aleta* and *Salluntum* in the Dalmatian Itineraries, and the appearance of an Apulian *Aletium* in the district of the *Sallentini*.

The aspect of the town of Nikšić, better known as the Onogost of Old Serbian history, is singularly Roman (Pl. III.); indeed its ground-plan (fig. 8<sup>a</sup>) presents the familiar outline of a Roman castrum, with square and polygonal towers at the four corners and in the centre of the side walls. This quadrilateral arrangement, however, occurs in some other Herzegovinian towns, Ljubinje, for instance, and is rather, perhaps, due to some later wave of Byzantine influence. The walls, in their present construction, are unquestionably mediæval, though it is always possible that the Old Serbian architects followed pre-existing lines.

Excepting this ground-plan, I have been unable to light upon any direct indications of the existence of a Roman Municipium on the site. Roman gems and coins, however, occur from time to time in this neighbourhood, and the importance of this central plain of Nikšić, whether as one of the most fertile spots in this part of the Dinaric Alps, or as the natural crossing-point of routes leading from East to West, and from the Bocche di Cattaro, or Rhizonic gulf, into the interior, renders it certain that it fulfilled in the Roman economy of this Illyrian tract a function at least as important as that performed by it in mediæval times. The archæological explorer in the plain of Nikšić is struck by the number of mediæval cemeteries to be met with on every side, and by the grandeur of the

<sup>a</sup> Geog. Ravennas, p. 211 (ed. Pinder et Parthey): "*Item juxta Burzumon est Civitas quæ dicitur Medione*," &c.

<sup>b</sup> Prof. Tomaschek neglects the abiding conditions of intercourse as fixed by the physical configuration of the country in seeking the site of Aleta out of the Zeta Valley: "*Vielleicht östlich von Cetinje, bei Gradac oder Uljici*," *op. cit.* p. 42. The name Aleta itself he compares with the Albanian *hel* [pl. *heljete* (*hejete*)] = a point, as of a lance, &c.



*View of the Old City, Nikšić.*

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM, By A. J. EVANS, F.S.A.



tombs, the sculptures of which are in this district wrought in a better style than elsewhere. These Old Serbian monuments derive both their general outline and

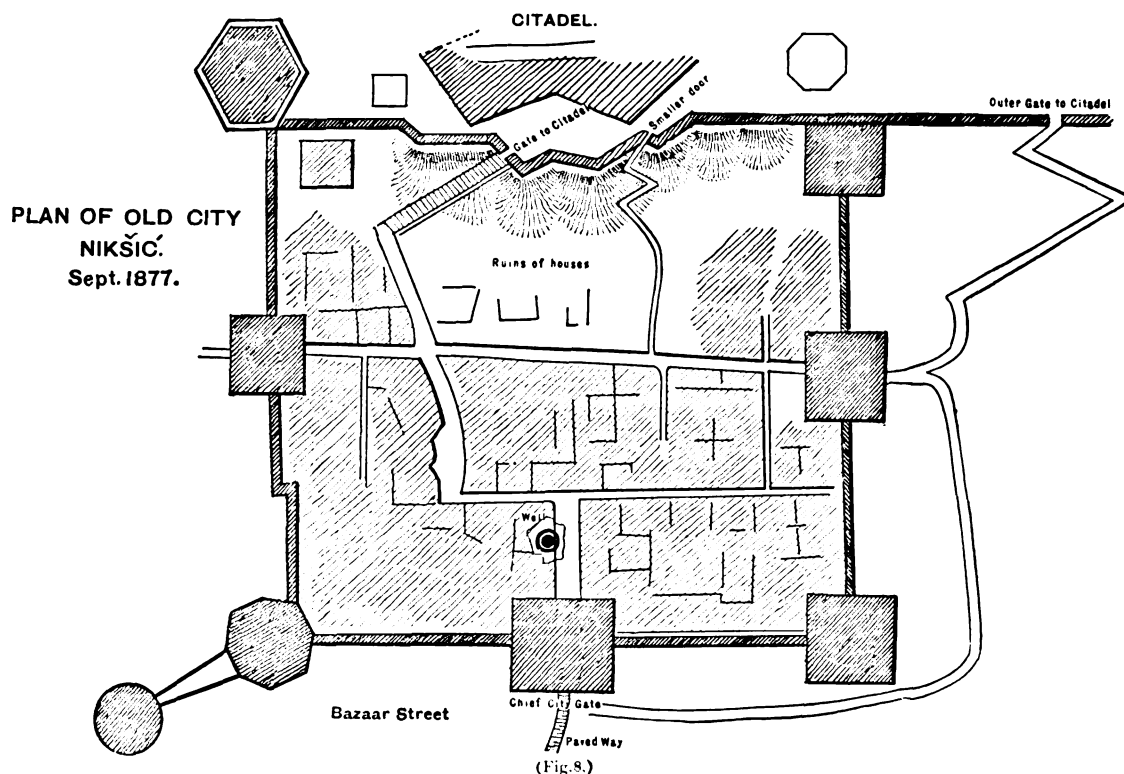


Fig. 8\*. PLAN OF OLD CITY, NIKŠIĆ.

their special ornamentation, notably the vine spiral, the most frequent of all, from Roman prototypes, and the excellence of the Nikšić tomb-sculptures is itself sufficient proof that those who wrought them had Roman models at hand. On a mediæval gravestone found near Nevesinje the Old Serbian sculptor has actually executed a rude copy of the symbolic Genius with reversed torch, so often seen on Roman sepulchral monuments.

Assuming that the site of the first Salluntum (another is subsequently mentioned on the same route) is to be sought on the extreme east of the Nikšić plain, perhaps even in the Gračanica valley, there would be room for the two next stations, Varis eleven miles distant, and Andarva, or Anderva, six miles further

in the middle of the plain itself, and on its Western margin, respectively.<sup>a</sup> On the ground of a Montenegrin *saga*, Dr. Jireček and others have considered themselves justified in assuming that the Roman road in its onward course, from the Upper Zeta valley and the margin of the Nikšić plain, took the direction of Grahovo. According to this *saga*, as related by Vuk Karadžić,<sup>b</sup> three brothers fell to contending which should take with him their only sister, whereupon they set themselves three tasks. One said that he would wall in the mountains, another that he would build a church in Dioclea, the third that he would join the Cijevna and the Morača. The third brother finished his work first, but "foolish Vuk," the first, had time to build a boundary wall from the Bijela Gora (which forms the triple frontier of Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Herzegovina), four days' journey to the great mountain of Kom, which lies in the Montenegrin canton of Kući, near the Albanian border. On the strength of an assertion of the French traveller, Violla de Sommières, this semi-mythical boundary-dyke, of which it is especially said that (unlike a Roman road) it follows the contour of the hills,<sup>c</sup> has been converted into a Roman road, although its whole course, as described in the *Saga*, is wholly irreconcilable with the exigencies of road engineering. In the neighbourhood of the plain of Grahovo, by which it is said to run, I have sought for it in vain, but, on the other hand, I have come upon an existing trace and a popular tradition connected with it which preserves the distinct record of a road running inland from the site of the ancient Risinium to the plain of Nikšić, and far into the interior. In dry weather a straight line, the trace of an ancient Way, is seen running straight across the Crivoscian plain of Dvrsno, from the opening of the pass which leads to Risano, the ancient Risinium, to that leading to the

<sup>a</sup> The attempt to identify Sallunto (ii.) with the Slansko Polje (Hoernes, *Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, vol. ii. p. 149), on the ground of similarity of name, is too hazardous; and the same applies to its comparison with either of the two *Slanos*. The Serbian form of the Illyro-Roman word, if directly adopted and preserved, would be *Solunat*: Tomaschek's suggested comparison with the name of the village of *Zaljut* (inadmissible on other grounds) must therefore be discarded. I would suggest the identification of this "Sallunto" with the "*Lontodocla*" in the region of Dioclia, mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*op. cit.* c. 25). It might be a "*Sallunto-Docleatium*," to distinguish it from the other "Sallunto" on the same route further to the West.

<sup>b</sup> Lexicon, s.v. VUKOVA MEGJA.

<sup>c</sup> "Od jednoga kraja do drugoga ove megje prijekijem putem ima oko četiri dana hoda; a kad bi se išlo preko gudura i litica pored nje bilo bi mnogo više." ("From one end to the other of this boundary-wall, as you go forward, is about four days' journey; but were one to go along it through glen and over ridge it would be much further.") Vuk, *loc. cit.* This description recalls rather the up and down progress of a Roman frontier-wall, such as that from Tyne to Solway, than any Roman road.



Montenegrin plain of Grahovo. The trace is known to the Crivoscian peasants as "St. Sava's path," and they have a tradition that it was along this route that the founder of the Serbian Church was carried to his Minster tomb at Mileševa, which lies in the Novipazar district beyond the Lim.<sup>a</sup> The trace itself, as well as the tradition, points to the existence of an ancient line of communication between the Rhizonic gulf, the Drina Valley, where it would join the Danubian road-system, and the route which traversed the ore-producing ranges of Dardania. The same line was still followed by the Cattarese merchants in the Middle Ages, who passed from Risano through this Crivoscian plain, then peopled by a Rouman tribe, the Vlachi Rigiani (who seem to have perpetuated the Illyro-Roman race of the ancient Risinium), thence through Grahovo to Nikšić, and thence again across the Drina to Plevlje, itself the site of the most important Roman settlement in that part of Illyricum. The natives declare that "St. Sava's path" can be traced right away to Mileševa itself. My own observations have led me to the conclusion that the "kalderym," or paved mule-track, over the mountains between Grahovo and the plain of Nikšić, runs in places along the trace of a Roman Way.

The point where this cross-line of communication between Risinium and the Drina Valley intersects the highway Scodra—Narona, which we have been pursuing, lay unquestionably in the Western angle of Nikšić plain, where, as has been shown from a measurement of distances, we must seek the city of Anderva. I have now to adduce some remarkable evidence bringing the name of this city into relation with a Roman Municipium on the Drina, and thus affording a new indication that a cross-line of Roman road, connecting Risinium with that river, cut the Dalmatian-Epirote highway at this spot.

The ancient track already mentioned, running from Risano and the Bocche di Cattaro to the plain of Nikšić, and which for practical purposes may be identified with the Roman road-line, is continued across the plain and through the long Duga Pass, so often the scene of combat between Turk and Montenegrin, to the plain of Gacko, where it meets another ancient route, running from the site of Epitaurum and the later Ragusa, of which more will be said. From this point both routes unite and are prolonged across the wild Čemerno ranges to Foča, in the Drina Valley, and the important bridge-town of Gorazda, where this Adriatic line meets

<sup>a</sup> This, of course, is historically impossible, as St. Sava died at Tirnovo, in Bulgaria, and must therefore have been carried to Mileševo from the East.

<sup>b</sup> Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen*, sect. 11. *Von Cattaro nach Plevlje* (p. 72).

the cross-line of communication between the upper valley of the Bosna, the Lim, and the ore-bearing ranges of Old Serbia,—in other words, the ancient route connecting Salonæ with the *Metalla Dalmatica* and *Argentaria*.

At Gorazda Dr. Hoernes <sup>a</sup> had already observed a *sarcophagus* with an obliterated inscription. During a recent visit to this place I found, near the old bridge over the Drina, several more ancient fragments, and amongst them a bas-relief of an eagle, in a rude style but of Roman origin, carved on a porphyritic marble, which was much used by the Roman masons and sculptors of Plevlje, the next important Roman site to the south-east of Gorazda. Walled into the apse of the Orthodox church, a foundation of Duke Stephen, from whom Herzegovina derives its name, and which lies on the banks of the Drina a little below the present town, I was so fortunate as to discover two Roman inscriptions. When

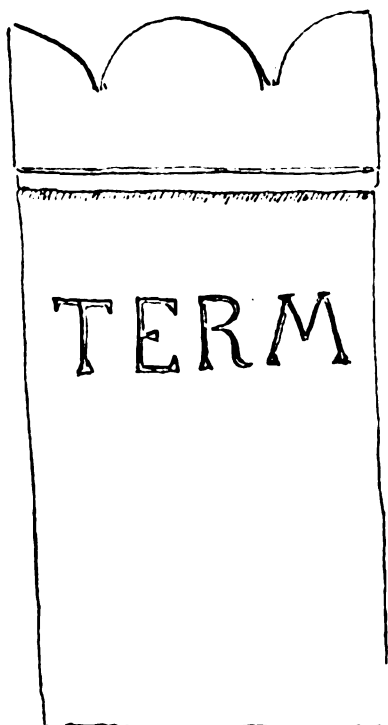


Fig. 9<sup>a</sup>. ROMAN MONUMENT.  
Gorazda, Bosnia.

I first saw them they were almost wholly covered with a coating of plaster, which however, with the aid of the priest, I succeeded to a great extent in removing.

<sup>a</sup> *Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. ii. (in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* vol. iv. p. 47).

The first was apparently a part of an altar with the inscription TERM, perhaps originally a boundary altar, marking the limits of the municipal *Ager* (fig. 9<sup>a</sup>).

The other monument formed a portion of a larger slab, containing a dedication, probably of a temple, to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Cohortalis* (fig. 10<sup>a</sup>), to whom a dedicatory inscription has also been found at Naronna.<sup>a</sup>



Fig. 10<sup>a</sup>. ROMAN MONUMENT REFERRING TO THE ANDARVANI.  
Gorazda, Bosnia.

The part preserved of the second line probably records the share taken in the dedication by a *Decurio* of the MVNICIPIVM ANDARVANORVM, about which latter name there is no room for doubt. Andarva, or Anderva itself, lying as it did on the main-line of road between Scodra and Naronna, cannot by any possibility be sought so far inland as Gorazda; but the occurrence of the name of the Andarvani on a monument at Gorazda is of value, as indicating a direct road-connexion between it and the plain of Nikšić, where we have to seek the ancient site of Andarva.<sup>b</sup>

The plain of Nikšić, then, in Roman times was in all probability the point of intersection of two important thoroughfares, one leading from Scodra and the

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1782, I · O · M || CHOR || TAL. In the present inscription the H of CHOR(TALI) is obliterated, but doubtless was originally contained within the c.

<sup>b</sup> It seems to me probable that this line Nikšić—Gacko—Gorazda is indicated by the Geographer of Ravenna, who refers to a line of stations, "*Sapua—Bersellum—Ibisua—Derva—Citua—Anderba.*"

Epirote cities to the great Dalmatian emporia of Naronæ and Salonæ; the other connecting the coast-city, which gave its name to the Rhizonic gulf, with the mining centres of the old Dalmatian interior, and the Danubian provinces. From this central plain, pursuing the route towards Naronæ, we find the physical obstacles by no means so great as those that then deflected the route from Scodra to Nikšić. Hence, it follows that a straight line drawn from the centre of the plain of Nikšić to the site of Naronæ may give some idea of the general direction of the Roman Way in this part of its course. A glance at the map discloses the fact that, if we now start from Naronæ, a line so drawn, so far from approaching the sea at any point, inclines further and further inland from that city to the plain of Nikšić. On the other hand, it will be observed that this ideal line passes either through or in close proximity to sites which in mediæval and modern times have been at once the chief centres of habitation, and the principal strategic points in this part of the Dinaric interior.

It passes within a few miles of the very important position of Stolac, where Roman remains and inscriptions indicating the former existence of a Municipium have recently been discovered. The distance of Stolac from the site of Naronæ answers almost exactly to the xx m.p. given by the *Itinerary* of Antonine as the distance from Naronæ to the next station on this side, important enough to be mentioned by that authority—Dallunto, the Dilunto of the *Tabula*. The continued importance of Diluntum is attested by the appearance of the Municipium Diluntinum—or, as it appears there, “Delontino”—in the Acts of the Council held at Salonæ in 532 A.D. It is there mentioned along with the Municipium Novense (the site of which, as we have seen, lay at Runović, near Imoski), and an obscure Municipium Stantinum, as having a Christian *Basilica*, placed under the charge of the bishop of the inland Dalmatian town of Sarsenterum.\*

At the village of Tassovčić,<sup>b</sup> lying in the Narenta valley, between Stolac and Naronæ, are ancient columns and other remains, and the position answers well to that of Ad Turres, the intermediate station between Naronæ and Diluntum.

Assuming the identification of Stolac with Diluntum to be correct, the course of the natural route towards Nikšić leads us to seek for the next station, Pardua,

\* *Acta Concilii II. Salonitani*, in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173. The identification of *Stantinum* with Stagno, urged by Dr. Hoernes on the strength of the existence of the later *Župa Stantania* from *Ston*, the Slavonic form of Stagno, is hardly admissible, since the Acts of this Council of Salona show as yet no trace of Slavonic settlement or nomenclature in that part of Dalmatia which they concern.

<sup>b</sup> I have referred to these in my work on Bosnia (2nd ed. p. 361), where, however, Tassovčić is wrongly printed Tassorić.

fourteen miles distant, in the plain of Dabar, a district—as its Old Serbian monuments show—the scene of some commercial prosperity in the Middle Ages.\* The next station, “Ad Zizio” (sixteen miles), where, according to the *Tabula*, the junction line to Epitaurum branched off, would thus lie in the neighbourhood of Bilek. The two stations, “Leusinio,” m.p. viii. and “Sallunto,” m.p. xii. that occur between this and Andarva, which all authorities agree in placing on the plain of Nikšić, should be sought, according to this calculation, in the passes of Banjani.

We have only now to deal with the objection already alluded to, that, according to the Geographer of Ravenna, the earlier stages of the route Narona—Scodra ran along the Adriatic coast. Something has been said already on Ravenna’s identification of Pardua with “Stamnes,” or Stagno; it may, however, be well to point out how absolutely his statement on this head is at variance with the more trustworthy data supplied by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* of Antonine. If the distances given in those two authorities are to be even approximately observed, it is impossible that the five stations between Narona and Epitaurum, or even four out of the five, lay along the sea-coast. The distance to be traversed by road between Epitaurum and Narona is, according to the *Tabula*, 112 miles; the actual distance along the coast is about 55. It is impossible, as Dr. Hoernes admits, to make up this disparity of two to one from the bends of the road, and he draws the conclusion, that it is better to set aside the distances in the *Tabula* altogether.

But the distances given in the *Tabula* are the best guides we have. As a whole, they square well with the distances given in the *Itinerary*, and with the general statement of Pliny, that Epitaurum was 100 miles distant from Narona. Moreover, the general correctness of our two authorities in what regarded the section Salonæ—Narona gives us just grounds for believing that they are still to be relied on in the section Narona—Scodra.

When we find the distance, Epitaurum—Narona, *viâ* the junction to Ad Zizio, is over twice the length of the coast line between the two, the natural inference is that the junction station of Ad Zizio is to be sought considerably in the interior, and that the angle formed by the two lines Narona—Ad Zizio and Epitaurum—Ad Zizio must approach a right angle.

\* The name *Dabar* suggests a connexion with the important tribe of the *Daversi* or *Daorsi*, who inhabited the ranges East of the Narenta at the time of the Roman Conquest. In the Romance dialect of Dalmatia (as exemplified by its surviving remnants in that of Ragusa), *v* is changed to *b*.

<sup>b</sup> Though the *Itinerary* of Antonine seems to give us authority for striking off 10 m. between Dilunto and Narona, see p. 79.

What has been said already here specially applies. The road Narona—Scodra was not made to suit the convenience of the inhabitants of Epitaurum. That the road Narona—Scodra made a *détour* to the coast of at least 35 miles to suit the convenience of any more obscure coast-city is a still less admissible hypothesis. As a matter of fact, the communications between Epitaurum and the great emporium of the Narenta must have been almost exclusively maritime, the land journey being restricted to the single mile across the peninsula of Stagno. The traffic between Ragusa, the modern representative of Epitaurum, and Metcovich, the modern representative of Narona, runs at the present day almost entirely by sea and river, and, in ancient days, when the whole coasting traffic of the Adriatic ran along the Dalmatian shore, the communication between the two cities would have been as exclusively maritime.

To Epitaurum, as to Ragusa, the value of a road must have depended on the extent to which it opened out its communications with the centres of habitation, in the Alpine interior, with what are now the upland plains of Trebinje, Gacko, Nikšić, and Nevesinje, in a still higher degree with the valley of the Drina beyond. The great caravan route, by which in mediæval times the merchandise of the West left the Adriatic coast for the furthest East, ran from Ragusa, the local successor of Epitaurum, straight inland over the interior ranges, past Trebinje and Gacko, to the valley of the Drina. It is highly probable that, as in the case of Cattaro already cited, this mediæval caravan route represents a very ancient line of communication between the Drina valley and its Adriatic outlet. In the course of many journeys among the Dalmatian and Herzegovinian ranges a phenomenon has been repeatedly observed by me, nowhere more than in the neighbourhood of Ragusa, which seems to prove that the mule tracks leading from the coast into the interior are often of high antiquity. The course of these hoof-worn mountain tracks is very often literally mapped out by a succession of prehistoric barrows belonging to the Illyrian Bronze Age, which persistently follow the course of the route. That the Roman road should have taken the same general direction as this ancient line of traffic between the Adriatic port and the Drina may be reasonably inferred, though, no doubt, its course was straighter than the actual route followed by the indigenes.

We will now turn to the evidence afforded by existing Roman remains. At Klek and Ranjevo Selo, near the southern mouth of the Narenta, have been found three Roman sepulchral inscriptions relating to private individuals.\* Along the whole

\* C. I. L. iii. 1763, 1764, 1765.

coast of the Raguseo, however, from Stagno to the site of Epitaurum, with the exception of a single sepulchral inscription found near Slano<sup>a</sup> of the same unimportant character as the last, absolutely no relics of Roman habitation have been brought to light. Carefully as I have myself examined this coast line I have neither been able to discover any new inscriptions nor to find any traces of a Roman road. It must be remembered, moreover, that this maritime strip, unlike the wilder tracks of the Herzegovinian interior, has been for centuries under antiquarian observation. It has formed a part of what, to the beginning of the present century, was the highly civilised Republic of Ragusa, the birthplace of Banduri, and the Roman remains of which had already been made a subject of research by Aldus Manutius in the early days of the Renaissance. And yet, despite this prolonged antiquarian scrutiny, the remains of the Roman towns and stations that we are told to look for in the neighbourhood of Stagno, in the bay of Malfi, the valley of Ombla, or on the site of Ragusa itself, are absolutely non-apparent.

The absence of such remains along the coast, and the general considerations already enumerated, had long forced me to the conclusion that the Roman road communication between Epitaurum and Narona ran inland and not along the coast. In this conclusion I was strengthened by observing on the flank of the mountain above the village of Plat, about three miles from the site of Epitaurum, the distinct trace of an ancient road running from the direction of Ragusa Vecchia towards a rocky *col* leading into the interior in the direction of Trebinje. Owing to the accumulation of talus on the platform of the road in the lapse of ages, the surface is concealed from view, and indeed it is best traced by looking at it from a hill a mile distant; but the arrow-like directness of its course at once proclaims its Roman origin<sup>b</sup>. In general appearance this talus-hidden track much resembles the track of the Roman road already described by me as running along the limestone steeps above the sea in the direction of the ancient city of Risinium.

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1761.

<sup>b</sup> The traces of the Roman road above Plat are doubtless the same as those observed by Dr. Constantin Jireček in the neighbourhood of Ragusa Vecchia. (*Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, p. 8.) Dr. Jireček observes that the "via vetus que vocatur via regis" is mentioned in the Ragusan Catasters of the fourteenth century, and supposes, with great probability, that its Slavonic name was "*Carski Put*," "Cæsar's Way," a name by which Roman roads were generally known to Serbs and Bulgars in the Middle Ages, and answering to the Byzantine ὁδὸς βασιλική. In 1880 I took Dr. Hoernes to visit the traces, and his impression of their appearance as recorded by him (*Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. i. p. 2) agrees entirely with my own.

The wild limestone ranges amongst which the trace of the Roman way above Epitaurum is seen to lose itself, pursuing when last discernible a North-Easterly direction, are known by the general name of Drinji Planina. Inland to the north of this mountain mass opens the well-watered valley of the Trebinjčica, on which stands the old Herzegovinian city of Trebinje. It was whilst exploring this district that I came upon a more important clue. About two miles and a-half south of Trebinje, a tributary inlet of the main valley opens into the mountains that lie between that city and Ragusa Vecchia. This plain, known from its liability to inundation as the Mokro Polje, or "wet plain," presents an elongated form, and its major axis, if produced, would exactly connect the present site of Trebinje with the former site of Epitaurum.

Whilst examining a curious earthen mound in the centre of the spacious Mokro Polje, about one hour from Trebinje, I observed a rounded block of stone (fig. 11\*), about two and a-half feet in length, lying in some bushes at its base. Its form

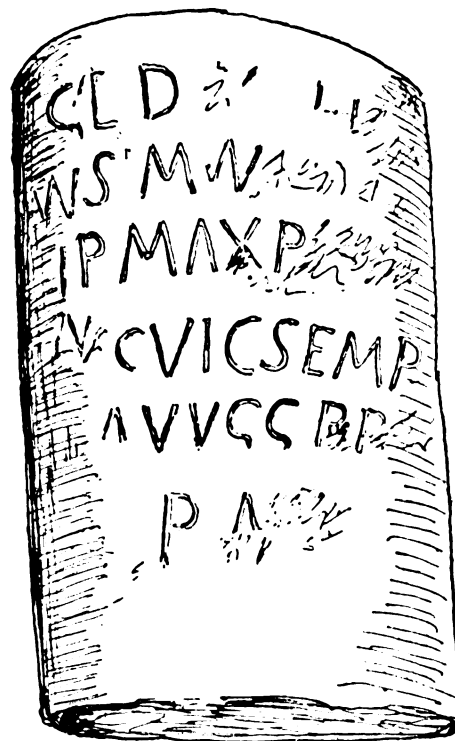


Fig. 11\*. ROMAN MILESTONE.  
Mokro Polje.

leading me to suspect that it might be a Roman milestone, I turned it over and discovered on the formerly buried side distinct traces of a Roman inscription,



which proved that my conjecture had been correct. The letters were unfortunately much weather-worn, and the copy which I am able to give, though the result of six separate visits to the spot, and careful collations of the inscription in all lights, is still far from satisfactory.

The titles "Vic(toriosissimi) Semp(er) Aug(usti)," which form the most legible part of the inscription, at once enable us to assign to it a fourth-century date. The latter part may, perhaps, be restored:—

PRINC)IP MAX P(EREN)  
N (A)C VIC SEMP  
(A) A V V G G B . R . P . N

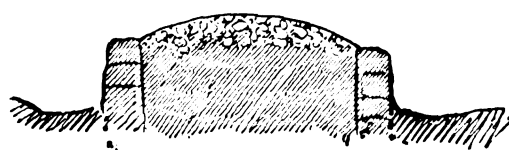
*i.e.* (Prin(cip(es) max(im)i p(eren)n(es) a)c Vic(toriosissimi) semp(er) Aug(usti) B(ono) r(ei)p(ublicæ) n(ati). The style thus elucidated agrees very well with the age of Valens and Valentinian, and it is possible that the work of road restoration begun in Dalmatia under Julian (as may be learnt from milliary inscriptions found at Naronæ, Zara, and elsewhere)<sup>a</sup> was continued under his successors. The imperfect preservation of the earlier part of the inscription prevents us from determining the names of the Emperors under whom this monument was raised, but the (A)AVVGG implies, according to the usage of the time, that two Augusti were then reigning.

Examining now the spot with a view to lighting on the traces of the road itself, the propinquity of which the milestone indicated, I was gratified with the sight of a slightly raised causeway running with arrow-like straightness across the plain, almost from north to south. On further inspection this proved to be the remains of an ancient road about seven paces wide, flanked by two small lateral ditches; and, as was to be expected from the nature of the soil, constructed of small fragments of grey limestone. In places it was extremely perfect, and presented a characteristic Roman section. Towards the middle it was slightly raised, and its sides were contained and supported by two low walls of massive well-cut masonry, with a slight inward slope (figs. 12<sup>a</sup>, 13<sup>a</sup>).

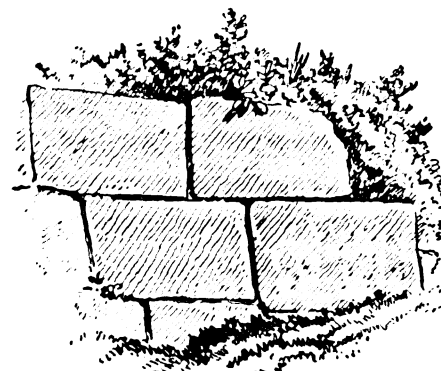
Southwards the track ran from the neighbourhood of the mound by which the fourth-century milestone lay straight and clear across the plain to an angle of mountain which concealed Trebinje from view. In places a modern path runs along the top of the embankment. Elsewhere it is accompanied by a mediæval paved

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 3207, 3208, 3209, 3211. The title given to Julian on these is "Victor ac triumphator totiusque orbis Augustus, bono reipublicæ natus."

way, or Turkish *kalderym*, quite distinct from the Roman work in character; and, finally, the roadline is prolonged, as so frequently in Britain, by a continuous line of hedgerow, reminding me of a "long hedge" on the Akeman Street.



(Fig. 12) Section of Roman Way  
across Mokro Polje.

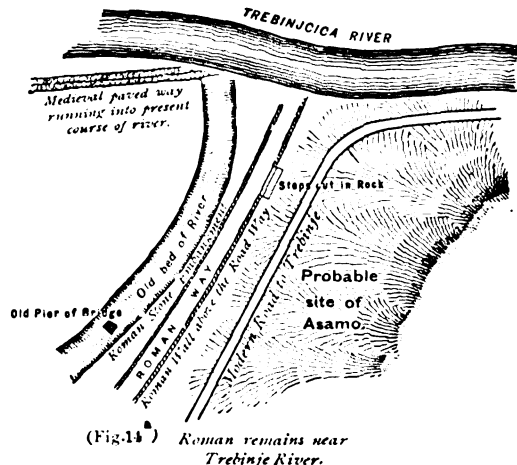


(Fig. 13) Fragment of side-wall  
supporting road-way.

A little way beyond the small church of St. Pantaleon, which belongs to the village of Čičevo, and nearing the mountain promontory already mentioned, the traces of the road become still more distinct. An old bed of the Trebinje river, along which its current must have flowed in Roman times, is here perceptible, taking a considerable bend southwards. Along this bend, in the narrow strip between the former channel of the river and the mountain steep, and just below the modern road, the old road-line forms a clear-cut terrace, banked up on the side of the former river-bed by a wall of well-cut stone blocks, of undoubtedly Roman construction. From fragments of this stone embankment a later dam, which also serves as a footway, has been built in a rough fashion across a marshy part of the old channel, and at this point may be seen the remains of a pier of older masonry, which seems to have been the land abutment of a Roman bridge across the former course of the Trebinjčica (fig. 14<sup>a</sup>).

A little below this appear other distinct traces of Roman work. On the steep above the track of the Roman road, and leading out of it, a flight of steps seven paces in width has been hewn, like so many street steps on the site of Epitaurum, out of the solid rock. These steps, of which only the first two or three are at present traceable, seem to show that at this point a considerable street mounted what is at present the bare limestone steep; and, taken in connexion with the traces of a Roman wall, here visible above the ancient road, as well as the stone embankment and bridge-pier below, lead us to seek for the Roman station which was the local predecessor of Trebinje rather in this vicinity than at Trebinje itself, where, so far as my observation goes, no Roman remains are to be found.

The neighbouring village of Čičevo occupies the pleasantest and most fertile angle of the Mokro Polje, and Roman coins are not unfrequently discovered in



the neighbouring fields.<sup>a</sup> It is, in fact, inherently probable that the Roman station should have been built terrace-fashion on the rocky steeps that flank the plain rather than on the "wet plain" itself. The fact that the Roman road across the Mokro Polje runs throughout on a low embankment shows that in ancient times, as at present, it was liable to floods; and though the periodical inundation, due mainly to the welling-up of the water, from rock reservoirs below the surface, is at present mostly confined to the southern part of the plain, it is probable that, in Roman times, when the mountains were more wooded, and the rainfall consequently greater, it was subject to floods throughout its length.

Beyond the old bed of the Trebinjčica the traces of the road disappear, destroyed in all probability by its alluvial deposits, and still more by the constant tendency that it shows in this part of its course to shift its channel, a tendency illustrated only a short distance beyond the last traces of the Roman road by the disappearance in its waters of a *kalderym*, or paved way, that apparently at no remote date followed its bank.

Having traced the Roman road northwards to the banks of the Trebinje river and the apparent site of a Roman station, I will return to the mound by which the milestone lay, as a starting-point for exploring its southward course.

Near this point there are apparent traces of the beginning of a branch line of road leading towards the modern hamlet of Bugovina, whence it probably ascended an intervening range into the plain of Zubci, and reached, by a pass

<sup>a</sup> I have a *denarius* of the Empress Lucilla from this site, with the reverse legend IVNONI LVCINAE.

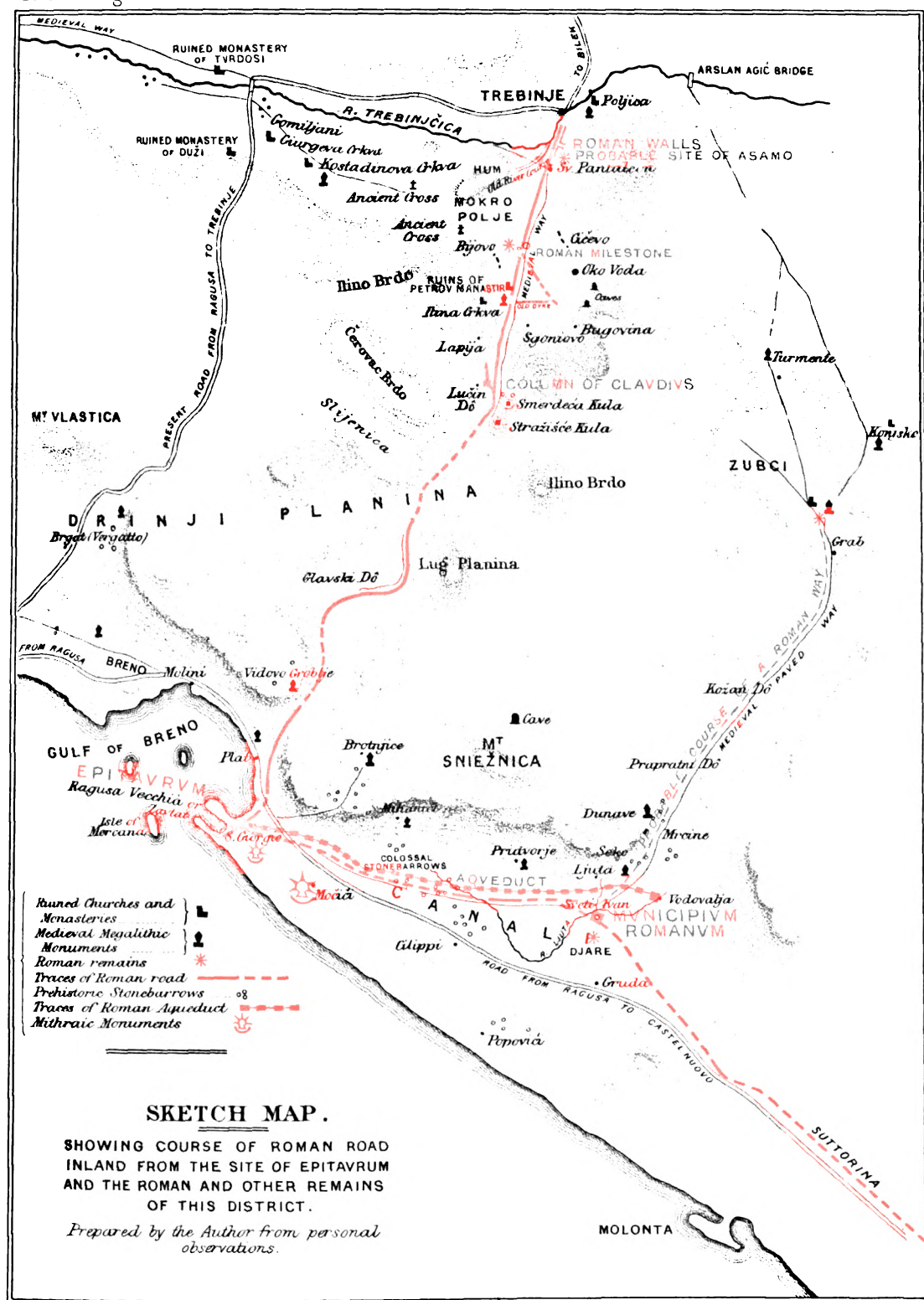
already alluded to, the site of the Roman station that appears to have existed in the plain of Canali midway between Epitaurum and the Rhizonic gulf.



Fig. 14\*. FIBULA FROM ZUBCI.

From Zubci I obtained a Roman *fibula* or safety-pin of very remarkable form (see fig. 14\*). It will be observed that the groove in which the pin itself catches is provided with a hinged lid, so as to keep the pin doubly secure, and the appearance of another groove above the hinged lid shows that this in turn was made fast by a small bolt or catch. As an example of an improved Roman safety-pin this *fibula*, so far as I am aware, is altogether unique, and the invention may be reasonably set to the credit of local, probably Epitaurian or Risinian, manufacture.

To return to the main road. The course of the Roman Way to the south continues so far as the plain extends with the same arrow-like directness as before (see sketch map Pl. III.), leaving on the right, less than a mile distant from the milestone mound, the mediæval ruins of an Old Serbian Minster dedicated to St. Peter—Petrov Manastir—the foundation of which I found ascribed by local saga, amongst others, to “Czar Duklijan”—the Emperor Diocletian! From this spot the trace of the Roman Way makes straight for a defile in the range already referred to, that separates the Mokro Polje from the Adriatic haven where Epitaurum formerly stood. Observing the point in the mountains to which the ancient roadway tended, I inquired of a party of peasants whom I found working in the fields near to where the milestone lay whether there was not another stone like it in that direction. All shook their heads, but at last an old Mahometan answered that there certainly was a rock known as “the round stone” (*Obli Kamen*) in the direction I had indicated, and, finally, for a consideration, consented to guide me to the spot. Three-quarters of an hour’s walk brought us to a rocky eminence at the entrance of the defile (which is known as Lučin Dô), commanding a full view of the long Mokro Polje, and here, after a prolonged hunt among the brushwood, my guide hit upon a large cylindrical fragment, partly imbedded in the soil, which turned out to be the “round stone” we were seeking. It lay not far from the present mule-path between Trebinje and Ragusa Vecchia, which here follows more or less accurately the course of the Roman Way.



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## ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM, BY A. J. EVANS, F.S.A.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1883.*



The "round stone" proved to be part of a larger monument, other portions of which I presently discovered in the bushes near. The first discovered fragment was 81 inches in length, exhibiting at what was its upper end a circular section  $25\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, but which took the shape at its lower end of an ellipse  $28\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $25\frac{1}{2}$  inches, thus presenting a slightly-tapering outline, showing it to have formed part of a somewhat obelisk-like column. At its larger elliptical end lay a huge fragment of its square base.

A few feet off lay a smaller fragment, which appeared to be the top of the column. Upon this was an inscription giving the name and titles of the Emperor Claudius, engraved in letters nearly three inches high, so as to be legible from a considerable distance (fig. 15<sup>a</sup>). The central portion of the inscription was broken away, but from a calculation of the letter space at our disposal it can be restored with sufficient certainty.

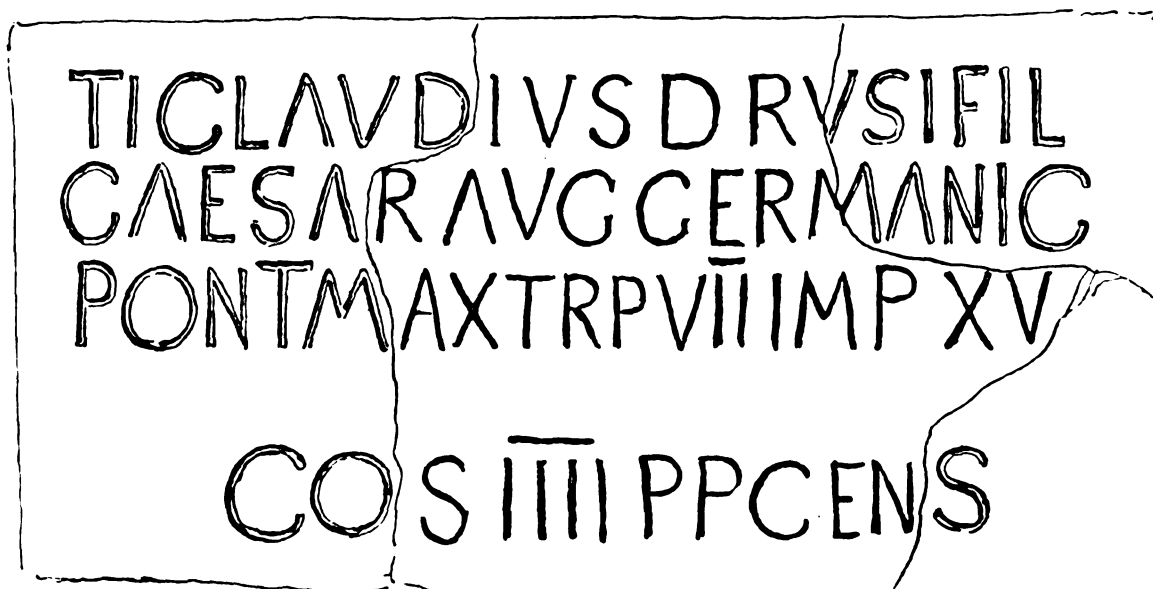


Fig. 15<sup>a</sup>. MILLIARY COLUMN OF CLAUDIUS.  
Lučin Dô.

*Tiberius* CLAVDIVS, DRVSI FILIUS, CAESAR AVGVSTVS, GERMANICVS,  
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS, TRIBUNICIA POTESTATE VIII IMPERATOR XV,  
CONSUL IIII, PATER PATRIÆ, CENSOR.

The date of the inscription would thus be 47-48 A.D. The column itself is unquestionably of the milliary kind, and, though the continuation of the inscription recording the mileage from Epitaurum or elsewhere has unfortunately perished,

the mention of the name and titles of Claudius shows that, in all probability, this road connecting Epitaurum with the interior was completed under his auspices. It would thus appear that this Emperor, by the hands of his legates, continued the work of road-making through the Dalmatian Alps, so worthily begun by Dolabella under his predecessor Tiberius. The date of this Claudian column, which must certainly have recorded no mean achievement of Roman engineering, almost synchronises (if the numbers supplied be correct) with the opening of the *Via Claudia Augusta*, leading from the mouth of the Po, over the Brenner Pass,

to the banks of the Upper Danube, the construction of which had been directed by Drusus, but which was finally completed by his son in 47 A.D.<sup>a</sup> It would appear that in Upper as well as in Lower Illyricum Claudius cemented the conquests of his father and predecessor by completing another great line of Roman road, this time leading from the Adriatic to the Drina and the Middle-Danubian system. The still-existing tribute of the cities of Upper Illyricum to Dolabella would lead us to believe that this, like so many other Dalmatian roads, owed its first beginnings to the energetic provincial Governor of Tiberius.

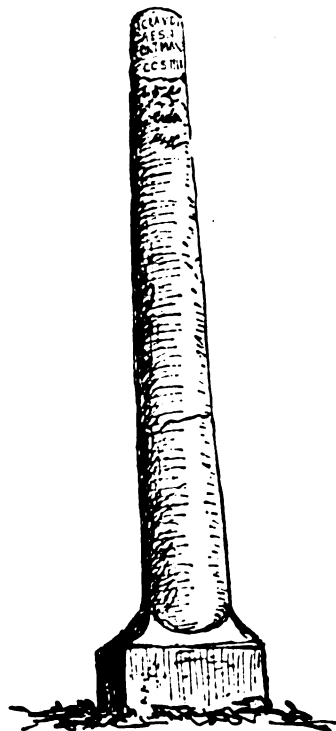


Fig. 16<sup>a</sup>. COLUMN OF CLAUDIUS.  
(Restored.)

The diameter of the summit of this inscribed fragment, the section of which was circular, was just twelve inches; the lower part of it was too much broken to enable an exact measurement to be taken. Assuming that the column or obelisk, after taking its circular form, continued to diminish in the ratio of about six inches to every 80, indicated by the first discovered fragment, the whole must have stood originally about 20 feet high, excluding the base,

which may have added another three feet above the ground level. When perfect the monument would have presented an imposing appearance, and from its conspicuous site must have been visible for miles (fig. 16<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>a</sup> The construction of this road is recorded on a milliary column found at Feltria (C. I. L. v. 8002):  
TI · CLAVDIVS · DRVSI · F || CAESAR · AVG · GERMA||NICVS · PONTIFEX · MAXV||MVS · TRIBVNICIA ·  
POTESTA||TE · VI. COS. IV. IMP XI P. P. || CENSOR · VIAM · CLAVDIAM || AVGVSTAM · QVAM · DRVSVS ||  
PATER · ALPIBVS HELLO PATE || FACTIS · DEREXERAT · MVNIT · AB || ALTINO · VSQVE · AD · FLYMEN ||  
DANVVIVM · M. P. CCCL. Another similar was found at Meran (C. I. L. v. 8003).



Near the remains of this larger column were fragments apparently of two lesser monuments of the same kind, the basis or part of the shaft of one being still fixed in the soil. In all I counted seven cylindrical fragments, but, although I excavated the half-buried fragments and repeatedly explored the spot, I did not succeed in bringing to light any fresh inscription.

Following the later mule-track which leads from the Mokro Polje past "the round stone," and across the mountains to the Gulf of Breno and the peninsular site of the ancient Epitaurum, now Ragusa Vecchia, I came here and there on distinct terraces along the mountain side, which evidently mark the continued course of the Roman road-line. These traces were most apparent below the Turkish Kula or watch-tower of Smerdeća, on the flanks of the Lug Planina, and again at Glavski Dô, where a considerable *kalderym* follows apparently the old trace. Beyond this point the remains may be traced uninterruptedly till they join the trace of the Roman road, which myself and others had already observed running along the mountain side above the village of Plat and the Gulf of Breno. Thence it descended to Obod and the spot where the memorial monument was discovered dedicated to Dolabella, the Road-Maker, by the grateful cities of Upper Illyricum, and past the cliffs which served as Roman gravestones, to Epitaurum itself.

From the column of Claudius to Ragusa Vecchia may be reckoned four hours of difficult progress by the present mule-paths, and, considering the ruggedness of the country, the Roman road must have made still greater bends in traversing these *Planinas*. The distance as the crow flies is barely eight miles, but the distance by the Roman road could hardly have been under 15 miles. If we now add to this an additional five miles as the distance between the "round stone" of Claudius and the remains on the Trebinjčica, which apparently indicate the former existence of a Roman station, we arrive within a mile of the xx m.p. given in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the distance between Epitaurum and Asamo, the intermediate station on the junction-line Ad Zizium—Epitaurum. *Asamus* appears elsewhere in Illyricum as a river-name, being the ancient form of the Bulgarian river Osma. Judging therefore from the name alone, we should naturally look for the site of *Asamo* on a river.

The discovery of an important line of Roman road (as its monuments show), running inland from Epitaurum, and the identification of the Roman remains on the Trebinjčica with the ancient "Asamo," give us at once a new starting-point for our investigation. The conclusion which I had already arrived at on other grounds, that the junction-line connecting Epitaurum with the main line of com-

munication Narona—Scodra, ran through the interior of the country, and not along the coast, as hitherto believed, is placed on something more than a theoretic basis.

Assuming that the course of the Roman road across the Mokro Polje gives at least an approximate indication of its subsequent route over the ranges beyond the Trebinje river, the station of "Ad Zizio," marked as the point of junction between the Epitaurum road and the main line from Narona, and placed 28 miles distant from "Asamo," should be sought in the district of Rudine, beyond the Herzegovinian town of Bilek, in the district that is, in which, from independent considerations, I had been already led to seek it. I am informed by an engineer who had to do with a modern road in that district (although circumstances have prevented my verifying his statement) that traces of an ancient embanked way, distinct in structure from the Turkish *kalderyms*, and believed by him from the directness of its course to be Roman, are to be seen leading from near Bilek, past Korita and Crnica and across the plain of Gacko, in a Northerly direction. The existence of this ancient trace greatly supports the view already advanced that the junction-line from Epitaurum continues to pursue the same general direction after leaving "Asamo"; and corroborates the opinion that the real usefulness of the line from Epitaurum to "Ad Zizio" was not so much as affording a practicable avenue of land communication with Narona, but rather as forming a section of an independent road-line, the further course of which is clearly marked by the ancient embanked way across the plain of Gacko, connecting the Adriatic haven with the Drina Valley and the Danubian system, and which, further inland, coalesced with the line already indicated, that brought Risinium into the same connexion.

In the valley of the Drina this Adriatic route would intersect another main-line of thoroughfare between West and East, that, namely, which brought Salonæ into communication with the ore-bearing ranges of what in the Middle Ages formed the cradle of the Rascian kingdom, and, ultimately, with the Macedonian valleys. Of the Roman remains along this route I hope to speak in a succeeding paper; meanwhile, it is interesting to reflect in connexion with the Roman road from Epitaurum with the interior that, when centuries later its local successor, the Republic of Ragusa, took the lead in opening up anew the re-barbarized midlands of Illyria to commerce and civilization, her caravans passed along a line identical throughout the greater part of its extent with that of the Roman Way. So close, indeed, is the parallel, that the Itinerary of the Venetian Ramberti, who in 1533 passed along this Ragusan overland route to Con-

stantinople, may serve to indicate the probable position of some of the Roman stations.<sup>a</sup> His first night station after leaving Ragusa by a rough mountain track was Trebinje, sixteen miles distant, near which, as we have seen, was the ancient Asamo, 20 m.p. according to the *Tabula* from Epitaurum. His next station, twenty miles, is Rudine, the very district in which we have been enabled to place the site of Ad Zizio. "Curita" (Korito) and "Cervice" (Crnica),<sup>b</sup> the next two stations mentioned, are still on the trace of the Roman road. In all, from Ragusa to the Drina was then five days' journey.

Thus it was that in days when Ragusa stood forth as the successful rival of Venice in the Balkan lands, her caravans that transported the products of Italian industry overland to the shores of the Black Sea and to the furthest East, and bore in return the silk of Tartary, the spices of India and Arabia, together with the silver ore of the Serbian mountains, to be transhipped to Venice and Ancona and transported to the markets of Florence and the West, passed along a route which had been opened out by Roman engineers over a thousand years before to their forefathers of Epitaurum, under the auspices, as we now know, of the son of Drusus.

<sup>a</sup> Ramberti, *Delle cose de Turchi, Libri tre, Nel primo, il viaggio da Venetia à Costantinopoli, &c.* p. 5, (In Vinezia, nell' anno m.d. xxxxi. In casa di Maestro Bernardin Milanese.)

<sup>b</sup> Mentioned already in 1380 as the site of a Ragusan customs station and small commercial colony. (*Liber Reformationum Majoris, Minoris, et Rogatorum Consiliorum, Civitatis Ragusii.* Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 75.)

II.—*On a Hoard of Bronze Objects found in Wilburton Fen, near Ely.*

By JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

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Read April 20, 1882.

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By the kind permission of Mr. Oliver Claude Pell, of Wilburton Manor, near Ely, I am enabled to exhibit to the Society an exceedingly interesting and extensive hoard of ancient bronze objects recently found in Wilburton Fen. I am indebted to Mr. Pell for the following particulars as to the manner and the place in which the discovery was made. The hoard was found in the month of January of the present year (1882), in Wilburton Rush Fen, in the county of Cambridge; the exact spot being about 800 yards due south of Mingay Farm, on the catch-water drain, and just six miles south-west of Ely Cathedral. The objects were resting on the clay, at a depth of from 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches below the surface of the black peat earth, and were found by a man while "gripping" or cutting a deep narrow grip across the ground, in order to let off superfluous water. The whole of the articles lay within a space of about 6 feet by 3 feet, and they were for the most part dug out under the immediate supervision of Mr. Pell. A second careful examination of the spot brought to light a few small spear-heads and some minor articles, which are included in the list which follows.

Wilburton Rush Fen, in which the "find" was made, forms part of the large circle of fen or marsh-land surrounding the "highlands" of the parishes of Wilburton, Haddenham, Sutton, Witcham, Mepal, Coveney, Witchford, Ely, Thetford, and Stretham, composing the original and true Isle of Ely. In a map in Dugdale's *History of Embanking* this district is shown as under water, and at the time of the Conquest it proved an impassable barrier to the Normans. It was at Aldreth, about two miles west of the spot where this hoard was discovered, that the Normans were so often foiled in making a floating causeway in order to effect an entrance into the isle. The old bed of the river Ouse is about three-quarters of a mile from the scene of the discovery, and an old watercourse

running into it passes within 200 yards of the spot, which is in fact at almost the lowest part of the fen.

In old times these fens were constantly flooded by the inland waters on their way to the sea; but in the time of the Commonwealth a new channel, 100 feet wide, from Earith to Littleport, was cut and embanked, and sluices were constructed. In later times the water has been pumped by engines into embanked drains leading to the sea, and the area of the fens, which was at one time covered with soft black peat to a depth of 10 or 12 feet, and frequently some feet below the level of the water, has now been effectually drained. The peaty mass in drying shrank to not more than a quarter of its original thickness, and so dry did it become that a practice arose of burning or setting fire to the reclaimed land with the view of increasing its productive power; and in a hot summer the peaty soil when once on fire would continue to smoulder for months. Although prohibited by Act of Parliament, the practice continued, and there are persons still alive who remember the particular field of seventeen acres in which these bronze objects lay, having been in a blaze from one end to the other. It is to this burning of the soil that the injured and partially fused condition of many of the instruments in the deposit is probably to be attributed.

Before proceeding to examine in detail the various forms present in the hoard, and the peculiarities which they exhibit, it will be well to give a general list of the objects, classified to a certain extent under the prevailing types.

BRONZE OBJECTS FOUND IN WILBURTON FEN.

Looped palstave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Socketed celts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tanged chisel (broken)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Small knife or dagger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Swords (broken)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Scabbard-ends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Spear-heads of various forms—								
For the most part whole	-	-	-	-	-	-	87	} 115
Much broken	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	
Ferrules, long	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	} 9
do. with spheroidal ends	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
Carried forward								144

						Brought forward	-	-	144
Annular buttons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hollow rings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Solid rings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Various objects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Melted metal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

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I now proceed to describe more minutely the various articles comprised in this hoard, and in doing so shall refer for illustration where practicable to my *Ancient Bronze Implements*.

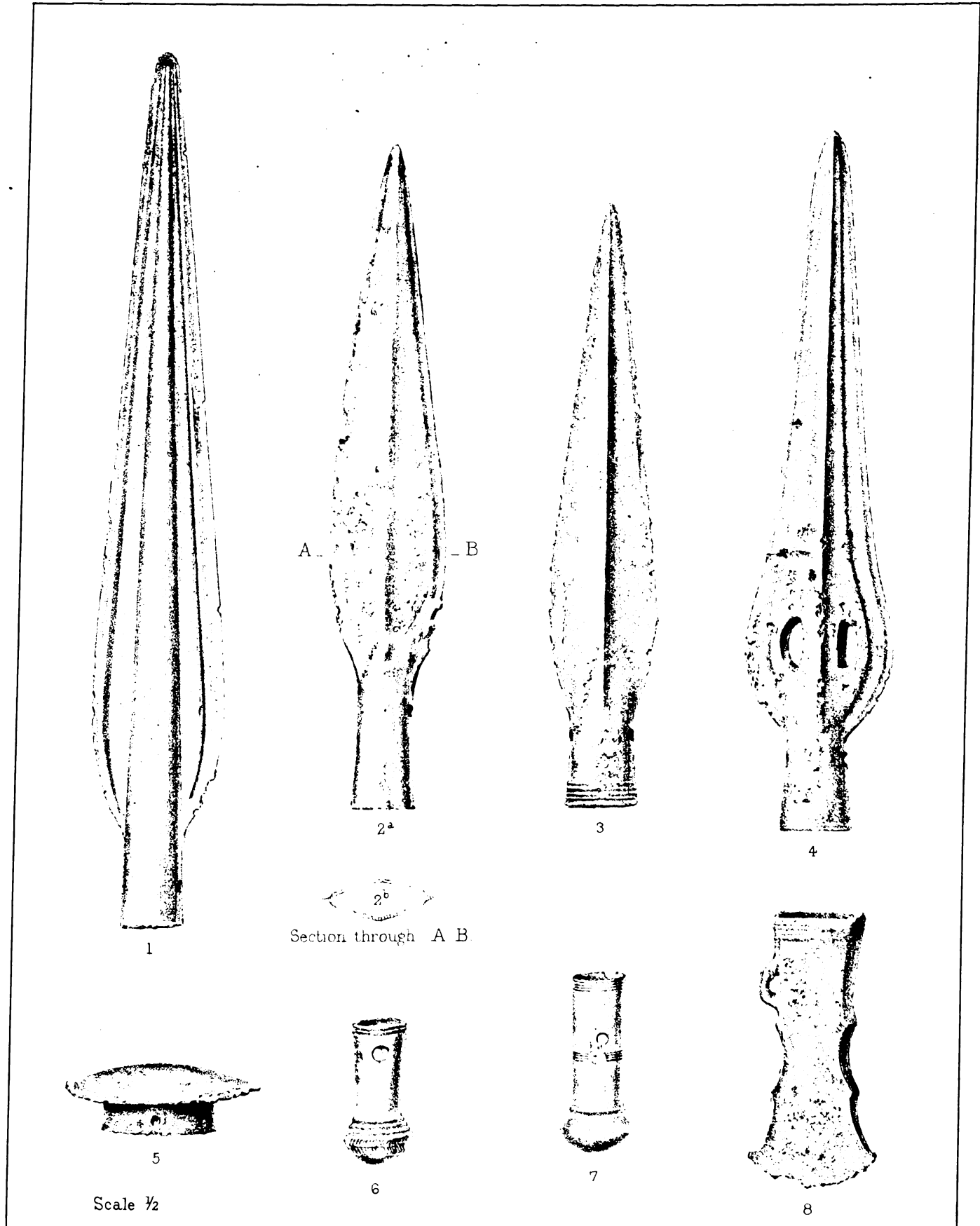
*Looped Palstave*.—The only specimen of this tool or weapon is 6 inches long, and closely resembles my fig. 83; it expands, however, more at the edge, which is  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch wide.

*Socketed Celts*.—Of these there were two. One is  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, with a slight double moulding round the expanding square mouth, not so broad as that on fig. 116. There are narrow vertical ribs running down inside the socket, two or three on each of the four sides. The other celt is of a rare form, 4 inches long, and like fig. 157, but with a better defined beaded moulding round the mouth, which is nearly square. The loop is broad and stout. It is shown on the scale of  $\frac{1}{2}$  linear measure in Pl. V. fig. 8.

*Tanged Chisel*.—The blade only of a small example,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch long, was found in the subsequent examination of the spot. It is like that of fig. 192\* in character, but wider in proportion.

*Knife or Dagger*.—This solitary example is much the same in character as fig. 263, but instead of a rivet-hole it exhibits a semicircular notch in the centre of the base. It is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches long.

*Swords*.—The whole of these have been broken into pieces, probably in old times, and some of the fragments have suffered from the action of fire. Seven of the weapons have been reconstituted from the fragments in a more or less complete manner, and their length appears to have been from 23 to 24 inches. They are of the leaf-shaped form, and in general character resemble fig. 342. They all seem to have been provided with a central slot in the hilt-plate, and seven have had holes or slots for a single rivet in each wing at the base of the blade. In the remaining four, provision is made for two rivets in each wing.



C. F. Keble, Castle St. Holburn, E.C.

BRONZE OBJECTS FROM WILBURTON FEN, NEAR ELY.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1883.*





Several of the rivets have remained in place, but there are no traces of the horn or wood of which, probably, the hilts were made.

*Scabbard-ends.*—Of these only one is in good condition. Indeed but for a slight injury at the mouth this fine specimen is perfect. It is identical in character with that shown in fig. 364, and is  $13\frac{1}{4}$  inches long. There is a small cylindrical projection at the tip, but I can see no traces of the usual diminutive hole for a rivet to secure the non-metallic part of the scabbard. The other three scabbard-ends are represented by fragments, but are of the same character. In two, the small rivet-hole is visible.

*Spear-heads.*—Of these there were about 115 in all, but owing to the broken condition of some of them their number cannot accurately be ascertained. The great majority of them, some 92 in number, are of the ordinary leaf-shaped form, showing the conical socket for the shaft running down the middle of the blade, and with a rivet-hole running through the socket in the same plane as the blade. In one instance of a lance-head,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, there is a hole only on one side of the socket. The general type is that of figs. 384-386, and the length of different specimens of the ordinary form ranges from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 11 inches. The edges of some of the blades are slightly fluted.

In one spear-head,  $7\frac{1}{8}$  inches long, the base of the blade is slightly truncated, so that it projects at right angles from the socket nearly  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch on either side.

On five of the spear-heads there are small ribs running down each side of the conical projection on the blade, as in fig. 383. On one remarkably fine specimen,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, the blade is worked in steps like that from Fulbourn, Cambridge.<sup>a</sup> It is represented in Pl. V. fig. 1.

In ten others there is a peculiarity which has not, I think, been previously noticed. It is that, instead of the socket for the shaft appearing as a conical projection along the blade, the surface of the blade is evenly rounded so as to show a pointed oval in section (Pl. V. figs. 2a, 2b). In five the section is more lozenge-shaped, there being an angular ridge running along the blade. The spear-heads of this class are from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to 12 inches long, and as a rule their edges are fluted. In a ridged specimen of this kind there are two round holes like those in fig. 416, but rather nearer the base of the blade, which is somewhat truncated where it joins the socket.

In one remarkable example,  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches long (Pl. V. fig. 3), the central ridge is made more pronounced by the four facets of the blade being hollowed so that

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. XIX. pl. iv. 5.

the section is a lozenge with the sides curved inwards. The mouth of the socket is ornamented by five parallel beadings.

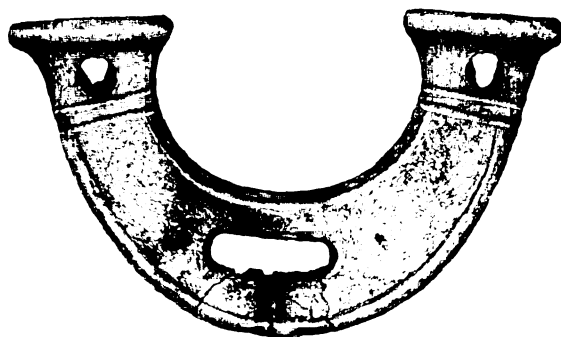
The spear-heads, with crescent-shaped openings in the blade, are five in number, varying in length from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches to  $12\frac{3}{4}$  inches. The longest much resembles fig. 418, but the socket is not ornamented, and is moreover hexagonal. The next in size ( $10\frac{3}{4}$  inches) has smaller openings in the blade, and a sharp, well-defined median ridge running along it, making the receptacle for the shaft almost like that of fig. 396 (Pl. V. fig. 4). The third and fourth, both of which are imperfect, have the blade with two facets only on each face, thus giving a lozenge-shaped section like that of some of the leaf-shaped spear-heads already described. One of these has a triple beading round the mouth. The smallest has the usual conical projection running along the blade. In some of the broken spear-heads there are remains of carbonized wood, but whether they were lost or buried with their shafts attached, or whether, in some instances, a part of the broken shaft was left within them, cannot well be determined. No traces of the shafts appear, however, to have been observed in the peaty soil, from which they were exhumed. Although the whole of these weapons are provided with a rivet-hole through the socket, for the purpose of securing it to the shaft, there is no trace in any of them of a metallic rivet, and we may therefore infer that the pin in general use for securing these spear-heads to their shafts was, as usual, made of some perishable material such as wood or horn.

*Ferrules.*—With one exception, those of the ordinary elongated form are more or less broken. The longest fragment is, however,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and seems to have lost only a small part of the base. It is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter at the mouth, and about midway along it is a small rivet-hole. The type is that of fig. 423. The perfect specimen is only  $4\frac{3}{8}$  inches long, more tapering in form, and with the rivet-hole about an inch from the mouth. The ferrules, with spheroidal ends, differ in character from any that I have figured. The longest (Pl. V. fig. 7) is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, with a cylindrical portion about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter, on which are two bands, each of four parallel grooves, the one near the mouth, and the other a little way below the rivet-hole. There is a projecting bead round the base of the spheroidal end, which is otherwise smooth and unornamented. The other ferrule (Pl. V. fig. 6) is shorter, being 2 inches long. Two parallel grooves run round the cylindrical part at the mouth, and there are three round the upper part of the bulb. The bottom, which is a segment of a sphere, has at the margin two concentric bands, about  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch wide, hatched with lines, in the outer ring to the right, and in the inner to the left. Of the

third of these ferrules but little more than the bulb remains. This is ornamented with a series of concentric grooves round its centre.

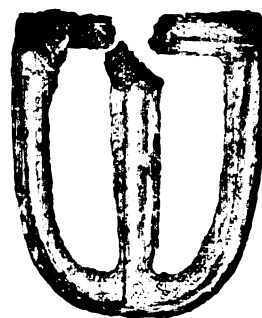
*Miscellaneous Objects.*—Of those present in the hoard the largest is not unlike the lid of a jar, consisting of a convex circular plate about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, with a shallow groove round the margin, and having attached to it, on the concave side, a short tube of metal about 1 inch long and about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter. Through this runs a hole for a rivet, by which it was probably attached to a piece of wood. It is hard to assign a purpose to it, but it may have formed a covering for the end of an axle-tree, or possibly may have been let into the centre of a buckler. A drawing of it is given in Pl. V. fig. 5.

Equally mysterious are several objects provided with various holes and recesses, some of which may possibly be classed under the heading which forms the usual last resource of an antiquary, "horse trappings." Others, however, are more probably fittings connected with the belts or straps by which the scabbards of the swords were suspended. One of these articles is a flat C-shaped object expanding at the two ends, in which are deep recesses with rivet-holes through them. Through the middle of the curved part is an oblong hole which communicates with a narrow slit in the thickness of the metal that opens out at the back of the C. One face is ornamented with marginal grooves round the curved part and double transverse lines behind the rivet-holes. They seem to have been punched in by means of a blunt chisel-ended punch.



Semicircular object.  
Full size.

Another object formed of whiter metal than usual is much like a modern scabbard end, but appears to be hardly thick enough for that purpose. Its two faces are not solid, but have two openings through them on each side of a central bar, like an elongated Lombardic  $\mathfrak{A}$ . One face of this object is ornamented in nearly the same way as that last described. Not only is there a recess through the broad straight end, but there is an oval hole nearly  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch long through the rounded end.



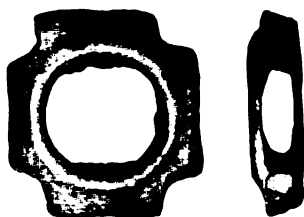
Perforated tag?  
Full size.



Perforated hollowed plate.  
Full size.

A third object looks like the mounting for the end of a broad strap of thick leather, but with openings to allow of thin strips in continuation of the main strap to come through. It is like a piece of a tube  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches long and  $\frac{3}{8}$  in diameter, closed at the ends, but with a longitudinal opening  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch wide all along it on one side, and three small openings about  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch by  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch arranged at equal distances along the opposite side.

Another curious object is a flat, short-limbed, broad cross, with the inner angles rounded, and with each limb hollow so that a strap could run through it, and having its centre voided by a large circular hole, round which runs a beaded moulding. The whole would fit into a square hole, but little more than 1 inch across, and the breadth of each limb is about  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch; the total thickness is rather more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. Allied to this are some remarkable hollow rings of nearly circular section, but slightly flattened on one face. Through the periphery are three broad openings almost touching each other, so that the supports from one face of the ring to the other are at three of the corners of a square. Opposite the centre of the fourth side of the square is a smaller opening. The triangular supports from one face of the ring to the other do not extend the whole way across the ring, so that on the inner side there is a groove all round. Two of these rings were found nearly perfect, and there are portions of two others. They are different in character from the jet rings with perforations at the sides, like fig. 372 in my *Ancient Stone Implements*, &c.



Perforated Cross.  
Full size.

Of solid rings of circular section there are four: two 1 inch, one  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch, and one  $\frac{9}{16}$  inch in external diameter.



Perforated Ring.  
Full size.

Of annular buttons, with two loops at the back, like fig. 500, there are two, one perfect and the other broken. They are  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter, the annular part being about  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch wide. There is a fragment of a similar ring of less diameter, but it may be part of one of the perforated rings already described. It will be remembered that the Edinburgh specimen which I have engraved as my fig. 500

was, like these, found in company with leaf-shaped swords, and that such weapons have on several occasions been found in company with rings of bronze.

The only other objects that require description are by no means easy to describe. In form they more nearly resemble the terminations of the hilts of some daggers belonging to the Early Iron Period than anything else with which I am acquainted, though they are much smaller. They are, however, not altogether unlike our common drawer-handles. The straight central part, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch long, expands in the middle, and has a long pointed oval opening through it in the same plane as the two ends of the object, which are turned back from the central part, and then turned slightly outwards and end in small knobs. The extreme length of these ends from the face of the central part is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. One of these objects is complete; of the other one half only was found. I am at a loss to assign a purpose to them.



Curved object.  
Full size.

Of English hoards, that which approaches most closely in character to this from Wilburton Fen is that of Blackmoor, near Selborne, described by Lord Selborne in Bell's edition of Gilbert White's well-known *History*, vol. ii. p. 381. It consisted of twenty-seven fragments of sword-blades, some of which when put together made complete swords; two fragments of sword-sheaths, one "grooved socket," perhaps a ferrule, eighteen large and six small spear-heads, two "spear-points," three rings, and two fragments of uncertain use. The sword-blades as in the present instance had been broken before they were buried, and the edges of some of the spear-heads had been hacked and notched in a manner which could hardly have resulted from use. Neither palstaves nor socketed celts seem however to have been present in the Blackmoor hoard.

A Welsh hoard, that of Guilsfield,\* in Montgomeryshire, also presents various points of analogy with that of Wilburton Fen. In it there were several looped palstaves and socketed celts, two gouges, broken swords, scabbard-ends, spear-heads, and ferrules. One spear-head had the lunate openings. The Glancych or Pant-y-maen hoard may also be compared with this, as may also that of Nettleham, in which were socketed celts of the same peculiar character as one of those from Wilburton Fen—spear-heads and a ferrule, but no swords.

Whether the Wilburton hoard is to be regarded as personal, or as that of a merchant or bronze-founder, is a difficult question. There is an entire absence of

\* *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2d S. vol. ii. p. 251; *Arch. Camb.* 3rd S. vol. x. p. 214; *Montgom. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 437.

moulds, jets from castings, and portions of cakes of metal, and the only fragments of fused metal which are present are such as might have originated in the burning of the peat in which the hoard was buried. On the other hand, the broken condition of the swords, which from the bending of the metal appears to have been brought about before their burial in the peat, affords an argument against the hoard being merely that of a merchant intended for sale or barter, or of the whole being weapons in personal use. The varied character of the spear-heads, both in size and form, is against their being the weapons belonging to some detachment of a native army, and on the whole I am rather in favour of regarding the hoard as the property of some early merchant of bronze, whose stock was in part old metal destined for the crucible, and in part tools and weapons possibly intended to be bartered away for a greater weight of metal in the form of broken or worn-out instruments. If, as seems probable, the site where the hoard was discovered was in the Bronze Age of Britain a waste of waters, we must assume that the deposit of these instruments in the peaty bottom of the mere was unintentional, and was probably caused by the upsetting of a canoe. There is one other possibility, viz., that they may have been thrown into the water as precious offerings to the gods, as has been suggested by Mr. Worsaae; but where votive offerings of such a kind were made it seems to have been the practice, as with the gold coins offered to the divinity of the Seine, to deface and injure the offerings, so that they could not again be restored to their pristine worldly uses. In the present hoard, though the swords and some other articles seem to have been broken in ancient times, many of the spear-heads, and several other objects, are absolutely uninjured. The spot where they were deposited must also before the drainage of the fens have been in all probability inaccessible, except by a boat or canoe. Whatever the origin of its deposit, and whoever its last owner, the hoard is of great value and interest from the number and variety of the forms which it comprises, and from the novelty of some of the types it exhibits, and the Society is much indebted to Mr. Pell for bringing it before them.

III.—*On a Hoard of Bronze, Iron, and other Objects found in Belbury Camp, Dorset. Communicated by EDWARD CUNNINGTON, Esq., of Dorchester.*

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Read March 30, 1882.

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I HAVE the honour of exhibiting to the Society of Antiquaries, through Mr. Joshua James Foster, of Dorchester, some objects of bronze, iron, glass, and earthenware lately found together in Belbury Camp, near Higher Lychett, Poole, Dorset.

This camp (see Plan on next page) is nearly circular, with a south aspect, the ground gradually sloping for about 700 feet to a small stream. Its rampart on the north side is the best preserved, showing a height of 10 feet above the external ditch; that on the east is in process of destruction by the plough. Its length and breadth are each about 11 or 12 chains, making an inside area of rather more than 10 acres. The entrances east and west are guarded by the vallum being brought inside about 82 feet. The centres of north and south are open to the north for a road and to the south for the water supply. The breadth of the vallum was 41 feet in its present condition. The objects and a large quantity of wrought iron were all found together in the western side from 2 feet to 3 feet underground whilst draining the camp.

The antiquities discovered were as follows :—

Two bronze cast figures about 4 inches long with bull's head and horns.

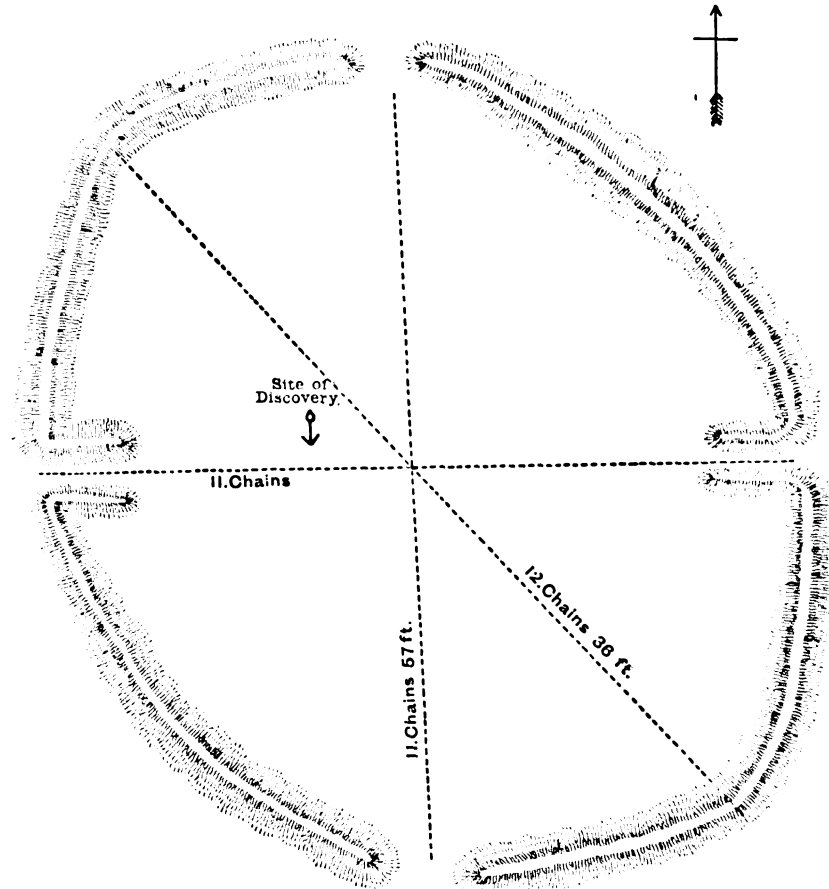
Two small bronze ornaments pierced with holes for fastening on wood, and ornamented on the sides and tops.

Two large bronze rings, 3 inches in diameter, with small rings encircling them for attachment.

Three smaller bronze rings.

Handle of an iron dagger with bronze fittings.

Piece of bronze with iron ribs for strengthening it.



Belbury Camp.

An anchor (see fig. opposite) 4 feet 6 inches long,  $27\frac{1}{2}$  inches from point to point of the fluke, the main stem varying from 2 to 3 inches in breadth, the links of the chain close to anchor 5 inches in diameter, the rest of the links about 2 inches.

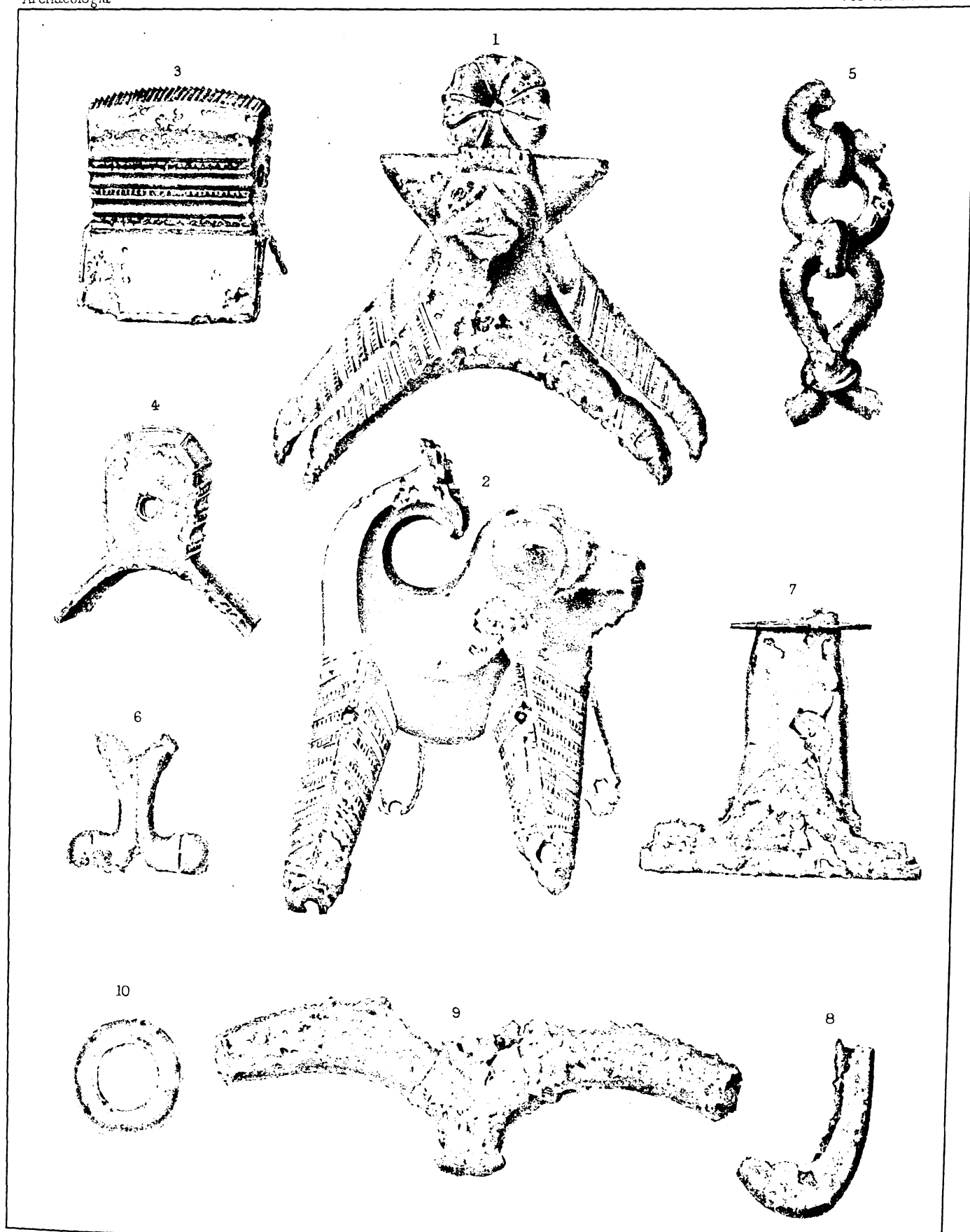
Two glass beads 1 inch in diameter, and six of the same kind  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter.

Several fragments of bronze.

A bar of iron 3 feet long, and 1 inch by  $\frac{3}{4}$  in thickness.

Large nails, 6 to 7 inches long, "as thick as a thumb" (see the passage of Cæsar below).





Of Belbury Camp, near Poole, Dorset.

OBJECTS FROM BELBURY CAMP, NEAR POOLE, DORSET.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1883.*

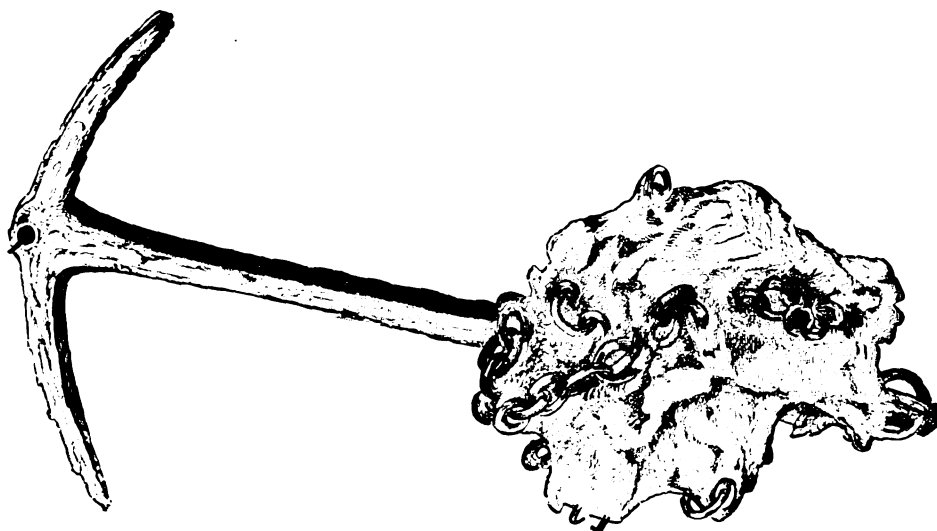


A large sledge hammer, 6 inches long,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches square, weight  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.

A smaller hammer.

An iron hatchet.

A long iron with two feet, exactly similar to an andiron.



Anchor from Belbury Camp.

A piece of fine bronze chain or armilla.

Two or three rounded flat pieces of iron, which may be timber-clamps.

Half of a good quern of a very hard sandstone.

Fragments of black well-burnt pottery.

This hoard was found in the autumn of 1881. Having heard of the discovery, I paid a visit to the old woman who was reported to possess several of the objects. On inquiring of her for them, she told me that she "hadn't a' got 'em." On my asking what had become of them, she said "Well, there! I was obliged to send 'em to my poor boy, for he was ter'ble bad, and did sort o' pine for 'em; and a' thought if a' could have thic there little dog, and nail un up over the door, a' would be better." I then went to the son's house, where I duly found the animal nailed over the door. Afterwards I learned that a quantity of beads, a duplicate of the animal, and some pieces of rusty iron, had been discovered at the same time and place, but had been dispersed. My search for these was successful, and its result appears in this communication.

My idea is, that the bull was used as an ornament to the helmet, as illustrated in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 2nd edition,

p. 566. On one of the helmets there engraved "from antique gems" is affixed a lion in a somewhat similar position. The writer says, "In the Roman army of later times the crest served not only for ornament, but also to distinguish the different centurions, each of whom wore a casque of a peculiar form and appearance."

The anchor and its chain are remarkable in respect of their discovery on a spot at a considerable distance from, and height above, any place where they could have been used, even in the earliest historic times. They are also singularly illustrative of the following passages in the third book of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, "*De Bello Gallico*," describing the Veneti, and their ships and naval power:—

"Hujus civitatis [Venetorum] est longe amplissima auctoritas omnis oræ maritimæ regionum earum, quod et *naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consueverunt*, et scientiâ atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt. \* \* \* \* Ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factæ armatæque erant. Carinæ aliquanto planiores, quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum æstus excipere possent; \* \* \* \* transtra pedalibus in latitudinem trabibus confixa *claris ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine*; *anchoræ*, pro funibus, *ferreis catenis revinctæ*."

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"This state [of the Veneti] has far the most ample authority in all the sea-coast of those regions, because *the Veneti have very many ships with which they have been used to sail to Britain*, and also exceed the other nations in knowledge and use of navigation. \* \* \* \* Their ships were built and equipped in this manner: the keels somewhat flatter than those of our ships, so as the more easily to deal with the shallows and the ebb tide; \* \* \* \* the benches of planks a foot wide, fixed together with *iron nails as thick as a thumb*; *the anchors fastened to iron chains*, instead of ropes."

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On the question of appropriating the camp or the objects found therein to any age or people, I may mention that there are several Celtic barrows at Bloxworth Down, about a mile from the camp, and that there are large numbers of stone implements on the same down now ploughed up.

I do not know the height of the camp above the sea-level, but should think that it is about 150 feet above the small stream that runs down the valley some

200 yards off. Lychett Bay is two miles off. If there ever has been any road between the camp and the bay, it is now entirely obliterated by the plough.

Plate VI. represents some of the most remarkable objects, and is accompanied by a description kindly supplied by one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, A. W. Franks, Esq., of the British Museum.

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VI. \*

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Figs. 1, 2. Two views of a bronze object, evidently intended to be fastened to a rounded surface by four rivets. It consists of a rude representation of a bull, through the rudimentary legs of which the rivets passed. The tail-end is curved round and terminates in an eight-petalled flower, forming a kind of hook. The figure of the bull is coarsely executed, but the hooked portion is good in outline. The flower somewhat resembles Etruscan ornaments. The probability is that this ornament is Late Celtic; but it does not resemble English examples, in which animal forms are rare and further removed from nature; it may therefore have been brought from the Continent. Two of these bronze objects were discovered, exactly alike.

Figs 3, 4. Two views of a hollow bronze object which has also been fixed to a rounded surface. The arched portion has no rivet-hole, but the means of attachment seems to have been by a large rivet-hole at each end. There are bands of engraved ornaments not unlike those on the legs of the bull. Two of these objects were also discovered.

It has been suggested that the four objects in question may have formed the crest of one or more helmets, but the discovery of two of each seems to be against this, especially when it is remembered how great was the love of variety during the Late Celtic period, so that it would not be likely that two helmets should be exactly alike. The hook forming the termination of the bull would seem to have been made for use, as though for a cord or thong, or perhaps a bar—the inner surface of the hook being flat, not convex—to pass through it. It appears therefore more likely that they formed parts of a war-chariot. That the British *essedum*, or at any rate the yoke of it, was ornamented, appears from a passage in Propertius, (El. lib. ii. 1, 76.)

“*Esseda cælatis siste Britannia jugis,*”

and, as there were two horses, the ornaments would be in pairs.

Fig. 5. Part of a curved bronze ornament decorated with openwork, showing resemblance in style to some of the horse-trappings discovered at Stanwick, Yorkshire; see for instance, the *York* volume of the *Archæological Institute* (1847) Pl. ii. fig. 6.

Fig. 6. Fragment of a similar bronze ornament, or possibly another portion of the same.

\* The objects are figured full size.

Fig. 7. Part of the hilt of a sword, Late Celtic in character. It is of iron with a pierced plate of bronze towards the upper part. The tang extended probably for as much more in length before it terminated in the pommel. The lower part resembles in its outline the corresponding portions of other Late Celtic swords. See for an account of such swords, *Archæologia*, XLV. 251.

Fig. 8. Fragment of the bronze edging of a sword-sheath.

Fig. 9. Bronze object, perhaps part of a mirror handle; a thin plate of bronze seems to have been fixed into it to form a mirror; the lower part of the handle is broken off. Such mirrors have several times been found in England. For instance, at St. Keverne, Cornwall, (*Archæol. Journ.* xxx. 267, woodcut); at Stamford Hill, near Plymouth (*Archæologia*, XL. 500, pl. xxx.); near Bedford (*Archæol. Journ.* xxvi. 71); and a very fine example has been recently found near Gloucester. Another, from the Isle of Portland, has been lately presented to the Duchess of Edinburgh.

Fig. 10. A ring or head of transparent amber glass. Glass beads were found with the mirror from St. Keverne, Cornwall, mentioned above; they have also been found in barrows of the Late Celtic period at Arras and Cowlam in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the material being fine in colour, as here, and very transparent. See *Archæologia*, XLIII. 496.

IV.—*Inventories made for Sir William and Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knights, of Walton, and of Gilling Castle, Yorkshire, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Communicated by EDWARD PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.*

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Read Feb. 9, 1882.

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Bottesford Manor, Erigg,  
December 31, 1881.

THE Inventories of Household Goods and Farming Stock which I have the honour of laying before the Society of Antiquaries have been copied by me from the original manuscript which is preserved in the library of Nostell Priory. They occupy some of the latter pages of a large folio volume, the earlier leaves of which contain lists of Yorkshire musters taken in the latter years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The volume had probably been purchased by Sir William Fairfax, as it has his initials W. F. on both the covers.

Of the great historical family of Fairfax it is not needful that I should say much. It has been, as the biographer of the most illustrious of the race has well said, alike famous in war, literature, and scholarship.<sup>a</sup> There are few races in the North of England which have given so many of their members to the service of their fellow creatures, and none, it may be confidently affirmed, which has left a purer fame.

Sir William Fairfax was the representative of the parent stem. His grandfather, Sir Thomas, married Agnes, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne, of Gawthorpe, by his wife Lady Margaret Percy, daughter of the third Earl of Northumberland. Sir Nicholas, son and heir of Sir Thomas, was an active and important person of much social influence. He was one of those who took part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, but does not seem to have suffered in person or estate for his devotion to an unsuccessful cause. By his first wife Jane, daughter of Guy Palmes, he became the father of Sir William. The life of Sir William

<sup>a</sup> Clements Robert Markham, C.B., F.S.A., *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 2.

seems to have been spent in the public service in his native county. From documents which I have seen, both in private and public custody, I have come to the conclusion that he was an accurate and far-seeing man of business. He was sheriff of Yorkshire in 1578. I have not been able to ascertain the date of his death; it is not given in the Pedigree compiled by Ralph Thoresby,<sup>a</sup> nor in Mr. Markham's *Genealogy of the Fairfaxes* as revised and reprinted in the *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. vii. (1873). His son and successor was Sir Thomas, who served as sheriff for Yorkshire in 1628.

It is perhaps needless to point out that inventories of the sort here printed are much rarer and far more interesting than those compiled for purposes of probate. In papers of the latter kind no more information is commonly given than was needed to satisfy the authorities. Those before us were made for a purely domestic purpose, that the owner might know what household goods he was possessed of, and what cattle he had on his farms. There are, as a consequence, many little touches which would never be found in a public document; for example, in one of the trunks there was a single sheet of fine holland; the fact that there was not a pair is accounted for by the remark that "my lady was wound in its fellow." (The "my lady" here spoken of was almost certainly the first wife of Sir William, Agnes, daughter of George Lord Darcy.) The amount of plate, it will be noticed, was very great; much of it must have been more for ornament than use. The linen is so carefully described that we can well nigh see it before us with its ornaments of roses, gilliflowers, and spread-eagles. Those last we may assume were the product of the looms of Flanders.

My thanks are due to the present owner of the manuscript, Rowland Winn, Esq., M.P., for lending it to me for the purposes of transcription.

<sup>a</sup> *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 66.



The Inventories are printed in the order in which they occur in the MS. volume, and are entitled thus :—

1. Inventory of Plate and Household Stuff at Gilling, belonging to Sir William Fairfax, Knight, 16th March, 1594–5.
2. Inventory of Household Stuff and other things at Walton, 3rd April, 1624.
3. Inventory of Household Stuff at Gilling, 22nd June, 1624.
4. Sheep and Cattle at Gilling and Walton, 28th July, 1596.
5. “ My ” Books at Gilling (no date).
6. Plate at Gilling, 25th March, 1590.
7. Linen at Gilling, 10th September, 1590.

Nos. 2 and 3 are probably of the time of Sir Thomas, son of Sir William.

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1. The Inventorie of all the plaite and Houshoulde stuffe at Gillinge, and belonginge to the right wo<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Wiłm ffairfax, knight, had and taken the xvj<sup>th</sup> daie of march Anno Domini 1594.

GILTE PLATE.

Imprimis ij gilte saltes with a couer contayning xxxiij ounces di.  
Item one gilte goblett contayninge xv ounces.  
Item one square salte with a cover cont. xxij ounces.  
Item one trencher salte gilte cont. iiij ounces di.  
Item one gilte salte with a cover con. xvij ounces.  
Item iiij gilte sponnes con. viij ounces q<sup>ter</sup>.  
Item one gilte cupp cont. x ounces q<sup>ter</sup>.  
Item one castinge bottell gilte con. iiij ounces.<sup>a</sup>  
Item ij gilte liverie pottes con. lxiiij ounces.<sup>b</sup>  
Item v gilte bowles with a couer con. xxxiij ounces iij q<sup>ters</sup>.  
Item one gilte basin and Eure con. lxiiij ounces.  
Item one great gilte bowle with a cover con. xxx ounces di.  
Item one gilte bowle with a cover con. xxvj ounces di.  
Item one gilte standinge cupp with a cover con. x ounces.

<sup>a</sup> A bottle for casting or sprinkling perfumes, Nares, *Glossary*, *sub voc.* Cf. *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvi. p. 293, vol. XLII. p. 353.

<sup>b</sup> Livery was applied, according to John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., to “articles made in a quantity, according to a fixed pattern, for distribution in the several apartments.” *The Unton Inventories*, p. 44.

## WHITE PLATE.

Imprimis ij liverie pottes cont. iiij<sup>xx</sup> vj ounces.  
 Item ij liverie pottes con. lvij ounces di.  
 Item one spowte pott cont. xxix ounces di.  
 Item one nest of bowles with a cover con. xlv ounces di.<sup>a</sup>  
 Item iij other bowles with a cover cont. xlj ounces.  
 Item iij french bowles with a cover con. xxvj ounces iij q<sup>ters</sup>.  
 Item iij other ffrench bowles with a cover con. xxvij ounces di.  
 Item ij dossen of silver sponnes cont. xlix ounces di.  
 Item one dossen of silver plaites cont. v<sup>xx</sup> xj ounces.  
 Item one doble salte con. ix ounces iij q<sup>ters</sup>.  
 Item one spice boxe with a sponne con. xv ounces.  
 Item one silver chafindisse con. xxix ounces di.  
 Item a Lavre for water con. xxij ounces.  
 Item one Basin and Ewre cont. lxxij ounces.  
 Item one hollowe Basin con. xxij ounces.  
 Item ij silver Cannes con. xxx ounces di.  
 Item iiij Candlestickes con. xxxvij ounces.  
 Item ij litle Cuppes con. xj ounces.  
 Item one bottell cont. vj ounces q<sup>ter</sup>.  
 Item one Siluer standishe cont. xvij ounces.  
 Item one shipp Basin and eure cont. lxj ounces iij q<sup>ters</sup>.  
 Item iiij beare pottes for the hall cont. iiij<sup>xx</sup> x ounces.  
 Item one siluer cullander con. v ounces q<sup>ter</sup>.  
 Summa total of all the plate ccciiij<sup>xx</sup> xij li. vij s. vij d.

## GREAT CHAMBER.

Imprimis one drawinge table of walnuttre cutt and carued of three leaves longe and xij stooles  
 cutt and carued xv li.  
 Item a greene clothe with a greene silke frindge for the same table liij s. iiij d.  
 Item xij stooles couered with greene clothe and frindged with greene silke iiij li.  
 Item one long carpitt of tapistree for the same table vj li.  
 Item one chaire couered with grene clothe and frindged with grene silke xxvj s. viij d.  
 Item iiij litle stooles couered with grene clothe and frindged with greene silke xij s. iiij d.  
 Item one square table, and a grene clothe to the same frindged with greene silke xxiiij s.  
 Item one silke carpit square for the saide square table frindged with greene silke x li.

<sup>a</sup> A number of things of the same sort fitting into each other, the smaller within the larger, was called a nest. We hear of nests of bowls, goblets, weights, and counters. Cf. *Mem. of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 210. Marston, *Dutch Courtesan*, act i. sc. 1. *Archaeologia*, vol. xxx. p. 26, vol. xxxvi. p. 293.

Item ij cubbourdes cutt and carued with two greene clothes to the same and frindged with greene silke iiij li.

Item v quishions of Nedleworke xxv s.

Item ix quishions of Scottishe worke xxx s.

Item one paire of brasen awnde irons, a paire of tonges, and a fire panne, iij li.

Item two longe quishions of blacke and reade sattan figured iiij li.

Summa liiij li. xij s. iiij d.

THE DYNINGE PARLOR.

Imprimis one drawing table of three leaves xls.

Item viij buffitt stooles viij s.<sup>a</sup>

Item one greene table clothe x s.

Item one Cubborde and a greene clothe vj s. viij d.

Item two firmes iiij s.

Item vj quishions xij s. iiij d.

Item one paire of awnde irons xij s. iiij d.

Summa iiij li. xv s. iiij d.

NEWE LODGINGE.

Imprimis a bedstcade of cutwirke iiij li.

Item a teaster and vallens of black and cremysine veluet ymbrodered with cuttes of clothe of golde and frindged with cremysine silke and golde xvj li.

Item iiij curtaines of reade and yallowe chaungeable taffitie vj li.

Item one downe bed, a bowlster, ij pillowes, and ij wollen blanckettes, vj li.

Item one Read rugge xxx s.

Item one quilte of cremysine sarcenet v li.

Item one cubborde and a cubborde clothe of Turkie worke xx s.<sup>b</sup>

Item one chaire and a long quishwine couered with clothe of gold x li.

Item one little stoole couered with sattan figured vj s. viij d.

Item one fetherbed, one boulster, one couerlett and a coveringe of verdere, vj li.

Item two awnde irons x s.

Item a chamber pott xx d.

Summa lvj li. viij s. iiij d.

IN THE OUTTER NEWE LODGINGE.

Imprimis a read bedsteade xij s. iiij d.

Item a teaster and vallens of blacke tufte Taffitie and yeallowe sattan and blacke and yeallowe silke frindge vj li.

<sup>a</sup> See *Promptorium Parvulorum*, vol. i. p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> In the Sacrist's Roll of Lichfield Cathedral A.D. 1345 occurs "unus pannus de Turkey de dono regis." *Journal of Derbyshire Archæological Society*, vol. iv. p. 112; and in the *Inventory of Goods of Churches of Surrey in the reign of Edward VI.* p. 34, we find "j vestment of Turkey worcke with a green crosse."

Item iij curtaines of blacke and yeallowe sarsenett x s.  
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, and two pillowes, 1s.  
 Item two wollen blancketes and a coveringe of verdere xl s.\*  
 Item a cubborde and one greene clothe vj s.  
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, a couerlet and a coveringe, iij li.  
 Item iiij pieces of Hanginges viij li.  
 Item one chamber pott xx d.  
 Item one chaire and a quishione vj s.

Summa xxiiij li. vijs.

IN THE NEXT CHAMBER CALLED THE SCHOOLEHOUSE.

Imprimis one standinge bedsteade, a teaster of blacke braunched veluet, and white clothe of Tynsell, xx s.  
 Item iij curtaines x s.  
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, one couerlett, and a coveringe of verdere, iij li.  
 Item one cubborde and a cubborde clothe vj s.  
 Item one chaire and a quishione iiij s.  
 Item vj hangings of Tapistree xvj li.  
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, ij wollen blankettes, and a large coueringe of verders, vj li.  
 Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xxvij li. xx d.

IN THE PRESSE IN THAT CHAMBER.

Imprimis one teaster and vallens of white damaske and v white taffitie curtaines xvj li.  
 Item two large pieces of hanginges ix li.

Summa xxv li.

NEW TURRITT.

Imprimis a bedsteade cutt iiij li.  
 Item a teaster high roved of blacke and cremysine sattin figured with gilte knoppes xv li.  
 Item v curtaines of blacke and cremysine chaungeable taffitie vij li.  
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, and ij wollen blanckettes, iij li.  
 Item one read rugge xxx s.  
 Item one chaire of sattan figured and a longe quishione of sattan figured of the same stuffe iij li.  
 Item a cubborde and a greene clothe v s.  
 Item a litle stoole couered with wrought veluett v s.  
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, one coulett, and a coveringe of verders, 1s.  
 Item one chamber pott, xx d.

Summa xxxvj li. xj s. viij d.

\* In the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 364, *verder* is explained as meaning "a kind of tapestry representing foliage." This word occurs several times in the Inventory of the Priory of St. Martin's, Dover, taken 27 Henry VIII. See *Mon. Anglic.* vol. iv. pp. 542, 543.

PLEASAUNCE.

- Imprimis a bedstead with a teaster of purple and read clothe of bodkyne xl s.
- Item iij curtaines of blewe and yeallowe sarcenett xx s.
- Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, two pillowes, and two wollen blanckettes, iij li. x s.
- Item one read rugge xxiiij s.
- Item one chaire and one quishione v s.
- Item one cubborde and a greene clothe vj s.
- Item one Buffitt stoole xij d.
- Item one longe quishione of cloth of golde and cremysine velvett xij s.
- Item one fetherbed, one boulster, one couerlett, and a coveringe of verders, l s.
- Item one counterpointe hanginge on the wall xij s. iiij d.
- Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xij li. iij s.

THE OLDE STUDYE.

- Imprimis a bedsteade, a teaster of cremysine sattan and veluett ymbroodered with arnes and letters of N and ff,<sup>a</sup> iij li.
- Item ij yeallowe and Tawny curtaines of sercenet xv s.
- Item one downe bed of ffustion, one bowlster and pillowe, iiij li.
- Item one spanish blanckett and a wollen blanket & a coveringe of verders xx s.
- Item one ffetherbed, one bowlster, one coverlet and one coveringe of verders, iij li.
- Item one chaire and one quishione and one buffitt stoole v s.
- Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xij li. x d.

PARRADISE.

- Imprimis one bedsteade, one yeallowe cannopie imbrodered with cutes of blacke veluett with a Trayne of blacke and yeallowe sarcenett, viij li.
- Item one ffetherbed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, one wollen blanket, and a chicker rugge, liij s. iiij d.
- Item one cubborde, one greene clothe to the same, one chaire, and one quishione and one Buffitt stoole, x s.
- Item two awnde irons ij s.
- Item one bedstead with a teaster, a fetherbed, a Bowlster, two wollen blanckettes, and one coveringe of verdere, iij li.
- Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xiiij li. vij s.

<sup>a</sup> The initials of Sir Nicholas Fairfax, the former owner (see p. 121).

## GALLORYE AND LODGINGE.

- Imprimis one bedstead cutt liij s. iiij d.  
 Item one Teaster of blacke and white tuftes Taffitie and blacke veluett with vallens of the same and frindged with blacke and white silke frindge x li.  
 Item iij curtaines of blacke and white sarcenett xl s.  
 Item one ffetherbed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, ij wollen blanckettes, iij li. x s.  
 Item one white Rugg xx s.  
 Item one cubborde with a greene clothe x s.  
 Item one chaire of blacke wrought veluett, one longe quishione of blacke veluett and blacke and white tuftes Taffitie, iij li. x s.  
 Item one litle stoole couered with blacke wrought veluett vj s. viij d.  
 Item ij aund irons, a fire pann and a paire of tonges, ij s.  
 Item a chamber pott xx d.  
 Item a Trunlebed,<sup>a</sup> a fetherbed, a bowlster, a couerlett, and a coueringe of Tapistrie, xls.  
 Item one presse for clothes vj s. viij d.

Summa xxvj li. iiij d.

## GREENE CHAMBER.

- Imprimis one bedstead, one cannopie of greene veluett laide with golde lace and frindged with silke and golde frindge with a traine of Taffitie sarcenett, xiiij li. vj s. viij d.  
 Item one ffetherbed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, and one wollen blanckett, iij li.  
 Item one greene Rugg xxx s.  
 Item one greene quilte of Tynsell sersenett iij li.  
 Item one chaire couered with grene silke and a quishione to the same xx s.  
 Item ij litle stooles couered with the same stuffe iiij s.  
 Item one cubborde with a grene clothe iij s. iiij d.  
 Item one ffetherbed, one bowlster, one couerlett, and a coveringe of Tapistrie, iij li. x s.  
 Item one chamber pott xx d.

Summa xxv li. xv s. viij d.

## MY MR. HIS CHAMBER.

- Imprimis one bedsteade cutt iiij li.  
 Item one Teaster and vallens of blacke veluett wrought with armes and imbrodered with golde v li.  
 Item v curtaines of blacke and ycallowe sarcenett iij li.  
 Item one downe bed, one Bowlster, two pillowes, one Spanishe blanckett and one wollen blanckett, x li.

<sup>a</sup> A trundle signifies a small wheel or castor; a trundle-bed was a low bed which ran on castors and which could be pushed beneath the larger bed when not in use, commonly used by servants who slept in their masters or mistresses' rooms. Cf. *Archaeologia*, vol. XL. pp. 324, 341. *Mon. Anglic.* vol. iv. p. 542.

Item one Read Rugge xx s.  
 Item one longe counterpointe of verders iij li.  
 Item one longe quishione of read silke wrought and two stooles xx s.  
 Item one faire counterpointe<sup>a</sup> shadowed with silke xij li. vj s. viij d.  
 Item one paire of awndirons, one fire panne, and one paire of tonges, iij s.  
 Item one chamber pott xx d.  
 Item one cubborde with a greene cloth iij s.  
 Item one close cubborde with a grene clothe xij s.  
 Item one Trundlebed, one fetherbed, a bowlster, a couerlett, and a coveringe, l s.  
 Item iij presses, iij chistes,<sup>b</sup> and one Trouncke, iij li. x s.

Summa xlvij li. vij s. iij d.

BYSHOPPES CHAMBER.

Imprimis one bedsteade cutt x li.  
 Item one teaster of blewe and golde wrought veluett and vallens of the same fringed with blewe  
 and yallowe silk frindge v li.  
 Item v curtaines of blewe and yallowe sarcenett iij li.  
 Item one downe bed, one bowlster, ij pillowes, a fustion blanckett, and a Spanishe blankett, vij li.  
 Item one greene rugge xxx s.  
 Item one quilte of blewe sarcenett v li.  
 Item one cubborde with a clothe of Turkie worke xxvj s.  
 Item one chaire couered with veluett and pincked with golde, frindged, and a longe quishion to the  
 same, xxvj s.  
 Item one bigge stoole and one lesser stoole couered with the same stuffe v s.  
 Item iij pieces of hanginges of Tapistrie xxx li.  
 Item two aunde irons, a fire pann, and one paire of tonges, xvj s.  
 Item one chamber pott xx d.  
 Item one fetherbed, one bowlster, one couerlett reade and white, and a coueringe of verders, iij li.  
 Summa lxx li. vj s.

IN THE LOWE VAWTE.

One fetherbed, one bowlster, and two coueringes, xx s.

KITCHINE CHAMBER.

Two mattresses ij coddess,<sup>c</sup> and iij<sup>or</sup> couerlettes, xxvj s.

<sup>a</sup> "Contrepointe . . . couverture de lit piquée point contre point, a counterpoint or counterpain for a bed." Boyer, *Dict. Royal François-Anglois*, 1727. "Contre-pointeur . . . Ouvrier en contre-pointes, a quilter or counterpoint maker." Miegé, *New Dictionary French and English*, 1679. Cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, act ii. sc. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Chist is the North-country form of chest. It occurs in *Harelok*, p. 222. The Editor possesses a linen chest inscribed "This is Esther Hobson chist 1637."

<sup>c</sup> Pillows.

## OVER THE MIDLEGATES.

One bedstead, one fetherbed, one bowlster, two pillowes, one wollen blanckett, two couerlettes, one cubborde, and a chaire, iij li.

## PORTER LODGE.

One bedsteade, one mattresse, one bowlster, and two couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

## OVER THE FARRE GATES.

One ffetherbed, one bowlster, two wollen blanckettes, one couerlett, and one rugge checkerd, xls.

Item one bedsteade, one ffetherbed, one bowlster, one blanckett, and two couerletes, xxvj s.

Item one bedsteade, one mattresse, a bowlster, a wollen blanckett, and ij couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

## STABLE.

One cubborde bedsteade, a mattresse, a bowlster, a wollen blankett, and ij couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

## OVER THE STABLE.

One flockebed, one bowlster, and two couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

## KYLNE.

One mattresse, one bowlster, and two couerlettes, x s.

Item one Seasterne of leade for barley and a kilne haire.<sup>a</sup>

Summa xv li. ij s. viij d.

## DARYE.

Imprimis two mattresses, ij bowlsters, v couerlettes, whereof one read and white, xxvj s.

Item one cheese presse, two kettles, one chafer pott, one reckone,<sup>b</sup> and one brandred,<sup>c</sup> vij leades for mylke, xxiiij bowles, two chirnes, one sooe,<sup>d</sup> cheese fattes,<sup>e</sup> and Bowkinge<sup>f</sup> Tubbes, iiij li.

## OXHOUSE.

Two mattresses, two coddes, and iiij<sup>or</sup> couerlettes, xiiij s. iiij d.

Summa iiij li. xix s. iiij d.

<sup>a</sup> The hair cloth on which malt was laid when put upon the kiln. See E. Chambers' *Cyclopædia*, 1738, *sub voc. Malt*.

<sup>b</sup> Reekin-hook, that is the hook which hangs in the reek. The hook by which a pot is suspended over a fire.

<sup>c</sup> A tripod for supporting a pot on a fire. "One brasse pott, iij pannes, brandryt, cressyt, iiij s." *Invent. of Thomas Robynson of Appleby, Lincolnshire*, 1542. "Brander" seems to be the Scottish form of the word. See Dunbar, *Social Life in Former Days*, p. 212. Cf. *Catholicon Anglicum* (E.E.T.S.), p. 40.

<sup>d</sup> Soa, soe, signifies a large tub. It is now commonly used to indicate a brewing-tub only, but it is sometimes employed for the large tub in which clothes are steeped before they are washed. Danish *saa*, a pail; Icelandic *sár*, a cask. It occurs in *Havelok*—

"He kam to the welle, water updrow,  
And filde there a michel so."—Line 932.

<sup>e</sup> The moulds in which cheeses are made.

<sup>f</sup> Washing-tubs.



WINE SELLER.

Imprimis one square counter v s.

Item one great chiste for plate xl s.

Item one quarte pewter pott, xij hogshedes, and one pipe, xxvj s. viij d.

Summa iij li. xj s. viij d.

PANTRYE.

Imprimis one great dinge<sup>a</sup> for breade iij s.

Item one chiste for mancheat<sup>b</sup> ij s. vj d.

Item one chiste for lynone v s.

Item one litle Trounke for plate ij s.

Item v dozins Trenchers x s.

Item one dozins rounde Trenchers ij s.

Item xij latten<sup>c</sup> candlestickes xvij s.

Item ij Basins and Ewers of Pewter xij s. iij d.

Item ij pewter voyders<sup>d</sup> x s.

Item one chippinge knife, one table, iij shelues, and a tostinge sticke tipt with siluer, vj s. viij d.

Summa iij li. xij s. vj d.

HETHER BUTTRYE AND MIDLE BUTTERYE.

Imprimis vj paire of Gauntres<sup>e</sup> xij s.

Item vj pipes for beare xij s.

Item xxvij hogshedes xxx s.

Summa liiij s.

PEWTER IN THE KYTCHINE.

Imprimis xij Sawcers

Item xij dishes

Item xij great dishes

Item xij great platters

Item xij lesser platters

Item iij<sup>or</sup> chargers

Item sawcers xij

Item dishes xij

vj li. xij s. iij d.

<sup>a</sup> Probably an ark or chest in which to keep bread. The word is new to me. It occurs again p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> The best wheaten bread.

<sup>c</sup> Latten, the mixed metal of which monumental brasses were made. See Parker, *Glossary of Gothic Architecture*, *sub voc.*

<sup>d</sup> A tray. "A voyder vpon the table then haue

The trenchers and napkyns therein to receaue."

Seager's *Schoole of Vertue*, in *Manners and Meals in Olden Time* (E.E.T.S.), p. 342, l. 376.

<sup>e</sup> A gantree or gantry signifies a wooden frame used to support a barrel or a low shelf of wood or masonry in a dairy on which the milk-vessels stand. It is sometimes, though rarely, used to denote the shelves on which coffins stand in a burial-vault.

## NEW VESSELL.

Imprimis xij sawcers	}	vij li. xiiij s. iiij d.
Item xij sallite dishes		
Item ij dozine great dishes		
Item xviiij great platters		
Item xviiij lesser platters		
Item one charger of ye greatest sorte		

Summa xiiij li. vj s. viij d.

## KYTCHINE.

Imprimis one ffurnace pann for beefe x s.  
 Item two great kettles bounde xxvj s. viij d.  
 Item two lesser ketles bounde xij s.  
 Item iij pannes bounde xiiij s. iiij d.  
 Item ij litle bowed<sup>a</sup> pannes ij s. vj d.  
 Item ij copper lugde<sup>b</sup> pannes xvj d.  
 Item ij great brasse pottes xl s.  
 Item iij lesser brasse pottes xv s.  
 Item one tynn pott and iij paire of pothookes iiij s.  
 Item one gallie<sup>c</sup> bawke, iij berers, vij crookes, and one iron range, xl s.  
 Item ij paire of rackes of iron xvj s.  
 Item two great square spittes, iiij lesser square spittes, iij rounde spittes, and ij small spittes, xxvj s. viij d.  
 Item two dripping pannes x s.  
 Item one iron peelee<sup>d</sup> xviiij d.  
 Item one brassen mortar and a pestle xx s.  
 Item ij girde<sup>e</sup> irons and one frying pann vj s.  
 Item iij iron ladles xviiij d.  
 Item one lattin skimmer and one grater ij s.  
 Item one pepper mylne and one paire of mustarde quearnes<sup>f</sup> vjs. viij d.  
 Item iij bourdes and a salte<sup>g</sup> pie iij s. iiij d.

Summa xiiij li. xiiij s. ij d.

<sup>a</sup> Pans having "kilps," that is semi-circular iron handles affixed to them. Many curved or semi-circular objects are called bows, as the bow of a fishing net, the cap wire used to make the borders of women's caps stand off, the handle of a key, the arch of a bridge, or the arcades of a church.

<sup>b</sup> Pans having ears.

<sup>c</sup> The strong iron bar in an open chimney from which cooking vessels were suspended.

<sup>d</sup> A baker's shovel. Cf. Jackson, *Shropshire Word Book*, p. 318. *Catholicon Anglicum*, p. 273.

<sup>e</sup> Gridirons.

<sup>f</sup> Handmills, it is confidently stated, have been in use until a very recent period. *Archaeologia*, vol. XLIV. p. 285. Quern-stones, small and large, are mentioned in the Excise Act of 1656. Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, vol. ii. p. 475.

<sup>g</sup> A box for salt.

DRYE LARDER, WETT LARDER, PAISTRIE.

Item two mouldinge <sup>a</sup> bourdes and a bowlting <sup>b</sup> tubb for meale x s.

Item one litle table, one spice cubborde, one chiste for otemeale, one trough, iij hanginge shelues, and vj other shelues, xl s.

Item iij tubbes for beefe, vj barrells for salte, and vj shelues, xl s.

Summa liiij li. x s.

BACKHOUSE, BOUTINGE HOUSE, AND BREWHOUSE.

Imprimis one great kilmynge <sup>c</sup> for meale, one boutinge tubb, one Levanne Trough, two sives, one boutclothe, one temse, <sup>d</sup> one doghsheete, and one leape, <sup>e</sup> x s.

Item iij mouldyng bourdes, one kettle, and one brandred, x s.

Item one great Copper to brewe in xl li.

Item one mashefatt, <sup>f</sup> one quilefatt, <sup>g</sup> one sweete worte tubb, one worte trough, and one long worte trough, iij sooes and ij scopes, <sup>h</sup> xij li.

Summa liiij li. x s.

DAMASKE, DIAPER, CANVASSES AND LYNONE OF SEUERAL SORTES.

Imprimis one damaske table clothe of vij yardes longe, wrought with a spread Eagle, iij li. x s.

Item one damaske table clothe of vj yardes dim. longe, wrought with pictures, iij li.

Item one damaske table clothe of v yardes iij q<sup>ters</sup> longe, wrought with the spread eagle, 1 s.

Item one damaske table clothe of liij yardes iij q<sup>ters</sup> longe, wrought with ye marigold and the Rose, xl s.

Item one newe Damaske table clothe of vij yardes longe xlvj s. viij d.

Item one damaske square clothe, laced about, xiijs. iiij d.

Item one damaske towell of liij yardes longe, wrought with the marigolde, xxvj s. viij d.

Item one damaske towell of viij yardes dim. longe, wrought with the marigolde and rose, liijs. iiij d.

Item one damaske towell iij yardes iij q<sup>ters</sup> longe, wrought with the spreade eagle, xx s.

<sup>a</sup> A board on which bread or pastry is made.

<sup>b</sup> To bolt is to sift meal. At Mereval Abbey, Warwickshire, there were at the time of its suppression "iij troves to bould and to knede in." *Mon. Anglic.* vol. v. p. 485.

<sup>c</sup> A kimling is a large tub made of upright staves hooped together in the manner of a cask. "A kimling in Lincolnshire, or a kinnel as they term it in Worcestershire, vas coquendae cerevisiae." Littleton, *Lat. Dict.* 1735. Cf. *Ripon Act Book* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 182, 371.

<sup>d</sup> A brewer's sieve.

<sup>e</sup> A basket.

<sup>f</sup> A brewing tub.

<sup>g</sup> A brewing vessel, a tub into which the sweet liquor is drawn off. "A lead, a mashefatte, a gylfatt with a sooe, xv s." *Invent. of Roland Stavelly of Gainsburgh*, 1551.

<sup>h</sup> A large hollow wooden shovel.

Item one damaske v yardes longe, wrought with the marigolde and ye rose, xxvj s. viij d.

Item one newe damaske towell of v yardes longe x s.

Item ij newe damaske cubberde clothes iij yardes x s.

Item iij dozín newe damaske napkins iij li. xij s.

Item ij dozín damaske napkins iij li.

Summa of the damaske xxvij li. xvij s. viij d.

Damaske table clothes v.

Square clothes j.

Cubberd clothes ij.

Damaske towelles v.

Damaske napkins v dozín.

#### DIOPER.

Imprimis one dioper table clothe of viij yardes dim. longe l s.

Item one dioper table clothe of vj yardes longe, xlvj s. viij d.

Item one dioper table clothe of iij yardes dim. longe, xxx s.

Item one dioper table clothe of iij yardes dim. longe xxx s.

Item iij dioper cubborde clothes xxx s.

Item one dozín dioper napkins xxiiij s.

Summa of the dioper xj s. viij d.

Dioper Table Clothes iij<sup>or</sup>.

Cubborde Clothes iij.

Napkins j dozín.

#### HOLLAND CLOTHE.

Imprimis three fine large sheetes of hollande for a womans chamber in child bed, whereof one sheete x yardes dim. one sheete vij yardes dim. and one sheete v yardes dim. xij li.

Item one paire of Hollande sheetes of xvij yardes ix li. iij d.

Item one paire of sheetes of xv yardes xl s.

Item xx holland pillowberes<sup>a</sup> iij li. vj s. viij d.

Summa of the Holland xxvj li. x s. viij d.

Sheetes paire iij. od sheete.

Pillowberes xx lie.

#### CANVASSE SHEETES.

Imprimis one paire of doble canvasse sheetes of xj yardes

Item one paire of canvasse sheetes of xiiij yardes

Item ij paire of canvasse sheetes of xx elles

Item v paire of canvasse sheetes of xlix elles

Item v paire of canvase sheetes x yards in euery paire

} xx li.

<sup>a</sup> Pillow cases. Cf. *Mon. Anglic.* vol. iv. p. 542. Dunbar, *Social Life in Former Days*, p. 209

LYNONE SHEETES.

Imprimis ij paire of Doble Sheetes of xx yarges  
 Item xvij paire of lynne sheetes x yarges in euerye paire } ix li. x s.  
 Item xx lynne pillowberes l s.  
 Item xxx paire course sheetes x li.

Summa of the canvasse & lynone sheetes xliij li.

In toto canvasse sheetes, paire xiiij.  
 Lynne sheetes xix.  
 Lynne pillowberes, xx decaied iij.  
 Course sheetes xxx.

CANVASSES.

Imprimis one Canvase table clothe vij yards dim. longe xxij s.  
 Item ij canvasse table clothes vj yarges longe xliij s.  
 Item iij table clothes made of x elles of canvasse xxiiij s.  
 Item one canvasse drawinge clothe vj yarges longe xvij s.  
 Item one canvasse drawinge clothe iij yarges longe x s.  
 Item one canvasse Towel iij yarges iij q<sup>ters</sup> longe vj s viij d.  
 Remayninge dailie in the pantrye.  
 Item one canvasse table Clothe iij yarges dim. longe xvj s.  
 Item vj canvasse table clothes ij yarges iij q<sup>ters</sup> longe le pece lvj s.  
 Item v canvasse square clothes l s.  
 Item ij canvasse Towelles iij yarges longe le pece xx s.  
 Item ij canvasse Towelles ix q<sup>ters</sup> longe le pece x s.  
 Item iij dossen napkins iij li. xij s.

Summa xvij li. vj s. viij d.

Table clothes xiiij.  
 Drawinge clothes ij.  
 Square clothes v.  
 Towelles v.  
 Napkins dozin iij.

LYNONE IN THE CHAMBER.

Imprimis v lynne table clothes  
 Item vj cubborde clothes cont. xxxviij yarges } xl s.  
 Item one cubborde clothe iij yarges longe v s.  
 Item vj Towelles maide of xxiiij yarges xxiiij s.  
 Item xij dozin napkins vij li. iij s.

Lynone rem. dailie in the Pantrie.

Imprimis iij lynne table clothes iij yarges dim. longe le pece xvij s.  
 Item iij cubborde clothes vj s. viij d.  
 Item iij lynne table clothes ij yarges dim. long le pece xij s. iij d.

Item vj cubbourde clothes xij s.  
 Item ij lynne square clothes xij s.  
 Item iij lynne Towelles ij yardes longe le pece viij d.  
 Item one lynne Towell iij yardes longe ij s. vj d.  
 Item xij dozín Napkins vj li.  
 Item v hemplynne square clothes xij s. iij d.  
 Item v hall clothes xx s.

Summa xxj li. xvij s. x d.

### WALTON.

## 2. An Inventorye taken of all the houshold stuffe in the house, and all other things in the out houses the third of Aprill 1624.

### IN THE BEST CHAMBER.

A bedsteed, a matt, a matterice, a fetherbed, a boulder, 2 pillowes, 3 blancketes, a greene rugg, 4 changable taffaty curtins, imbrodered vallence and teaster of black & red velvet & 4 knops, & silk & gold frindg, 4 peeces of hanginges, & matted vnder foote.  
 A pallet bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulder, two pillowes, 2 blancketes, a counterpoint, a greene velvet canoppy laced & fringed with two taffatye sarcenet curtains & knops, a couch setwork chaire, a livery cubberd & turkey carpet on it, 4 window shuttes,<sup>a</sup> an iron chimney,<sup>b</sup> & a paire of tongs, a set-work chaire, & a plaine stoole for a cushion cloth.

### IN THE BLACK CHAMBER WHICH IS SEALED.

A bedsteed, a matt, a matterice, a feather bed, a boulder, 2 pillowes, 3 blancketes, a blew Rugg, 5 taffaty curtaines, tester & vallance of black velvet with black silk frindg, a chare of tuftaffatye, a pallet bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulder, 2 pillowes, 2 blanckettes & a white Rugg.  
 A livery cubberd, a rawed-work cover on it, a dornix<sup>c</sup> window curtaine & an iron rod for it, an iron chimney & a paire of tongs.

### IN THE WEST GREAT CHAMBER.

A faire waynscott table with draw leaves, five high buffett stooles covered with leather, a litle firr table with feet to fould up.  
 A set work chare.

<sup>a</sup> Shutters. Window shutters are called "shutts" in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire at the present time.

<sup>b</sup> A fire-grate. Cf. *Catholicon Anglicum*, vol. xxxv. p. 63. Raine, *Hist. North Durham*, pp. 101, 243.

<sup>c</sup> A fabric manufactured at Tournai. Cf. *Mon. Anglic.* vol. v. p. 485. *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 444, vol. xxx. p. 4, vol. xl. p. 323, vol. xliii. pp. 207, 215.

IN THE PASSAGE.

A bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a paire of blankettes & a greene Rugg, trunks.

IN THE GALLERYE.

Two standing & a trunnell bedsteed, 2 mattes, 3 featherbedes, 3 bouldsters, 3 pillowes, 3 paire of blankettes, a rugg, a blew Quilt, & 2 couerletes, a wainescott square table & a chare, 3 window shuttes, an iron rod crosse the chamber, 3 peeces of new mattes, a tent, 2 frames for bed testers, and a broken bedsteed.

IN MY LADY LAITON'S<sup>a</sup> CHAMBER.

A waynscott bedsteed, a matt, a matterice, a quilt, a feather bed, a boulder, two pillowes, 3 blankettes, a red rug, a red teaster imbrodered with blacke veluet with indented vallance of the same, & 3 red curtaines, a chare sutable to the teaster, a livery cubberd & cubberd cloth of turkey worke, an iron chimney, tongs, a fier shovell, six wyndow shutes, 2 low covered stooles, a plaine buffet stoole for the cushion cloth, & a long cushion.

IN THE INNER CHAMBER.

A bedsteed, a greene canopye, a matt, a featherbed, a boulder, 2 pillowes, a paire of blankettes, & a greene rugg.

IN THE LITTLE CHAMBER AT THE GREAT CHAMBER END.

A bedsteed with tester & vallance of silke stuffe fringed, a matt, a featherbed, a boulder, a paire vncutt and an other single blanket, a blew Rugg, & two curtins of dornix stuff, a foulding livery cubberd, a low waynscott chare, and another litle dutch greene chaire, an iron chymeney, tonges and bellowes, a presse, & other litle cubberdes.

In that p[re]sse 12 dozen of mapple trenchers never yet vsed, 2 dozen of trencher plaites, two dozen of scales of all sortes, 3 paire of butter caps, 4 pitched cans all of a peece.

A trundle bedsteed, a feather bed, a boulder, a paire of vncutt blankets, & a green Rugg.

IN THE WARDROBE.

A standing bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulder, a blanket, a counter pointe, a dornix curtine, & an iron curtain rod.

In the presse in Peters charg, 3 peeces of hanginges & an old turkey carpet, 7 bed knops, the fine counter point belonging the best chamber, the fine carpet cloth for the West chamber, the irish stitched cloth for the round table, the covering for the winged couch chaire in the west chamber, half a dozen sutable cushions for it fringed ready to cover stooles with all, half a dozen cushions in like manner sutable to the couch chare in the best chamber, half

<sup>a</sup> Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, wife of Sir Thomas Layton.

a dozen greene cushions vnmade upp for which ther wantes some fringe, a white damask bed tester laced with vallance sutable & fringed, & five white sarcnet curtaines belonging them, the tester & cutt taffaty vallance with the head of the bed for it of taffety which stood in the new turret at Gilling, a flat bed tester of velvet & murrey sattin imbrodered, the head peece belonging defaced, a old vallance fringed which went with it, a pad saddle, with bridle, bittes, stirrups, & all the furniture to it, the sumpter cloth, a white fustian blanket, and old broken peeces of stuffs & bed testers, a flat bed tester & head with vallance all imbrodered with yellow & greene & fringed with curtines sutable of taffetye sarcnet & a counter pointe.

A chest which Barbara keeps, two trunckes, in the open presse a base violin & the singing bookes.

#### IN THE VTTER NURSERY.

A standing bedsteed with greene cloth curtins, tester, & vallance, laced & fringed, a mat, a featherbed, a boulder, a pillow, a paire of new vncutt & another blanket & a green Rugg.

A litle table for the children & six low wainscott buffet stooles belonging to it.

A cubberd with lockes on it, a great leather chest, 2 trunckes, & a wainscott panneld chest.

#### IN THE INNER NURSERY ROOMES.

In the midle nursery two standing bedsteedes, two feather bedes, two mattes, two boulders, 2 pillowes, 2 paire of blankettes, a counter pointe & a couerlet, a presse wherein hanges my ladys clothes & 3 trunckes.

In M<sup>r</sup> Nutters chamber a trundle bedsteed, a mat, a featherbed, a boulder, a paire of blankettes and a coverlet, a great chest, a candle chest, & a trunck.

In the childrens chamber, a standing and a trundle bedsteed, two feather bedes, 2 boulders, a paire of blankettes, a counter point & a coverlet, two trunckes with damask, diaper, & fine linnen.

#### IN YOUR OWNE CHAMBER.

A standing bedsteed with tester and head peece wrought with black velvet & yellow silk & five curtins of red cloth, a matt, a feather bed, a fine quilt, 2 paire of blankettes, a boulder, 2 pillowes & a counter pointe, a trundle bedsteed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulder, a pillow, a paire of blankettes, a couerlet, & a Red Rugg.

The white damask chare, a litle red chare, an orpharion,<sup>a</sup> five pictures, a standing cubberd, a great chest, a cabinet, 2 long cushions, the flat box & cyprus coffer, two window curtins & an iron rod for them. In your closet a litle chare, the marble mortar, the stove, your owne cabinet & bookes, a target, your guilt sword & two litle greene carpetes.

<sup>a</sup> A musical instrument. "The orpharion was shaped like a lute, but differed in being strung with wire." Nares, *Glossary*, *sub voc.*



IN BAXTERS PARLER.

Two bedsteedes, 2 mattes, 2 feather bedes, 2 bouldsters, 2 pillowes, 4 blankettes & 2 greene Rugges, a table, a trunck, & 3 wyndow shuttes.

IN THE OUTER PARLER.

Three bed steedes, three featherbedes, three mattes, 3 bouldsters, a matteresse, 3 blankets, 3 couerletes & a peece of an old quilt.

IN PRESTOWS PARLER.

3 bedstockes, a feather bed, 2 mattresses, 2 paire of blankettes, 2 happinges<sup>a</sup> & a couerlet, a peece of an old counterpoint.

IN THE BREWHOUSE CHAMBER.

A bedsteed, a feather bed, 2 bouldsters, a blanket, a happin & a counterpoint, a standing table to tailers to work on.

IN THE STABLE.

A bed stockes, a matteresse, a boulder, a blanket, & 2 happins & a couerlet.

IN THE MILKHOUSE.

A bed stockes, a paire of sheetes stopt with new feathers, a boulder, a paire of blankettes, 2 couerletes & a matteresse.

IN THE LAUNDRY.

A matteresse, a boulder, a blanket, & 2 old happins.

IN THE STILL HOUSE.

Fower stills, a seller for glasses, two shelves, & thre in the wall all full of glasses with distilled waters.

IN THE HALL.

A long standing table, with a long forme and bench fastened in the ground, a round table, a bench of waynscott, six high buffet stooles vncovered but bottomed with wood & wrought feet, seaven plaine high stooles of the newest making by Bar. Dickinson, six high stooles with wrought feet, eleaven older stooles; all these stooles have wooden covers, one of the old green cushion stooles & 2 of ther frames without covers, a paire of tables.

IN THE GREAT CHAMBER.

A drawing table, a rownd table, a livery cubberd, and a litle table, all having carpetes of greene cloth, a couch chare & 2 other high chares covered with greene cloth, a frame on which

<sup>a</sup> A covering of any kind, frequently used in the northern dialects for the clothes of a bed.

stands a paire of virgenalls, a chare with other chares and stooles in it, a paire of white & black checkered tables, six high buffet stooles of set work, other six high stooles covered with leather seates & covers of greene cloth & fring on them, which may be taken of at pleasure, one other greene stoole, a child's chare, two dornix window curtins & an iron rod for them, two formes, 3 irish stitched low stooles, two set work low stooles, an iron chimney, a clock, cushions.

#### IN MY L. CLOSET.

A low bed steed, a matt, a feather bed, a boulder, a Red rugg, a high green buffet stoole, a litle cabinet, a dozen of pictures, litle basketes & boxes, bookes, glasse plates, drinking glasses & glasse bottles, a cheney voider & knife in its couer, a table & a carpet wrought with silk & fringed.

#### IN THE PRESSE IN THE OUTER NURSERY.

Cheney dishes, a box to serve sweet meates in of cheney stuff, gally potes, glasses and boxes furnished with sweet meates.

#### OTHER THINGS NOT SET IN ANY PARTICULAR PLACE AS BELONGING TO IT, BUT SOME IN ONE & SOME IN ANOTHER.

An old greene carpet in the outer presse, two low square waynscot buffet stooles in the Nursery, two chares of set worke both of one worke, the one greater the other lesse, a paire of andirons, a litle iron chimney, the high skreen & teeth to heckle<sup>a</sup> out lynseed on the stare head at the outer closet doore, a warmeing pan.

#### THE NOTE OF LYNNEN.

In M<sup>rs</sup> Tomazins charge.

five fine damaske table clothes	{	1	{	in length 7 yarges 1 q <sup>r</sup> .
		2		each in length 7 yarges.
		1		in length 5 yarges 3 q.
		1		in length 5 yarges 1 q.
Nyne damask towells	{	1	{	in length 9 yarges.
		1		longe 6 yarges 3 q.
		1		longe 6 yarges & a halfe.
		1		longe 4 yarges 1 q.
		1		longe 4 yarges.
		1		longe 3 yarges & a halfe.
		1		longe 2 yarges.
		2		long each 2 yards 1 q.

<sup>a</sup> A heckle is an instrument made of steel pins fixed in blocks of wood, by means of which the fibres of flax and hemp were worked. Wooden heckles are yet in use in Switzerland.

Six damask cuberd clothes	{	1	{	longe 2 yarges 3 q.	
		2		longe 2 yarges & a halfe.	
		2		longe 2 yarges.	
		1		one made since her last note.	

She had 2 square damask table clothes each square 2 yarges 1 q<sup>r</sup>, and 4 dozen & a half of Napkins to these, wheof one was lost last summer which my lady did know of, and the rest she hath.

FRYNE DIAPER.

Nyne table clothes	{	1	{	of 8 yarges 1 q <sup>r</sup>	}	in length.
		1		of 6 yarges 1 q <sup>r</sup>		
		1		of 6 yarges		
		1		of 5 yarges 1 q <sup>r</sup>		
		1		of 5 yarges		
		2		of 4 yarges & a halfe		
		2		each of 4 yarges 1 q <sup>r</sup>		

Two cupberd clothes in length each 2 yards 1 q<sup>r</sup>, ffive dozen and 9 Napkins, to these she had wherof 2 was lost when the damask napkin was lost, and knowne then to my lady, all the rest of these she hath still.

COURSE DIAPER.

Two table clothes, each 3 yarges q<sup>r</sup> longe.

All the damask & diaper aboue writt is in the trunk next the door in the childrens chamber.

IN THE OTHER TRUNCK WHICH STANDES THER LIKWISE & IN M<sup>rs</sup> TOMAZINS  
CHARGE THERE IS

M<sup>rs</sup> Katherina Stapletons<sup>a</sup> cushion pillow.

One pallet sheet of holland 2 bredthes, 3 yarges 2 q<sup>r</sup> longe.

A black wrought cushion cloth.

4 paire of black wrought pillowes, one paire wherof is made since the last note, they are all done with silk.

A plaine lawne sheet of 4 bredths & 4 yards longe.

A lawne head sheet of 4 yards.

A plaine lawne cushion cloth of 3 yards.

A cutwork cushion cloth spangled & edged with silver 2 yards & 3 q. long.

A cutwork cushion cloth 2 yards and a halfe.

4 paire of fine holland pillowe beares.

A paire of fine houswife cloth sheetes of 3 bredths and 4 yards longe, these are now edged.

<sup>a</sup> Second daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, wife of Robert Stapleton of Wighill.

2 paire and oon odd sheet of fine holland, the fellow to which my lady was wound in, one paire of these is of 3 bredths & 4 yards & a q. long, the other paire of 3 bredthes 3 yards 3 q. long, the odd sheet is of 2 bredths & a halfe & 2 yards 3 q. longe.  
One paire of old fyne holland sheetes 2 bredths & half.

THE LYNNEN IN BARBARA'S CHARGE.

2 dozen of course diaper napkins, wrought in the house.  
9 diaper towells.  
9 course diaper table clothes, wherof 7 each 4 yards long & 2 3 yards one q.  
9 lynn table clothes.  
9 lynn cupboord clothes.  
4 square clothes for the hall table.  
One dozen and a halfe of towells.  
8 paire of pillow beares & one odd pillow.  
8 paire of canvas sheetes.  
16 paire of lyn sheetes.  
22 paire of hemp lynn sheetes & one odd one.  
12 harden paire of sheetes.  
1 paire M<sup>rs</sup> Nutter hath.

THE NOTE OF THE PLATE.

In Thomas Slaggess charg.

White plait.

Two silver basons with ewers.  
Eight silver bowles & a silver bowle for the buttery.  
foure silver livery pottes.  
Three silver hall pottes.  
Two & twenty silver spownes.  
Two silver saltes, wherof one wanteth a cover.  
Three silver candle stickes.

Guilt plaite.

A bason & ewer gilted.  
Two great gilt bowles with covers.  
Two lesse gilt boules with covers.  
Three litle gilt bowles without covers.  
Two livery gilt potes.  
Three gilt saltes with covers.  
A gilt bowle with a couer woone at Bellman lawne.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This seems to have been a piece of plate won at a race. I have not identified Bellman Lawne.

Bought by my lord 1627.

One silver possnet which weighs 37 : 8<sup>d</sup>.  
A silver mortar and pestell 43 : 22<sup>d</sup>.<sup>a</sup>

Bought 1629 by my lord.

A perfumeing candlestick with a couer 27.  $\frac{5}{8}$ .  
One paire of lesser candlestickes 42.  $\frac{7}{8}$ .  
One paire of bigger candlestickes 43.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
A paire of wyer siluer candlestickes 30  $\frac{7}{8}$   $\frac{5}{8}$ .

PEWTER AND BRASSE IN THOMAS SLAGGES CHARGE.

One pewter bason & 2 ewers.  
Two pewter saltes without covers.  
foure pewter flagons wherof 2 great & 2 lesse.  
ffve pewter candlestickes.  
two pewter voyders.  
A great pewter Sestrene.  
fowreteene brasse candlestickes.

A NOTE OF THE PLATE WHICH STOOD VPON THE CUPBOORD IN YOUR OWN CHAMBER.

A silver bason & ewer, 2 litle silver cruetes, 2 silver cans parcell gilt, a silver chaffin dish, a plaine litle silver bowle, a dozín silver plaites, a plaine silver can, a plaine silver bottle, 2 gilt casting bottles, a silver pott with 2 eares, a silver candlestick, six silver sawcers, one great spown & two lesse spownes, for preserving with, five spownes which were kept for the children, 2 large porringers of silver. Two lesse silver porringers, a litle silver boat, a suger box of silver, a litle childes possnet<sup>b</sup> of silver with three feet.

IN A TRUNK IN KATHERINE HICKES KEEPING IN THE OUTER NURSERY.

Two paire of vncutt fine new blankettes.  
Two peeces of fyne white Jeanes fustion.

<sup>a</sup> In 1629 Lord William Howard gave xxs. for "one litle silver mortar." *Household Books* (Surtees' Society), p. 266. A lady tells me that she has seen a silver mortar about two and a half inches high, which she thinks was intended for pounding scents.

<sup>b</sup> Nares explains "posnet" to be "a small pot or skillet," and adds that the word but seldom occurs. In 1590 John Nevil of Faldingworth, Lincolnshire, had ij posnets valued at six shillings. *Midl. Counties Hist.* col. 11, p. 31.

## IN A LITTLE TRUNK IN THE INNER NURSERYE.

fflower yards of Callico, a swans skinn. & a paire of pillow beares begunn to be wrought.  
Nothing els but peeeces of old lynyng.

## IN THE TWO LITTLE CUPBOORDES IN THE GREAT CUPBOORD IN YOUR CHAMBER.

Conserves of Barbaryes Roses, &c. with boxes of the best oyles.

## IN THE CYPRESSE CHEST IN THE WARDROBE.

A pair of webster gears for ell wyde cloth, Two dozen of cushions, one long cushion, and 2 armes for a couch chare all of set work to make vpp, cushions & a long cushion of Irish stitch to make vpp.

Three whole webs vncutt to make Napkins on two fine the other courser, rawed with blew and one of the fine so rawed.<sup>a</sup>

A peece of fyne damask of thirty one yardes and a half 3 quarteres broad.

A peece of damask 3 yardes & a halfe 3 q<sup>r</sup> broad.

A peece of very fyne damask of 9 q<sup>r</sup> broad in length very nigh fiteene yardes.

In two peeeces pynned together for napkins to it of very fyne damask 3 q. broad 27 yardes.

A whole peece of 15 yardes & a halfe of stamin<sup>b</sup> Carsey for a bed.

A whole peece of Red carsey which was intended for coates for the children of 13 yardes 3 q<sup>r</sup>.

An vnbleached web of fyne lynn of 32 yardes.<sup>c</sup>

Another vnbleached web of hemp lyn of 20 yardes.<sup>c</sup>

A peece of new cloth of gold aboute a yard.

Aboute a yarde of Ash coloured wrought Sattin.

One Nedle work Cushion, not all sewed.

A peece of course canvas to work in.

A peece of mingled stuffe for chyldren coates 26 yardes.

A paire of plades and part of another.

Crewle fringes & a bagg of other crewles of divers sortes of coloures.

Certaine odd peeeces of old silk stuff and of cloth of gold & an old peticoat.

LAYDE VP IN THE SAME CYPRESSE CHEST THE 14<sup>th</sup> OF AUGUST 1624 WHICH WAS TAKEN FORTH FOR BLEACHING.

one web of fyne lynn, 31 yerdes, worth 20d. a yeard.

six webs of huswife lynn, six score yardes, worth 14d. a yerd.

<sup>a</sup> In the margin there is a note, "One of these webbs cutt."

<sup>b</sup> Probably a fabric of an inferior red colour.

<sup>c</sup> These are run through with a pen and the following note attached, "These 2 webs rased out were taken forth for bleaching, and put in againe the 14 of August."

one web of hemp lynn, 20 yarges, worth 11 d. a yard.  
one web of midle hecklinges,<sup>a</sup> 22 yarges, worth 10 d. a yard.  
two webs of harden, 40 yerdes, worth 9 d. a yard.  
one web of course napkins, for 3 dozen of napkins, worth 6 d. a yard.

TAKEN OUT OF THE CYPRESSE CHEST FOR VSE.

for M<sup>r</sup> William<sup>b</sup> sheetes, a pillow beare, eleaven yarges & a halfe of course lyn, & for lyning the  
children coates 2 yarges & halfe, for M<sup>r</sup> Henry<sup>c</sup> 3 yerdes.  
taken out & cut into napkins, a web which made one dozen & 11 napkins.  
the course web was cut into 3 dozen & 4 napkins.

PEWTER, BRASSE, AND OTHER THINGS BELONGING TO THE KITCHEN.

There should be of Nyne severall sises of pewther dishes which came from Newcastle, and have  
not your name on them, six dishes of each size, which in all is 54 dishes.

Wherof ther wanteth of the 7<sup>th</sup> size 2 dishes.

of the 8<sup>th</sup> size 2

& of the 9<sup>th</sup> size 5

ther came with the dishes above said two longe dishes for Rabbittes which are both in place.

ther came with them likewise twelve sawcers wher of there is now wanting 8.

ther came also the same tyme two chargers, two long pye plaites, and a voyder which are all in  
place. All these above came togeather and are of the silver dishes fashion.

Other silver fashioned dishes changed at Beverley, at severall tymes by Ralph Hickes wherof now  
in place which are marked with your own & my Lady's name.

There are of them of seaven severall sizes 12.

wherof of the greatest 2

of the second 2

of the third 1

of the 4 3

of the fifth 2

of the six 1

of the seaventh 1

one longe Rabbitt dish.

There wantes of these in all, as appeareth by the last note of them, six dishes.

There are also in the chest with those vessell aboue of the same fashion, six sawcers bought longe  
since at London.

<sup>a</sup> Inferior linen.

<sup>b</sup> Third son of Sir Thomas.

<sup>c</sup> Second son of Sir Thomas.

Other vessell in the kitchin chest which are now in place

of the greatest size	5
of the second	11
of the third	4
of the fourth	1
of the 5 <sup>th</sup> size	5
of the sixt	1
there is one charger	
Pye plaites	4
ther are sawcers	5
One Cullander	
One pewther baking pan.	

## BRASS.

Eight pottes & a possnet.

3 kettles which will hold betwixt 16 & 20 gallons a peece.

2 lesse kettles each holding betwixt 4 & 6 gallons wherof one of them is of copper.

3 kettles of less quantitye.

2 kettles which M<sup>rs</sup> Nutter hath.

2 of a lesse size.

6 litle pans of severall greatness.

1 skellet.<sup>a</sup>

There wantes that pan which had a brandred for it, which is still in place.

2 Morters & one pestle.

2 fryeing pans which are good ones & 1 old one.

4 dripinges & 2 brandredes for them.

the beef kettle, The Iron pott.

2 grydirons, wherof one is for cockles.

11 spittes, 2 paire of Rackes.

2 spittes & two paire of Rackes for the chamber.

2 reckon balkes.

9 Reckon crookes, whereof 3 single & 3 in paires.

4 paire of pott kilps, 2 paire of handcrookes.

1 Scummer, 6 ladles, 2 cleavers.

<sup>a</sup> Skellet, skillet = a saucepan. "Denying her the liberty so much as to boyl a skillet of milk for her crying and hunger-bitten children." Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, vol. ii. p. 399.

"Like skillets mix'd with sauss-pans ty'd

Round Tinker Tom on e'ery side."

Edward Ward, *Don Quixote*, vol. i. p. 365.



1 Shreding knife, 2 chopping knives.  
 1 litle brasse skellet.  
 2 beef axes & knives & 2 slaughter ropes and 2 beef stanges.<sup>a</sup>  
 4 covers for dishes of white plait.  
 1 collander of plait. An apple cradle.  
 1 little brandred 1 great brandred.  
 1 brasse pott lydd. 2 beife prickes.  
 4 loose crookes belonging the Rackes.  
 1 litle crook. A pepper milne.  
 3 or 4 other thinges of plait.  
 A paire of irons to make wafers with.  
 2 fier sholves & a pair of litle tonges, a baking pan of copper.  
 A paire of briggess<sup>b</sup> to set a pan on ouer the fier & a great boll which belonged to the Milne  
 15 chamber pottes.  
 2 old chamber pottes in the larder.  
 In the Beefhouse ther are tubbes kymlynes gyrthes & and some hogsheads, an iron Range.

IN THE MILKHOUSE.

Bowells 16. Chesfattes 8. Synkers<sup>c</sup> 2. Trayes 4, besides 3 which M<sup>r</sup> Nutter hath, and 2, in  
 the kitchen.  
 Skeeles<sup>d</sup> 4. Kyne<sup>e</sup> 1. Butterkittes 4. Creames pottes 2. Scummner 1. Cheestrough 1. Tubbs 2.  
 Tables 2.  
 a paire of weagh scales.  
 a chafer & a syle.<sup>f</sup>

IN THE WASHHOUSE.

Tubbs 3. Swills<sup>g</sup> 3. Soaes 3. 2 cloth baskettes.

<sup>a</sup> Stang is a stake or pole. Anglo-Saxon *stenge*. Here it means either the pole from which the slaughtered oxen were suspended or the piece of wood used to distend the bodies after they were disembowelled.

<sup>b</sup> "Brigs" is a term used to indicate a wooden frame used by brewers to set the tems upon. This seems to have been an iron frame of a like kind.

<sup>c</sup> A sinker is a circular board which fits into the cheese vat and is used in pressing the cheese.

<sup>d</sup> Pails.

<sup>e</sup> Ky[r]ne, *i.e.* churn.

<sup>f</sup> A wooden bowl with a linen bottom used for straining milk.

<sup>g</sup> Tubs in which refuse food is put. Swill is the common name for hog-wash, and the vessel used to hold it is called a swill-tub.

IN THE LANDRY.

2 tables, one screene, one trunck.

IN THE STORECHAMBER.

Trayes 9. Butterkittes<sup>a</sup> 5. Lyne wheelles 4. Barrells 3. A wheele kyrne. A lymbeck.<sup>b</sup>  
2 Jackes. A paire of wooll combes. Heckles 3. Kymlyn 1. A strowbasket. A wicker  
basket and a tubb for oatmeale. A frame of shelves and a table.

IN THE BREWHOUSE.

A lead, a massfatt, a cooler, a sweet woort tubb. A gile fatt. Soaes 3. Scowpes 2. Hopleaf<sup>c</sup> 1.  
Troughs 2. two bread basketes. Sackes 7. Temses 2. A meale sive. A dough trough.  
A temsing tubb. A tubb for kneading of manchet in. An iron peelee. 2 hand skeeles.  
a scrapple.<sup>d</sup> A couerlet for treading of paste.<sup>e</sup> Two peckes. A paire of weagh scales  
& a pound stone.

November 8 1625.

One paire of sheetes made of 16 yards of fyne lyn, 2 pare of pillow beares, a cubbert cloth made  
of 7 yardes and a halfe, 2 dozen of coarse napkins made of fine lyn & eight fyner napkins.

1624.

3. An Inventorye taken the 22<sup>th</sup> of June of all the houshold stuff at  
Gillinge.

Imprimis in the great chamber one long drawing table, one square table and two cubbert tables  
with greene covers or carpetes edged with silk fringe for them all, twelve carved stooles  
vncouerd, twelve high stooles covered with greene cloth and fringed with silk, five low

<sup>a</sup> Kit usually signifies a vessel into which cows are milked, formed of staves hooped together, with  
one of the staves longer than the rest, which forms a handie. These butter-kits were probably vessels of  
this sort used for the purpose of containing the butter when removed from the churn before it was made  
up into pounds.

<sup>b</sup> An alembic, a vessel used for making distillations.

<sup>c</sup> A hop-basket.

<sup>d</sup> Probably a scraper.

<sup>e</sup> When a large quantity of bread was made at once it was formerly the custom in farmhouses  
for the kneading to be done by the feet instead of the hands. It was therefore necessary to cover the  
dough with a sheet.

stooles covered with greene cloth fringed, six high stooles covered with loome work fringed, one chare sutable to the greene stooles, and another chare, an iron range & a paire of landirons.<sup>a</sup>

In the walke, one low table with a greene cloth, two chares, two deskes, one litle chest, a bill, a halbert, & a paire of Rigalles.<sup>b</sup>

In the dyning parler, a high drawing table & a low drawing table, one cubbert table, one forme, one chare covered with greene cloth & fringed with greene crewls, a low chaire covered with sett worke, & another chare covered with set worke & the back of wood without armors,<sup>c</sup> foure set worke stooles, foure set-work cushions, two neellwork<sup>d</sup> cushions, & one lome-work cushion, an iron range, a paire of landirons, a paire of tongs, a fier sholve,<sup>e</sup> a violl chest, a wanded<sup>f</sup> skreene, a chesse boord & chesse men.

In the bishopp parler, one standing bedsteed, with teaster and vallance of velvet belonging the standing bed, a feather bed, one bolster, one pillow, a paire of blankettes, a counter pointe, a pallet & belonging to it one fether bed, a bolster, a blanket & a counterpointe, a cubbert table with a set work covering, a black chare, a high black stoole covered with velvet, two lowe stooles covered with black velvet, a low stoole covered with browne velvet, another stoole covered with flowred velvet, an iron range, a paire of landirons, a wanded skreene and fower peece of hanginges with which the chamber is hung aboute.

In the Inner new lodging one standing bedsteed with teaster & vallance of white velvet, one feather bed, two bolsters, a white rugg, one chaire covered with white flowerd velvet sutable to the bedteaster, one cubert table, a lowe stoole covered with settwork, a paire of landirons & three curtin rodde.

In the outer new lodginge, one standing bedsteed with black & yellow teaster & vallance, a cubbert table, fower peece of hanginges about the chamber & 3 curtinrodes.

In the wardropp, two standing bedsteedes, one presse, a violl chest, a table for tailers to work on, and Mattes belonging to the inner new lodging.

In the pleasance chamber, one standing bedsteed with a teaster, one chare, two cubbert tables & two curtinrodes.

In the tirret chamber, one cubbert table, two stooles vncoverd & a paire of landirons.

In the Paradise, one square table, two standing bedsteedes, one featherbed, one bolster, one low stoole covered with greene cloth, one high stool vncovered, a frame of a stoole, & a iron chimney.

In the gallery end chamber, one standing bed with teaster & vallance of black & white velvet, 3 curtin rodes, one feather bed, one bolster, two pillowes, one cubbert table, with a covering cloth, one long cushion of black & white velvet, a chare covered with black velvet, a chare

<sup>a</sup> Andirons, fire-dogs.

<sup>b</sup> A regal, a musical instrument. See Nares, *Glossary*.

<sup>c</sup> Arms.

<sup>d</sup> Needlework.

<sup>e</sup> Shovel.

<sup>f</sup> Wickerwork.

vncovered with a falling back for a table, two low stooles, covered with black velvet, two high stooles vncovered.

In the Inner chamber, one low bed, one feather bed, two bolsters, two blanketets, a counterpoint, & a closstoole.

In the outer Nurserye, two standing bedsteedes, one canoppye & taffaty curtins, one feather bed, a bolster, one pillow, a blanket, a red rugg, a cradle, a barn<sup>a</sup> chare, a high stoole covered, a trunck & a long chest.

In my maisters chamber, one standing bed steed with teaster and vallance of black velvet, 3 curtin rode, 5 taffaty curtins, one feather bed, one bolster, one pillow, two blanketets, a green rugg, a trunell bed, one feather bed, one bolster, one pillow, one blanket, one whit rugg, one strow<sup>b</sup> chare, one throwne<sup>c</sup> chare, one barn chare, one square table, 3 low stools covered with red velvet, one low stoole, covered with black velvet, one high stoole vncovered, one iron range, one cubbert, and one chest.

In my maisters closet, one high stoole vncovered & a low stoole vncovered, a low stoole covered with set work, a low stoole covered with black, a greene table cloth and a long cushion.

In the inner Nursery, two standing bedsteedes, two presses, three trunckes, a pannell'd chest, & five boxes.

In the closet at stare heades, 3 peeeces of hanginges, one high stoole vncovered, an iron rang and a long curtin rodd.

In Ralph Reedes vault, one standing bedsteed, one feather bed, one bolster, one pillowe, two blanketets, three couerletes, two trunckes, one table, one stoole and a great arke.<sup>d</sup>

In the wyneceller, an iron Chest, three hogshades and three teareses, one stand, one horselitter, a brazen pully and iron bolt belonging the gyn<sup>e</sup> for glasers.

In the middle vault, 2 bedsteedes, an old feather bed & one wanded chare.

In Barnardes parler, two standing bedsteedes, one matterice, one bolster, one blanket, & two couerletes, one high stoole, one low stoole, both uncouered, six peeeces of old quilted hanginges.

In the maidens parler, two bed steedes, one feather bed, one bolster, one blanket, one red rugg, & one cubberd.

In the oxe house, two bed steedes, two mattresses, three bolsters, five couerletes.

In the stable, one bed steed, one feather bed, one bolster, one couerlet, one rugg, one matterice.

In the pantrye, one table, one forme, one high stoole, uncouered, one chest, one trunck, one ding, one flagon, two Jackes, a basin & eure, one brasse candle stick, two lynning table clothes, one dibe<sup>f</sup> table cloth, twelve dibe napkins, 20 course napkins, one guilt salt, two silver

<sup>a</sup> A child's chair.

<sup>b</sup> A chair made of straw.

<sup>c</sup> A chair made of turner's work. A turning-lathe is still called a throw.

<sup>d</sup> A chest.

<sup>e</sup> Some piece of mechanism of which a pulley formed a part. "Gin" formerly had a wider meaning than it now has, and could be used for any uncommon piece of mechanism.

<sup>f</sup> Diaper.

spownes, two course hand towells, one glasse vineger crewett, seaven glasses without feet, 2 dozen of trenchers, a hanging plat candlestick and an old hogshead for bread, three paire of lyn sheetes, foure paire of hemp sheetes, foure paire of harden sheetes.

In the Buttery, five pipes, eleaven hogshedes, besides 2 lent vnto Mr Rose & three old ones that will not hold liquors, Soaes three, fioyls five.

In the brewhouse, one copper, a maskfatt, a quilefatt, a cooler, a woorttrough, a long trough and a woort tubb.

In the bouting house, a kneading trough with a couer, one litle tubb, and an old bouting tubb.

In the backhouse, two tables for working past on.

In the beef house, one table & 4 salting tubbs.

In the still house chamber, one standing bedsteed, one feather bed, three blankettes, one red rugg, an old counterpoint, one chare, one high stoole vncovered, one cubbert table, one bolster, and two pillowes.

In the chamber next the milk house, two bedsteedes, a matterice, a bolster, a blancket, a greene rug and a redd rugg.

In the milk house, butter kittes 5, milkbowles 20, foure Inch bourdes layd vppon tressles, shelvs 18, two formes, one table, one high stoole uncouered, 3 cream pottes, one trunck, & a litle stand.

In the landry, one table, a cheestrough, one stand, 3 kyrnes,<sup>a</sup> one frame for a kyrne to runn in, & 2 iron crookes to turne it about with, & an old chest.

In the wash house, one table, two formes, 4 stooles, 6 chesfattes, one sinker, 2 kettles, 2 pans, one brass pott, 5 skeeles,<sup>b</sup> one swill, 2 kans, 3 chees presses, one buckin<sup>c</sup> tub, an old brasse mortar & iron pestle, one brandreth, one copper pan with 2 lugges.<sup>d</sup>

In the kitchin, 3 dozen & 8 puder dishes, 3 sawcers, one cullinder, one puder plate, a striking knife, a minching knife, a pasty dish, one paire of racks, 3 spittes, one dripping pan, one brass pott, an iron range, a frying pan, and a paire of pott hookes.

In the larder, one cubberd, one strow chare, one chest, one table, & a safe for hanging meat in.

In the pastry, one old counter, an old chest, and one high stoole vncovered.

In the hall, one long table & 3 lesser tables, one long forme, one short forme, & a paire of tables.

4. SHEPE AND CATTLE REMAYNINGE ATT GILLINGE THE XXVIJ<sup>th</sup> DAIE OF JULIE 1596.

Item holdeing Ewes <sup>e</sup>	v <sup>xx</sup> xij	} xix <sup>xx</sup> viij.
Item hogges <sup>f</sup> & sheringes <sup>g</sup>	vij <sup>xx</sup> viij	
Item weather <sup>h</sup> lambes and gymbr <sup>i</sup> lambes v <sup>xx</sup> xvj		
Item Tupp lambes	iiij	
Item Rigald <sup>k</sup> lambes	vij	

<sup>a</sup> Churns.

<sup>b</sup> Pails.

<sup>c</sup> A wash-tub.

<sup>d</sup> Ears.

<sup>e</sup> Ewes of more than one year old.

<sup>f</sup> A lamb weaned from its mother but still unshorn.

<sup>g</sup> A sheep once shorn.

<sup>h</sup> A castrated male sheep.

<sup>i</sup> Gimmer, gimber = a female sheep that has not been shorn. Cf. Arthur Young, *Lincolnshire Agriculture*, p. 320.

<sup>k</sup> An imperfect ram, one that is half castrated, commonly called a rig. See Halliwell, *Dict. sub voc.* riggot. Jackson, *Shropshire Word Book*, *sub voc.* riggil.

Draughte oxen xvj.

Kynne xvij.

Bulls j.

SHEPP AND CATTLE REMAYNINGE ATT WALTON YE DAY AFORESAID.

Item holdinge Ewes vj<sup>xx</sup> viij.

Item Rames xij.

Item weather mugges<sup>a</sup> xxviij.

Item muggle lambes vj<sup>xx</sup> ix.

Draughte oxen xiiij.

Horses ij.

Mares xij.

Kynne iiij.

Bulles j.

In toto holdinge Ewes xij<sup>xx</sup> j

Item shorne shepe viij<sup>xx</sup> xvj

Item lambes xij<sup>xx</sup> xvj

Rames . xij

vj<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> v. after v<sup>xx</sup> unto the hundrede.

5. A NOTE OF ALL MY BOOKES REMAYNING AT GILLING.<sup>b</sup>

Latten.

Biblia magna Jeronomi.

Cronica cronicarum.

Promptuarium Jeronomi.

Novum Testamentum.

Praedium Rusticum.

Meditationes Sancti Augustini.

ffrench.

Titus Livius.

Le tierce part de Afrique.

La description de tous les Pais-bas.

Le Institution de principe.

Les discours de Lestat le Machiavelli.

Le Philocophe de Messire Jean Boccace.

Le guidon des parens en instruccon de leurs E.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> "Mug sheep, the white-faced breed from which the improved Leicester breed originated." Dickenson, *Cumberland Glossary* (E.D.S.), p. 65.

<sup>b</sup> There is no heading in the original. The above is taken from a table of contents near the end of the volume.

<sup>c</sup> Probably contraction for "Enfants."

Svetone Tranquille de la vie des xij Caesars.

Cornelius Tacitus.

Du Recuel contenant les choses memorabil.

Comentaries de Jvles Caesar de la Gverre.

Le Peregrin.

Le Thresor des livres Damades de Gaull.

Le dis 1<sup>me</sup> Livre Damadis de Gavle.

Inglish.

Plutarche.

ffroisarte.

Chaucer.

Scledaile commentaries.

Hollensides Cronickle in ij volumes.

Appian.

Alexander.

Sir Roger Williams booke.

A perfet plote of a hope garden.

The Frenche Academie.

Bilson.

A summons for slepers.

The contrye Guyse.

The book of L. de la Nowe ' y E. A.

Fulks answer to Rhems testament.

Pathway to Martiall disciplyne.

John Nichols pilgrimage.

A booke of hawkyn.

A Regester of all the gentlemens armes in ye great chamber.

6. PLAIT REMAYNING AT GILLING THE 25 OF MARCH 1590.

Two Liverye Pottes weighing fourescore & vj ounces.

Two other Leverye pottes weighing eight & fitye ounces dim.

A spowte pott weighing xxix ounces & a half.

A nest of Bowelles with a cover weighing xlv ounces dim.

Three other Bowelles weighing xlv ounces.

A dooble Bell salt weighing ix ounces & three quarters.

Two dosen spones weighing xlix ounces dim.

fflower Candlestickes weighing xxxvij ounces.

xij Plaites weighing v<sup>xx</sup> xj ounces.

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X

A Spice Boxe with a sponne weighing xv ounces.  
 A chafindishe weighing xxix ounces dim.  
 A Basin & an ewer weighing lxxij ounces.  
 An other hollow basin weighing xxij ounces.  
 Two kannes weighing xxx ounces & a halfe.  
 Three french bowelles with a cover conteyning xxvj ounces iij qrs.  
 Item iij frenche Bolles with a cover, weyinge xxviij unzes a qr. di.  
 Item a laer of silver for water cont. xxij unzes.  
 Item ij silver candlestickes.  
 Two basens and Eweres of silver.  
 Two silver sponnes.  
 Two flaggons of silver.  
 A dozen silver plaites.  
 A bottle of silver weyinge vj ounces j quarteren.  
 Item ij little cupes of silver weying xj ounces.  
 Item one silver Standishe <sup>a</sup> weighing xvij ounces.  
 Item a shippe bason and ewere cont. iij<sup>xx</sup> one ounce iij qters.  
 Item iiij silver drinkinge pottes for ye hall cont. iiij<sup>xx</sup> x ounces.  
 Item a silver Cullander for orrenge cont.

## GILT PLATE.

Two gilt saltes with a cover weighing xxxij ounces & a halfe.  
 A square gilt salt with a cover weighing xxij ounces.  
 A trencher salt gilt weighing iiij ounces & a half and half a quarterne.  
 A gilt salt weighing with a cover xvij ounces & a halfe.  
 A gilt goblet weighing xiiij ounces & thre quarterns.  
 fflower gilt spones weighing viij ounces & a quarterne.  
 Item j gilte cuppe weighing x ounces j q<sup>r</sup>.  
 Item j gilte castinge bottle weighing iiij ounces.  
 Item twoo leverye pottes gilte cont. iij<sup>xx</sup> iij ounces.  
 Item v gilte bowles and a cover cont. xxxij ounces iij q<sup>rs</sup>.  
 Item one gilte basinge and ewere cont. iij<sup>xx</sup> iiij ounces.  
 Item one great gilt Bowle with a cover cont. xxx ounces dim.  
 Item one gilt bowle with a cover conteyning xxvj ounces dim.  
 Item one gilte standinge cupp with a cover cont. x ounces.

7. LYNNONE REMAININGE AT GILLINGE THE X<sup>th</sup> OF SEPTEMBRE 590.

Imprimis one dammaske table clothe wrought with ye Spreed Egle of vij yerdes long.  
 Item one dammaske table clothe wrought with Picturs of vj yerdes dim. longe.

<sup>a</sup> An inkstand.



Item one dammaske table clothe wrought with ye spread Egle of v yerdes iij q<sup>ters</sup> longe.  
Item one dammaske table clothe wrought with ye marygold & ye rose iiij yards iij q<sup>ters</sup>.  
Item one dammaske square clothe wrought with Picturs.  
Item one dammaske square clothe wrought with mulberyes.  
Item another dammaske square clothe.  
Item one dammaske Towell iiij yeardes longe wrought with ye marrygolde.  
Item one dammask Towell of viij yerdes longe wrought with ye marygold & ye rose.  
Item one dammaske Towell of iij yeardes iij q<sup>ters</sup> longe wrought with ye spread egle.  
Item one dammaske Towell of v yerdes longe wrought with the marygold and the Rose.

GOOD DIOPER.

Item one Dioper table clothe of viij yerdes dim. longe.  
Item one Dioper table clothe of vj yerdes longe.  
Item one Dioper table cloth of iiij yerdes dim. longe.  
Item one Dioper table cloth of iiij yerdes dim. long.  
Item iij Dioper cubbert clothes.  
Item iij large lynnene shetes of holline for a womans chamber in child bed.  
Item a paire of holline shetes.  
Item a paire of duple canvas shetes of a xj yerdes.  
Item one Canvas drawing clothe.

GOOD CANVESSES.

Item one Canvesse table clothe of vij yerdes dim. longe.  
Item one Canvesse table clothe vj yerdes longe.  
Item ij Canvesse table clothes of v yerdes longe.  
Item iiij square clothes.  
Item iiij cubbert clothes.  
Item one Canvesse towell ij yerdes dim. longe.  
Item one Canvesse table clothe iij yerdes longe.  
Item one Canvesse table clothe iij yerdes dim. longe.  
Item ij Canvesse table clothes iij yerdes longe.  
Item one table clothe of Canvesse v yerdes long.  
Item j Canvesse towell iij yerdes j q<sup>r</sup> long.  
Item j Towell more.

NAPKINS.

Item napkins vj dozen.  
Item new napkins vj dozen.

## SHEETES.

Item j paire of Canvesse shetes of v ells.

Item v paire of Canvesse shetes.

Item iiij paire of Lynne sheetes.

## HEMPLINE.

Item iiij paire of hemp line sheetes new maid.

Item j square clothe of hemp line.

Item ij hemp line towells.

## HARDEN SHEETES.

Item v paire of harden sheetes new maid.

Item one hold clothe new maid for ye long table.

Item ij square clothes of harden, new maide.

Item iiij plaite Clothes of harden newe maid.

V.—*Some Account of the Courtenay Tomb in Colyton Church, Devon. Communicated by WILLIAM HENRY HAMILTON ROGERS, Esq., F.S.A. With Remarks by HENRY SALUSBURY MILMAN, Esq., M.A., Director.*

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Read Feb. 6, 1879.

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IN Colyton church stands a small high tomb, on which is the recumbent effigy of a young lady with a coronet on her head and a dog at her feet. Over the effigy is a shrine-like canopy; in the sides supporting the canopy are angels with *thuribula*; and on the outside of the west end in a niche are the Virgin and Holy Child.

The tomb now finds a place under the first arch of the north aisle of the chancel, whither it was removed by a former vicar from the east wall of the north transept; but it is probable that its original situation was beneath the end window close by, where there is a recess unoccupied.

This effigy has been uniformly assigned by the county historians to represent Margaret Courtenay, daughter of William Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, by the Princess Katherine his wife, daughter of King Edward IV. and sister to Henry Marquis of Exeter, beheaded by King Henry VIII. Tradition declares that she was choked by a fish-bone,<sup>a</sup> dying in 1512. All these particulars are engraved on a brass plate, of recent date, affixed to the wall over the effigy, which is still well known as *the little choke-a-bone*. It has, however, long been satisfactorily proved that this Lady Margaret Courtenay lived to woman's estate, married Henry Lord Herbert, and was mentioned in her mother's will, dated 1527, as then living.

<sup>a</sup> Cleaveland's *Family of Courtenay*, 1735, p. 247.

The reason of this mis-assignation is not far to seek. At the back of the tomb immediately over the effigy are three shields, which have hitherto been described thus:—1. Courtenay; 2. Courtenay impaling France and England quarterly; 3. France and England quarterly, alone;—through an unfortunately cursory examination of the arms. The mistake which has thus arisen warns us how careful the scrutiny of the herald should be in such cases.

Thus the matter remained until our esteemed Fellow, Mr. Weston Styleman Walford, requested me to examine the shields with great care, and ascertain if the royal coat was not *within a bordure*. This was immediately discovered to be the case, and leads up at once to the unravelling of the secret which has so long remained in abeyance—to the identification of the lady's place in the pedigree, if not of her name.

Thomas Courtenay, fifth Earl of Devonshire of that race, married Margaret, daughter of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, eldest son of John of Gaunt by his third wife. They had three sons, who perished successively in the Wars of the Roses, and five daughters—Joan, married to Roger Clifford, Elizabeth, married to Hugh Conway, and three others—Anne, Matilda, and Eleanor—who died unmarried.<sup>a</sup>

Joan, sister of Margaret Beaufort, married James I. King of Scotland, from whom our present Queen is descended. Mr. Walford writes me,—“The gold signet of Queen Joan was found in 1829 at Kinross, and when it was exhibited at a meeting of the Archæological Institute at Edinburgh, in 1856, it was in the possession of—and, I believe, belonged to—Mr. John W. Williamson, a banker at Kinross. There is a cut of it in the *Archæol. Journ.* 1857, vol. xiv. p. 54, and another in Seton's *Scottish Heraldry*, 1863, p. 209.” “On this seal,” continues Mr. Walford, “the bordure of the Beaufort arms, which were impaled with those of Scotland, was overlooked until an experienced eye discovered it.”<sup>b</sup> As on the ring, so on the tomb, the bordure appears to have completely escaped notice for a time. The Beaufort *bordure* would be *compony*. Unfortunately all

<sup>a</sup> Milles's *Catalogue of Honor*, 1610.

<sup>b</sup> This signet was described in Laing's *Scottish Seals*, 1850, No. 44. The cut of its impression in the *Archæol. Journ.* appeared later in *Catal. Archæol. Mus. Edinbr.* 1856, 1859, p. 89; and that in Seton appeared earlier in *Archæol. Scot.* 1857, vol. iv. p. 420. James I. was murdered in February, 1436-7. A seal of the Queen, showing the same impaled coat on a *lozenge*, remains appended to a document of September, 1439, among the Public Records of Scotland. (Seton, p. 208, Pl. IX. fig. 1. Laing's *Scottish Seals, Supplement*, 1866.)

the original colouring (except a mere trace of the ochreous base of the gilding) on the charges of the shields, which are sculptured in relief, is gone, having been scraped and washed off, the bordure being perfectly clean to the surface of the stone.

It still remains to be discovered which of these three unmarried daughters the tomb commemorates.

Colcombe Castle,<sup>a</sup> which may be described as the cradle of the noble family of Courtenay, and where this young lady presumably died, is situate about half a mile distant from Colyton. This Earl Thomas Courtenay, as the head of the house, held Colcombe, where the family appear to have dwelled alternately with their other residence of Tiverton Castle, and which probably was apportioned to the eldest son for the time being.

Among the old muniments of the Chamber of Feoffees of Colyton, belonging to the borough of Colyford, anciently part of the possessions of the Courtenays, and now held by the Chamber, is the following deed, to which Thomas Courtenay was a party before he succeeded to the earldom :—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Uphome de Coliford in comitatu Devonie dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Thome Courteney filio et heredi domini Hugonis Courteney Comitis Devonie Philippo Courteney filio et heredi domini Johannis Courteney militis ac Johanni Loterell filio et heredi domini Hugonis Loterell militis omnia mea terras et tenementa cum omnibus suis pertinentiis in burgo de Coliford predicto &c. Hiis testibus Johanne Stowford Thoma Pyper ac multis aliis. Data apud Coliford predictum undecimo die mensis Novembris anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum Anglie octavo.<sup>b</sup>

With the deed is a letter of attorney, appointing John Paule to give seisin of the granted lands, dated 20th November in the same year.<sup>b</sup>

I enclose a drawing of the three shields, and refer to the engravings of the effigy and tomb which will be found in my volume on *The Antient Sepulchral Effigies and Monumental and Memorial Sculpture of Devon*.

<sup>a</sup> See an engraving of the castle in Polwhele's *Devonshire*, 1790, vol. ii. p. 310.

<sup>b</sup> Nov. 1420.

## REMARKS.

Mr. W. H. H. Rogers justly appropriates the merit of this rehabilitation of heraldic evidence to our late most learned and highly esteemed Fellow and friend Mr. Weston Styleman Walford, who, when the above communication reached the hands of the Secretary, was still among us, but, by a singularly sad coincidence, died on the very day of its reading.

So long ago as 1853, Mr. Walford was able, through his accurate heraldic knowledge, to propose the true solution of the problem. In that and the two following years he corresponded with Dr. Oliver, and our Fellow Mr. Charles Tucker, both residents in Devonshire and careful students of its antiquities, and obtained through the latter all the information which the Rev. John Comins—then and for some years previously curate of Colyton—could give from his knowledge or from that of other old inhabitants.

From 1855 to 1878 there was no further step taken in the inquiry, although our late distinguished Fellow, Mr. Albert Way, used to express a wish that Mr. Walford would proceed with it. In the latter year our late Fellow Mr. Blore occasioned its revival by showing to Mr. Walford a drawing of the monument which he had made about 1870. Mr. Walford thereupon began an interesting correspondence with Mr. Rogers, and the result was the above communication to the Society, accompanied by new drawings of the three shields. Mr. Walford about the same time handed to the Society his correspondence and references on the subject.

From Farmer's *Colyton Church*, 1842, and from some further notes by Mr. Rogers, the modern history of the monument more fully appears. The book states that it was removed from the north transept and repaired in 1818,<sup>a</sup> describes the brass plate as *recently* engraven, and gives the inscription in full. Its original site was certainly under the northern and only window of the transept, a window in a recess somewhat wider than the length of the monument, and ornamented with mouldings running down the splay. The monument was placed as far eastward as possible, so that its head stood clear, and its foot rested against the flat surface of the eastern splay, the mouldings being cut away to allow of this arrangement. There is evidence of an intermediate site under the east wall of the transept,

<sup>a</sup> The remains were removed at the same time (Letter of Rev. J. Comins, Nov. 17th, 1854), but no record of the particulars or dimensions of them is known to exist.

occupied from 1818, when a north aisle was added to the nave, to 1830, the date of the brass plate as engraved on its corner, and also probably of the "restoration," that is, of the cornice which overhangs the canopy, and, alas! of the new face of the effigy, both supplied by the zeal and liberality of the then vicar, the Rev. Dr. Barnes, sometime Sub-Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

As the heraldic question turns on features of the shields which have been much affected by time and neglect, the Society, *ex abundanti cautelâ*, and showing respect to long-received opinion and tradition, decided to call, in aid of the engravings,<sup>a</sup> the impartial evidence of photography; and Mr. Rogers greatly enhanced the value of his communication by subsequently obtaining and sending to the Society photographs of the tomb and the three shields. That of the tomb supplies the following description; those of the shields are figured on the next page.

The case made by photography is as follows.

The central shield bears Courtenay impaling Beaufort, the dexter and sinister shields showing and verifying the constituent parts of this coat.

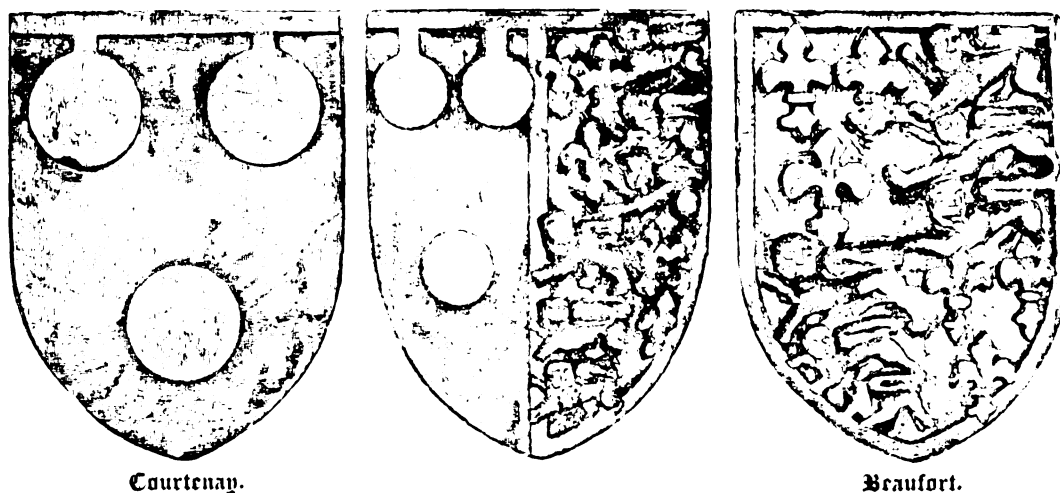
The effigy is dressed thus: On the head is a veil surmounted by a coronet, the edges of the veil on either brow being uneven, as if scalloped or embroidered;<sup>b</sup> on the body a plain sleeved kirtle or cote, with an ornament on the bosom, and a plain sleeveless surcote reaching to the feet; and round the waist a girdle buckled, with a long end hanging down on the right side.

<sup>a</sup> The following are references to Mr. Rogers's volume, as compiled in 1877 from his communications to the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, which are printed in their *Transactions*.

Mr. R's. Volume.	Transactions, 2nd Ser.
Page 6. Tomb—description . . . . .	Vol. ii. p. 40
27. Tomb and effigy—description . . . . .	„ p. 61
84. Coat-armour and coronet—woodcut . . . . .	Vol. iii. p. 234
147. Tomb—woodcut . . . . .	„ p. 297
169. Colyton church—woodcut . . . . .	„ p. 319
Pl. XVIII. Effigy—woodcut . . . . .	Vol. ii. Pl. XVIII.
Pl. XXIV. Coat-armour and coronet—woodcut . . . . .	„ Pl. XXIV.
Pl. L. Colyton church—woodcut . . . . .	Vol. iii. p. 319
Pl. LIII. Tomb—woodcut . . . . .	„ p. 297
Correction of tradition . . . . .	„ p. 548
Colyton church—lithograph . . . . .	Pl. 3

<sup>b</sup> The objects described above as a veil and its edges appear to some observers as hair and ears. We lament the loss of the original face as of good evidence on this question.

The angels in the sides of the canopy are two, standing, one over the head, the other over the feet, of the effigy; and the Virgin and Holy Child outside it rest upon the capital of a slender column.

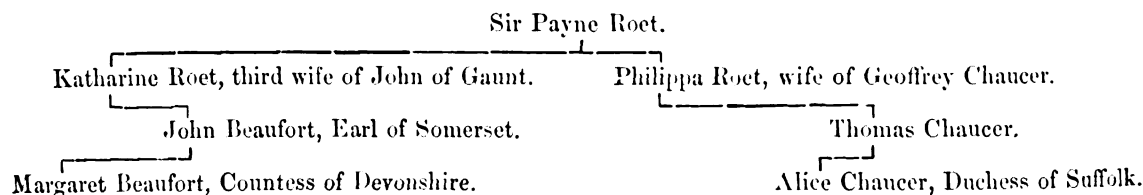


THE THREE SHIELDS OVER THE COURTENAY EFFIGY IN COLYTON CHURCH, DEVON.

Originals 11 by 9 inches.

The style of heraldry, the dress, and the architecture, belonging to the middle of the fifteenth century, raise a presumption that Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Devonshire, is the lady commemorated. Whether the size of the effigy affects this presumption or not will be considered further on.

The shield of the Countess, the chief shield at Colyton, appears subordinately on the tomb of her kinsman, Thomas Chaucer, at Ewelme, in Oxfordshire; and the tomb at Colyton resembles in style the more famous and sumptuous one of her kinswoman, Alice Duchess of Suffolk, also at Ewelme.<sup>a</sup> The kinship is shown thus :



<sup>a</sup> Napier's *Swyncombe and Ewelme*, 1858, pp. 45, 68, 102. Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume*, 1876, Dictionary, "Coronet." Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, 1796, vol. ii. Pl. XCIV. p. 248.



John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, father of the Countess, died on Palm Sunday, the 16th March, 1409-10.<sup>a</sup> His widow, Margaret, survived him, and afterwards married Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, whom she also survived; and she died on Thursday, the 1st January, 1438-9,<sup>a</sup> having named in her will five executors (Margaret Countess of Devonshire being one), who joined in a petition respecting the administration of the Duchess's estate to the Parliament which began at Westminster on the 12th November, 1439.<sup>b</sup>

Thomas Courtenay, the fifth Earl of Devonshire, husband of the Countess, was born on the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, 3rd May, 1414, became, at the age of six, a co-trustee of lands at Colyton (as appears from the deed cited by Mr. Rogers), and at the age of eight succeeded to the earldom.<sup>c</sup> Thomas, their eldest son, was born before May 1432;<sup>d</sup> there were seven more children of their marriage.

From these dates and events it appears that Margaret Beaufort was married to Thomas, the fifth Earl, about the middle of the year 1431, her age being not less than 21, his but 17 years; and that she was living late in the year 1439.

From the size of the effigy (it is but 3 feet 6 inches long) arose a presumption, which ripened into a tradition, that a very young girl is represented.

Such presumptions were long ago refuted by Mr. Walford himself. "An effigy," he wrote, "is *prima facie* to be considered as representing that to which, having regard to the costume and general appearance, it bears most resemblance, irrespectively of its size; for it is unreasonable from size alone to infer that it was not intended for a full grown person."<sup>e</sup>

Several small female effigies have been noticed and recorded both before and since he wrote as above:—that at Coberley, Gloucestershire, by our Fellow, Mr. J. Henry Middleton;<sup>f</sup> the two at Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, with figures in photograph, by our Fellow, Mr. Octavius Morgan;<sup>g</sup> that at Sheinton, Shropshire,<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Milles's *Catalogue of Honor*, 1610.

<sup>b</sup> *Rot. Parl.*

<sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> Inqs. p. m. of Hugh, 4th Earl, and Thomas, 5th Earl.

<sup>e</sup> *Archæol. Journ.* 1846, vol. iii. p. 234; 1862, vol. xix. p. 26.

<sup>f</sup> *Brist. and Glouc. Archæol. Trans.* 1879, vol. iv. p. 44.

<sup>g</sup> *Abergavenny Monuments*, 1872.

<sup>h</sup> *Archæol. Journ.* 1854, vol. xi. pp. 417-418.

with a figure; and that at Gayton, Northamptonshire, by Mr. G. Baker,<sup>a</sup> and by our Fellow, Mr. Albert Hartshorne.<sup>b</sup>

Most of the above instances leave the question—whether the original was full-grown or not—at least open, but two of them carry the argument further, for each is accompanied by evidence that a woman and not a girl is represented.

The effigy at Sheinton, although sculptured on a slab in length 2 ft. 4 in. only, wears on the head a kerchief falling in flowing folds on the shoulders, and a long robe close at the neck but not girded, and bears a clasped book in the bend of the left arm—presenting the appearance of a full-grown woman of some religious order. One of the effigies at Abergavenny is especially in point for our present inquiry, inasmuch as the evidence is chiefly heraldic, and points to a lady who became a wife and a mother of several children. It is 4 ft. 3 in. in length, and not only is its dress apparently that of a woman, but it is under the coverture of a shield charged with the arms of Cantelupe, and is hence regarded with great probability as representing Eva de Cantelupe, who, as a coheirress of William de Braose, obtained on petition the barony of Abergavenny, survived her husband William de Cantelupe—who had enjoyed the barony in her right—and died bearing his name, and in sole tenure of the barony, and leaving three children surviving.

With such support of the safe rule laid down by Mr. Walford, one should hesitate to displace the Countess of Devonshire in favour of one of her daughters.

Those who have read the chapter on “Effigies and Funerals,” written long since by our Fellow Mr. Octavius Morgan in *Abergavenny Monuments*, but as yet far too little known, will be prepared for an opinion that a tomb of this kind is a permanent reproduction of the herse as it stood immediately after the funeral.<sup>c</sup> The *herse* of that day was a stage and canopy of wood, set up for the

<sup>a</sup> *Northamptonshire*, 1841, vol. ii. p. 283.

<sup>b</sup> *Monumental Effigies of Northamptonshire*, 1876, p. 112.

<sup>c</sup> See also *Vet. Mon.* vol. iv. Plate xviii.; Peacock's *English Church Furniture*, 1866, p. 127; note on “Herse,” Part iv.; Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament*, 3rd ed. 1868, “Herse.”

occasion on the floor of the church and hung with sable drapery. On the arrival of the procession the uncoffined corpse, or, if circumstances would not so permit, the coffin with a wooden and waxen fac-simile of the corpse lying thereon, was placed upon the stage under the canopy, and the solemn rites proceeded. When the corpse had been lowered into its grave in the chancel or chapel, the herse was placed over it, and the wooden or canvas achievements which had been carried in the procession were hung about the herse under heraldic direction, and any sacred figure which had also been carried (as here the Holy Virgin and Child) was set up in a place of honour. So the herse remained for many months; during which it was visited by mourners, and might receive a more formal tribute in writing,—a scroll which commemorated, often in verse, the virtues and honours of the deceased. Such a scroll was the *epitaph*.

After a time the herse of wood gave place to the *tomb* of stone; but the principal achievement from the herse might be preserved and set up on the family mansion,—a practice surviving in the modern hatchment,—and the epitaph might pass into literature.

Shakespeare has embalmed the custom of the epitaph, and also left an epitaph of great beauty, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act iv. Sc. 1, and Act v. Scs. 1 and 3. Claudio seeks in the church the spot where Hero is believed to lie recently buried, and hangs over it his scroll.

The whole funeral practice as above explained underlies an exquisite poem of the Jacobean age, an epitaph which was laid on the herse of Mary Sidney, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, in Salisbury Cathedral in 1621. This poem has, ever since the middle of the seventeenth century, been cruelly mis-written, mis-stopped, and mutilated, and subsequently ascribed to Ben Jonson, and loaded with ignorant criticism; but, fortunately, it survives incorrupt in a volume written and signed by the real author, William Browne, with the date 1650,—eight years before the first appearance in print of its supposed text, and more than a century before its first ascription to Ben Jonson by his editor, Peter Whalley. The author's MS. volume<sup>a</sup> was privately printed in 1815 by Sir Egerton Brydges, but fancifully re-arranged and incorrectly noted. The poem is not only worth preservation for its own merit, but, as presenting a vivid contemporary picture of the *herse*, the *epitaph*, and the *tomb*, in mutual relation,

<sup>a</sup> In Brit. Mus. *Lansd. MS.* 777.

deserves authentic repetition here, quaintly spelt and without stops, as in the original MS. :—

ON THE COUNTESSE DOWAGER OF PEMBROKE.

Underneath this sable Herse  
Lyes the subject of all verse  
Sydneyes sister Pembrokes mother  
Death ere thou hast slaine another  
Faire & learn'd & good as she  
Tyme shall throw a Dart at thee.

Marble Pyles let no man raise  
To her name for after dayes  
Some kind woman borne as she  
Reading this like Niobe  
Shall turne Marble & become  
Both her Mourner & her Tombe.

As a historical fact, the poet was obeyed. The hersees at Colyton and at Salisbury alike passed away. That at Colyton revived in the tomb which still excites our interest. That at Salisbury revived, not in a tomb, the custom of the Herberts apparently not sanctioning such a revival, but in a famous epitaph raising the Countess of Pembroke above the crowd of those who lie forgotten, *carant quia vate sacro*.

It is to be hoped that hereafter the Courtenay tomb at Colyton, with its obscured heraldry brought to light, may be allowed to tell its own story; the Pembroke epitaph, with its mistaken allusion understood, may regain its true place in poetry; and the forgotten pomp and circumstance of the mediæval funeral, which the tomb and the epitaph illustrate, each from its own point of view, may be borne in mind for like antiquarian researches.

VI.—*On a List of the Royal Navy in 1660. Communicated by CHARLES SPENCER PERCEVAL, Esq., LL.D., Treasurer.*

Read Feb. 16, 1882.

I AM enabled, through the kindness of Mr. Henry B. Hull, of Nether Compton, Dorset, to exhibit to the Society a small manuscript volume,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, bound in red morocco, and lettered on one side in blind tooling, EDUARDUS DERING, with the words MERCATOR REGIUS, superposed upside down in gilt letters. On the other side the process is reversed, the blind tooling being applied to the words MERCATOR REGIUS, while the superposed and inverted gilt lettering forms the name of EDUARDUS DERING. The manuscript bears the date 1660, and begins with "A List of His Ma<sup>ty</sup> Navie Royall, with their Dimensions, Number of Men, and Gunns," &c.

It was in the year 1660 that Pepys entered on his duties as Clerk of the Acts of Navy, and the List may have been drawn upon the occasion of his advent to office in the Admiralty. It seems probable that it was drawn up before December 1660, because one of the ships named the Assurance went to the bottom (as we learn from *Pepys's Diary*) on the 9th of that month. It must also have been transcribed after May in that year, for the altered names of ships recorded by Pepys as having been settled by the king on May 23rd are here entered.

Edward Dering, the owner of this book, was probably the son of Sir Edward Dering, the first baronet, by his third wife, Unton Gibbes. According to the pedigree in Berry's *County Genealogies, Kent*, 398, he was a merchant, and was commonly called "Red Ned," to distinguish him, no doubt, from his half-brother Edward, the second baronet.

In August 1660 he had a grant of "the office of King's Merchant in the East for buying and providing necessities for appareling the Navy: fee 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" (*Docquet Book*, p. 37).<sup>a</sup> He was knighted at some time before 1686, and was dead on May 13, 1691.<sup>b</sup> He is doubtless to be identified with the person referred to in the following passages of *Pepys's Diary* :—

1663, Dec. 12. Mr. Luellin began to tell me that Mr. Deering had been with him to desire him to speak to me that if I would get him off with these goods<sup>c</sup> upon his hands, he would give

<sup>a</sup> *Cal. State. Papers, Dom. Chas. II.* 1660—1661.

<sup>b</sup> See *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1557—1696, pp. 18, 175.

<sup>c</sup> What the goods were does not appear.

me 50 pieces; and further, that if I would stand his friend to helpe him to the benefit of his patent as the King's merchant, he would spare 200*l.* per annum out of his profits. I was glad to hear both of these, but answered him no further than as I would not by anything be bribed to be unjust in my dealings, so I was not so squeamish as not to take people's acknowledgment where I had the good fortune by my pains to do them good and just offices; and so I would not come to any agreement with him, but I would labour to do him this service and to expect his consideration thereof afterwards as he thought fit.

1665, September 30. Hither came Luellin to me, and would force me to take Mr. Deering's 20 pieces in gold he did offer me a good while since, which I did, yet really and sincerely against my will and content, being not likely to reap any comfort in having to do with and being beholden to a man that minds more his pleasure and company than his business.

The principal article contained in Mr. Hull's MS. is the Navy List. A full notice of the contents and a transcript of the most interesting portions (including the list) will be found further on. Some notes have been added by me, mainly extracts from *Pepys's Diary*, which afford particulars of the fate of many of the vessels named in the list.

In 1825 the late Mr. Charles Knight printed a *Diary of the Reverend Henry Teonge*, as Chaplain on board his Majesty's ships "Assistance," "Bristol," and "Royal Oak," from 1675 to 1679. At the end of this curious volume are given two lists of the Royal Navy, one from MS. Harl. 6277, being a copy of a document delivered to the House of Commons in 1675 by Pepys himself, the other from a paper in Teonge's handwriting of about the same date.

Pepys's list gives, in addition to the names of the ships, merely the date of building, the tonnage, and complement of men and guns.

I have indicated by the letter (s) after the names in Dering's List those ships which were still on the books of the Navy in 1675.

The entire Navy in 1660 was divided into six rates, and comprised in all 151 sail thus distributed :—

1st rates . . . . .	3
2nd rates . . . . .	12
3rd rates . . . . .	15
4th rates . . . . .	46
5th rates . . . . .	36
6th rates . . . . .	39
	<hr/>
	151 sail

Two 4th rates, the "Princess" and "New Galley," and perhaps one 5th rate, the "Hound," from their position at the end of the list of their respective rates instead of in their place according to the alphabet, appear to have been added to

the navy after the list was made out; and the last two 6th rates, "Giles" and "Swallow," are expressly stated to have been bought in 1661.

The note (5) shows that the line of demarcation between the rates was not very certainly defined.

In 1675 the composition of the fleet had altered considerably. It was then as follows:—

1st rates . . . . .	8
2nd rates . . . . .	9
3rd rates . . . . .	22
4th rates . . . . .	37
5th rates . . . . .	15
6th rates . . . . .	8
	<hr/>
	99
	<hr/>

The 4th, 5th, and 6th rates had been given up to a great extent, and the 1st and 3rd rates alone show an increase.

Pepys's list of 1675, however, adds 49 vessels, called doggers, fireships, galleys, hoyes, hulks, yachts, &c., some of which, or boats of a similar description, were probably included among Dering's 6th rates.

Some alteration appears to have taken place in the dockyard rules for estimating the tonnage between the years 1660 and 1675; for even where the measurement of the elements—length, width, and depth—of individual ships agree, which they do not always exactly do, the tonnage in the later list is always, so far as I have observed, larger than in the earlier ones."

Thus, in the case of the "Rainbow," the elements of calculation are the same to an inch; but in Dering's List the "tonns" are set down as 782, in Pepys's as 817. Similarly, in the case of the "Unicorn," with identical data, the tonnage is given at 723 tons in the list of 1660, at 845 in 1675.

The armament and crews also present some discrepancies. Generally the same ship in 1675 carried more guns than in 1660. Teonge's own list (p. 311 of his *Diary*) has columns showing a different armament and establishment for war, at home and abroad, and for peace. The curious in such matters can compare the three lists. I give one example—the "Royal Sovereign," the only surviving first rate in 1675. In 1660 she carried 600 men and 100 guns. Pepys's list assigns to her 850 men and 100 guns. Teonge's list states that at "warr" she carried "at home" 100 guns and 815 men, "abroad" 90 guns and 710 men. In time of peace her complement was 90 guns and 605 men.

<sup>a</sup> The dates of construction agreeing, there is no doubt as to the identity of the vessels.

The contents of Mr. Hull's MS. are as follows :—

pp. 1, 2.]

A LIST of his *MA<sup>TS</sup>* NAVIE ROYALL, with their

SHIPS NAMES.		Men.	Guns.	Length by the Keele.		Breadth at the Beame.		Depth in Hold.	
Old.	New.*			feet.	in.	feet.	in.	feet.	in.
<sup>1</sup> Sovereigne <sup>s</sup> - - - -	- - - - -	600	100	127	0	47	0	19	0
<sup>2</sup> Resolucon - - - -	Prince - - -	500	80	125	0	45	0	18	0
<sup>3</sup> Nasebie - - - -	R. Charles - -	500	80	131	0	42	0	18	0
pp. 3-4.]									
2ND RATE.									
Andrew - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	117	0	38	9	15	9
<sup>4</sup> Dunbar - - - -	Henry <sup>s</sup> - - -	340	64	123	0	46	0	17	2
George <sup>s</sup> - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	117	0	38	9	15	9
<sup>5</sup> James <sup>s</sup> - - - -	- - - - -	300	60	116	0	39	0	16	0
<sup>6</sup> London - - - -	- - - - -	360	64	123	6	41	0	16	6
Rainbow <sup>s</sup> - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	114	0	36	6	15	0
<sup>5</sup> Richard - - - -	R. James - - -	400	70	124	0	41	0	18	0
<sup>7</sup> Swiftsure - - - -	- - - - -	300	60	116	0	37	11	14	10
Tryumph <sup>s</sup> - - - -	- - - - -	300	64	117	0	38	6	15	6
Victory - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	110	0	35	0	17	0
Vanguard - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	112	0	38	6	17	0
Vnicorne <sup>s</sup> - - - -	- - - - -	280	56	110	0	35	8	16	0
pp. 5-6.]									
3RD RATE.									
Bridgwater - - - -	Anne - - - -	210	52	116	9	34	7	14	2
Essex - - - -	- - - - -	200	48	115	0	33	0	13	8
Fairfax - - - -	- - - - -	220	52	120	0	35	2	14	6
Glouster <sup>s</sup> - - - -	- - - - -	210	50	117	0	34	10	14	6
<sup>8</sup> Langport - - - -	Henrietta <sup>s</sup> - -	210	50	116	0	35	7	14	4
Lyon - - - -	- - - - -	200	48	95	0	35	0	16	6
<sup>9</sup> Lime - - - -	Mountague <sup>s</sup> - -	220	52	117	0	35	2	14	4
Marston moor - - - -	York <sup>s</sup> - - -	210	52	116	0	34	6	14	2
Newbury - - - -	Revenge <sup>s</sup> - -	220	52	117	6	35	0	14	5
Plymouth <sup>s</sup> - - - -	- - - - -	210	54	116	0	34	8	14	6
<sup>10</sup> Speaker - - - -	Mary <sup>s</sup> - - -	220	52	116	0	34	9	14	6
Torrington - - - -	Dreadnaught <sup>s</sup> -	210	52	116	8	34	6	14	2
<sup>11</sup> Tredagh - - - -	Resolution - -	210	50	117	3	35	2	14	5
<sup>12</sup> Worcester - - - -	Dunkirk <sup>s</sup> - -	200	48	112	0	32	6	14	0
Monck <sup>s</sup> - - - -	- - - - -								

\* Names altered by the King, May 23, 1660.

(\*) The ships thus marked remained on the Books in 1675.



**Dimensions, Number of Men, and Gunns, &c.**

Drayht of Water.	Tonns.	Tons & tonage.	When built.	Where.	By whome.
fee. in.					
21 0	1554	2072	1637	} Woolwich	<sup>26</sup> Cap. Phin Pett, sen <sup>r</sup> C. Ph. Pett, sen <sup>r</sup> Chr. Pett
20 0	1295	1726	1641		
21 0	1229	1638	1655		
18 6	775	1033	1622	} Deptford	Mr Burrell
21 0	1047	1396	1656		Mr Callis
18 6	775	1033	1622		Mr Burrell
18 6	792	1056	1633	} Chatham	Pet <sup>r</sup> Pett
18 0	1050	1906	1657		Cap. Tayler
17 6	782	1042	1617		Mr Bright
20 0	1108	1477	1658	Woolwich	Chr <sup>r</sup> Pett
18 0	740	986	1654	Rebuilt at Woolwich	Chr <sup>r</sup> Pett
18 0	719	1038	1623	Dept.	Mr Burrell
18 6	600	800	1620	Dept.	Mr Baker
18 0	786	1048	1630	Chath.	Mr Bright
17 6	723	964	1633	Woolwich	Mr Boat
17 0	742	989	1654	Deptford	Mr Chamberlain
17 0	666	888	1653	Dept.	Phin Pett
16 6	745	993		Rebuilt at Chatham	Cap. Tayler
18 0	755	1006	1654	Lymehouse	Mr Graves
17 0	781	1041	1654	Horslydowne	Mr Bright
17 0	550	699	1640	Chath.	Mr Asplin
18 0	769	1025	1654	Portsmouth	Mr Tippet
17 0	734	978	1654	Blackwall	Mr Johnson
17 6	765	1020	1654	Lymehouse	Mr Graves
17 0	741	988	1654	Wapping	Cap. Tayler
17 0	696	928	1649	Woolw.	Chr <sup>r</sup> Pett
17 0	738	984	1654	Blackwall	Mr Johnson
17 0	771	1208	1654	Ractliffe	Phin. Pett
16 0	629	838	1651	Woolwich	Mr Russell
			1659	Portsmo.	Mr Tippetts

Old.	New.	Men.	Gunns.	Length by the Keele.	Breadth at the Beame.	Depth in Hold.
				fee. in.	fee. in.	fee. in.
pp. 7-8.]						
4TH RATE.						
13 Assurance *	- - - - -	113	30	87 0	27 0	11 0
Adventure *	- - - - -	120	34	94 0	27 9	13 10
Assistance *	- - - - -	140	40	102 0	31 0	13 0
Amitie -	- - - - -	100	30	85 0	28 0	14 0
Advice -	- - - - -	140	40	100 0	31 2	15 7
Bristoll *	- - - - -	161	44	104 0	31 1	15 6
Beare -	- - - - -	100	36	106 0	26 6	14 6
Centurion *	- - - - -	150	40	104 0	31 0	15 0
Convertine -	- - - - -	140	40			
Charitie -	- - - - -	100	38	106 0	28 6	11 10
Diamond *	- - - - -	140	40	105 6	31 3	15 7
Dover *	- - - - -	140	40	100 0	31 8	15 10
Dragon *	- - - - -	130	38	96 0	28 6	14 3
Elizabeth -	- - - - -	130	38	101 6	29 8	14 10
Expedition -	- - - - -	100	30	90 0	26 0	13 0
14 Elias -	- - - - -	110	36	101 0	27 6	11 0
Foresight *	- - - - -	140	40	102 0	31 1	13 0
Gainsbrough -	Swallow *	150	40	100 10	31 10	13 0
Guiney -	- - - - -	100	30	90 0	28 0	14 0
15 Hampshire *	- - - - -	130	38	101 9	29 9½	14 10
Iersie *	- - - - -	140	40	102 10	32 2	13 2
Kent -	- - - - -	150	40	107 0	32 6	13 0
Leopard *	- - - - -	160	44	109 0	33 9	15 8
Maidstone -	Maryrose *	140	40	99 0	31 8	13 0
Marmaduke -	- - - - -	110	32			
Newcastle *	- - - - -	160	44	108 6	33 1	13 3
16 Nonsuch -	- - - - -	120	32	98 0	27 4	14 2
pp. 9-10.]						
Nantwich -	Breda -	140	40	86 8	26 4	10 4
Portsmouth *	- - - - -	130	38	99 0	28 4	14 2
Portland *	- - - - -	150	40	105 0	32 11	12 10
Preston -	Anthelop *	140	40	101 0	30 0	14 10
President -	Bonaventure -	130	38	99 6	29 0	12 6
17 Phanix -	- - - - -	130	38	96 0	28 6	14 3
Providence -	- - - - -	100	30	90 0	26 0	9 9
Rubie *	- - - - -	140	40	105 6	31 6	15 9
Reserve *	- - - - -	140	40	100 0	31 1	15 6
Saphire -	- - - - -	130	38	100 0	28 10	11 9
Taunton -	Crowne *	140	40	100 6	31 8	13 0
18 C. Warwick *	- - - - -	115	32	85 0	26 0	10 6
Tiger *	- - - - -	130	38	99 0	29 4	14 8
Winsby -	19 HReturne *	160	44	104 0	33 2	13 0
Yarmoth *	- - - - -	160	44	105 0	33 0	13 3
20 Mathias -	- - - - -	140	40			
Welcome -	- - - - -	120	36			
21 Princess *	- - - - -					
New Galley -	- - - - -					

Draught of Water.	Tonns.	Tons & tonnage.	When built.	Where.	By whom.
fee. in.					
12 6	341	456	1646	Dept.	P. Pett, sen <sup>r</sup>
13 9	385	510	1646	Woolw.	P. Pett, jun <sup>r</sup>
15 0	521	694	1650	Dept.	Mr Johnson
	354	472		Bought	
16 0	516	690	1650	Woolw.	P. Pett, jun <sup>r</sup>
15 6	532	680	1653	Portsm.	Mr Tippetts
14 6	395	526	1653	Then taken from Dutch	
16 0	531	690	1650	Ractliffe	P. Pett, sen <sup>r</sup>
	500	666		Portugall	Prize
14 0	400	553	1651	Prize taken from Dutch	
16 0	547	740	1651	Dept.	P. Pett, sen <sup>r</sup>
	511	681	1650	Redriffe	Mr Castle
15 0	414	556	1647	Chath.	Mr Goddard
15 6	474	643	1647	Dept.	P. Pett, sen <sup>r</sup>
	323	430	1637		Mr Graves
14 6	400	533		Dutch pr.	
14 6	524	698	1650	Deptford	<sup>27</sup> Ion <sup>as</sup> Shish
14 0	543	724	1653	Pitchhouse	Tho. Tayler
	375	500	1649	King's man of Warr taken	by the Constant Warwick
14 10	481	594	1653	Dept.	Ph. Pett
14 0	560	746	1654	Malden	Mr Starling
15 0	601	801	1652	Dept.	Mr Johnson
17 0	636	847	1659	Dept.	Mr Shish
15 0	566	754	1654	Woodbridge	
	400	533		Prize	
15 0	631	841	1653	Ractliffe	Ph. Pett
14 6	389	518	1646	Dept.	Pet. Pett, jun.
12 6	319	425	1654	Bristol	Mr Bailey
15 0	422	600	1649	Portsmo.	Mr Eastwood
15 0	605	806	1653	Wapping	Cap. Tailor
16 0	550	642	1654	Woodbridge	
15 0	445	593	1649	Dept.	Pe. Pett, sen.
15 0	414	556	1647	Wolv.	Pe. Pett, jnn.
	323	430	1637	Thames	Mr Trankmo <sup>r</sup> <sup>a</sup>
16 0	556	745	1651	Dept.	Pet. Pett, sen.
16 0	513	688	1650	Woodbridge	Pet. Pett, jun.
13 6	442	589	1651	Ractliffe	Pet. Pett, sen.
14 6	536	714	1654	Redriffe	Mr Castle
12 0	247	331		Ractliffe	Pet. Pett
14 9	442	608	1647	Dept.	Pet. Pett, sen.
	607	809	1654	Yarmouth	Mr Edgar
	608	810	1653	Yarmo.	Mr Edgar
	500	666			
	400	533		Dutch pr.	
			1660	Lydney	Mr Furzer
				Chath.	Cap. Tayler

<sup>a</sup> The edge of the paper is cut a little.

Old.	New.	Men.	Gunns.	Length by the Keele.	Breadth at the Beame.	Depth in Hold.
				fee. in.	fee. in.	fee. in.
pp. 11, 12.]						
5TH RATE.						
Augustine - - - - -	- - - - -	90	26	100 0	26 0	14 0
<sup>22</sup> Basing - - - - -	Guernsey <sup>s</sup> - - -	100	22	80 0	24 6	10 0
Bryer - - - - -	- - - - -	80	18			
Bradford - - - - -	Success <sup>s</sup> - - -	105	24			
Colchester - - - - -	- - - - -	100	24	83 0	25 6	10 0
Cherriton - - - - -	Speedwell <sup>s</sup> - -	90	20	76 0	24 0	10 0
Coventry - - - - -	- - - - -	90	20			
Dartmouth - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22			
Faggons - - - - -	Milford - - -	105	22	82 0	24 8	10 0
Forrester - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22			
Fauc - - - - -	- - - - -	85	22			
Grantham - - - - -	Garland <sup>s</sup> - - -	100	22	80 0	25 0	10 0
Greyhound - - - - -	- - - - -	85	20	60 0	26 6	11 6
Gift maior - - - - -	- - - - -	85	26	98 0	30 8	11 6
Hector - - - - -	- - - - -	85	20			
Lizard - - - - -	- - - - -	60	16			
Litchfield - - - - -	HEntrance - - -	90	20			
Mernaia <sup>s</sup> - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22	86 0	25 2	10 0
Nightingall - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22	86 0	25 2	10 0
Norwich <sup>s</sup> - - - - -	- - - - -	100	24	81 0	25 0	10 6
Oxford - - - - -	- - - - -	95	22	72 0	24 0	10 0
Pearl <sup>s</sup> - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22	86 0	25 0	10 0
Pembrook - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22	81 0	25 0	11 6
Paul - - - - -	- - - - -	85	24	84 0	26 0	9 6
Rosebush - - - - -	- - - - -	85	24			
Selbie - - - - -	Eagle <sup>s</sup> - - -	100	22	85 6	25 8	10 0
Old Successe - - - - -	- - - - -	100	34			
pp. 13-14.]						
Sophia - - - - -	- - - - -	85	26			
<sup>23</sup> Satisfaction - - - - -	- - - - -	100	26			
Sortings - - - - -	- - - - -	100	22			
Wakefield - - - - -	Richmond <sup>s</sup> - - -	100	22			
Westergate - - - - -	- - - - -	85	26	86 0	24 6	11 6
Waxford - - - - -	Dolphin - - -	75	14			
Old Warwick - - - - -	- - - - -	80	22	80 0	23 9	9 0
Hound - - - - -	- - - - -	50	22			
Mary yacht - - - - -	- - - - -					
pp. 15-16.]						
6TH RATE.						
Blackmoor - - - - -	- - - - -	40	12	47 0	19 0	10 0
Bramble - - - - -	- - - - -	60	14			
Cagway - - - - -	- - - - -	35	8			

Draught of Water.	Tonns.	Tons & tonage.	When built.	Where.	By whome.
fee. in.					
14 0	359	478	1552	Taken then from Dutch	
12 0	255	340	1654	Walderwick	Mr Shish
	180	240			Prize
	230	306	1657	Chatham	Cap. Tayler
12 0	287	382	1654	Yarmouth	Mr Edgar
11 0	194	261	1655	Deptford	Mr Callis
	200	266			
	230	306	1655	Portsmo.	Mr Tippetts
12 0	262	349	1654	Weavenow <sup>a</sup>	Mr Page
	230	306	1657	Lydney	Mr Furzer
					prize
11 6	265	323	1654	Southampton	Mr Furzer
	150	200			prize
13 6	490	653	1652	Dutch prize	
	150	200			
	100	133			prizes
	200	266			
12 0	289	385	1651	Linnehouse	Mr Graves
12 0	289	385	1651	Horslydowne	Mr Bright
12 0	246	328	1655	Chatham	Ph. Pett
11 0	240	320	1655	Dept.	Mr Callis
12 0	285	380	1651	Ractliffe	Pe. Pett
12 0	269	358	1655	Woolwich	Mr Raven
10 6	290	384	1652		prize
	300	400		Dutch	pr.
12 0	299	398	1654	Wapping	Cap. Tayler
	380	506		Portugall	pr.
	300	400		Dutch pr.	
	220	293		Dutch pr.	
	250	333			pr.
	235	313	1655	Portsmo.	Mr Tippetts
13 0	274	365		Dutch pr.	
	130	173			pr.
10 6	140	186			
				Pleasure boate sent from	ye States of Holland
	90	110	1656	Chath.	Cap. Tayler
	112	160			pr.
	60	80			pr.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. Wivenhoe.

Old.	New.	Men.	Gunns.	Length by the Keel.	Breadth at the Beam.	Depth in Hold.
				fee. in.	fee. in.	fee. in.
Chesnut - - - - -	- - - - -	40	10			
Cygnat - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6			
Dolphin - - - - -	- - - - -	24	4			
Drake - - - - -	- - - - -	60	12	85 0	18 0	7 0
Diver - - - - -	(Vacant)					
Eaglett - - - - -	- - - - -	35	8			
Francis - - - - -	- - - - -	45	10			
Fox - - - - -	- - - - -	60	14	72 0	23 0	18 6
Gift minor - - - - -	- - - - -	60	12			
Griffin - - - - -	- - - - -	40	12			
<sup>24</sup> Harpe - - - - -	- - - - -	40	8			
Hinde - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6			
Hunter - - - - -	- - - - -	30	6			
Hart - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6	50 0	14 6	5 6
Kinsale - - - - -	- - - - -	45	10			
Lillie - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6			
Larke - - - - -	- - - - -	40	10			
Martin - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12	64 0	19 4	7 0
Merlin - - - - -	- - - - -	60	12	75 0	18 0	7 8
Minion - - - - -	(Vacant)					
Maria - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12			
Marygold - - - - -	- - - - -					
Nonsuch K. - - - - -	- - - - -	35	8	27 0	15 6	6 0
Pearl brigant - - - - -	(Vacant)					
pp. 17-18.]						
<sup>25</sup> Parradox - - - - -	- - - - -	60	12			
Roe - - - - -	- - - - -	35	8			
Rose - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6	50 0	14 0	5 6
Swallow K. - - - - -	- - - - -	35	6			
Sparrow - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12			
Truelove - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12			
Vulture - - - - -	- - - - -	50	12			
Weymouth - - - - -	- - - - -	60	19			
Woolf - - - - -	- - - - -	60	16			
Hawk - - - - -	- - - - -	40	8	42 0	16 0	8 0
Giles - - - - -	- - - - -					
Swallow - - - - -	- - - - -					

Draught of Water.	Tonns.	Tons & tonnage.	When built.	Where.	By whome.
fee. in.					
	90	110	1656	Portsmo.	Mr Tippet
	60	80	1657	Chath.	Cap. Tayler
	50	60			pr.
9 0	113	153	1653	Dept.	Peter Pett.
	60	80	1655	Horselydown	Mr Huggins.
	90	110			pr.
10 0	120	160			p <sup>r</sup>
	120	160			p <sup>r</sup>
	90	120			p <sup>r</sup>
7 6			1656	Dublin	
	60	80	1655	Wavneie	Mr Page
	50	66			
5 0	55	75	1657	Woolwich	Chr Pett
		90	120		p <sup>r</sup>
	60	80	1657	Dept.	Mr Calles
	80	100			p <sup>r</sup>
	92	124	1653	Portsmo.	M. Tippetts
9 0	105	141	1653	Chath.	Cap <sup>t</sup> Tayler
	120	180			p <sup>r</sup>
	60	80	1653	Bought	
	120	160			p <sup>r</sup>
	60	80	1655	Weaunoe	Mr Page
5 0	55	75	1657	Woolwich	Chr. Pett
	60	80	1657	Dept.	Mr Callis
	60	80		Sold	p <sup>r</sup>
	100	133			p <sup>r</sup>
	100	133			p <sup>r</sup>
	120	160			p <sup>r</sup>
	120	160			p <sup>r</sup>
	60	80	1655	Woolwich	Mr Cooper
	40			Bought 61	cost 230 <sup>u</sup>
	65			Bought 61	cost 400 <sup>u</sup>

The list of ships ends here, and is immediately followed (pp. 19-20) by a table of the wages of officers and seamen. This is also given at full length, being of some interest, not only as a contribution to the history of prices two hundred years ago, but also on account of the insight which it affords into the composition of the crews of the ships. It will be noticed that one lieutenant only was carried on board of ships of the 1st to the 4th rates, while on board the 5th and 6th rates the captain was not seconded by any officer with this designation.

A surgeon and a surgeon's mate formed part of the complement of every ship. "Grometts" appear as an intermediate rating between ordinary seamen and boys.

The Wages of Officers and Seamen serving in his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Shippes at Sea.

Officers.	1st Rate.			2nd Rate.			3rd Rate.			4th Rate.			5th Rate.			6th Rate.		
Captaine		21	0 0		16	16 0		14	0 0		10	0 0		8	8 0		7	0 0
Lieutenant		4	4 0		4	4 0		3	10 0		3	10 0						
Master		7	0 0		6	6 0		4	13 8		4	6 2		3	17 6			
Mates	6	3	6 0	3	3	0 0	2	2	16 2	2	2	7 10		2	2 0		2	2 0
Midshipmen	8	2	5 0	6	2	0 0	4	1	17 6	3	1	13 9	2	1	10 0	1	1	10 0
Boatswaine		4	0 0		3	10 0		3	0 0		2	10 0		2	5 0		2	0 0
Gunner		4	0 0		3	10 0		3	0 0		2	10 0		2	5 0		2	0 0
Purser		2	0 0		1	16 0		1	10 0		1	6 8		1	3 4		1	3 4
Carpenter		4	0 0		3	10 0		3	0 0		2	10 0		2	5 0		2	0 0
Quart <sup>r</sup> Maysters	4	1	15 0	4	1	15 0	4	1	12 0	4	1	10 0	3	1	8 0	2	1	6 6
Boatsn mates	2	1	15 0	2	1	15 0	1	1	12 0		1	10 0		1	8 0		1	6 0
Gunn: mates	2	1	15 0	2	1	15 0		1	12 0		1	10 0		1	8 0		1	6 0
Chyruwgeon		2	10 0		2	10 0		2	10 0		2	10 0		2	10 0		2	10 0
Chyruw: mates	1	1	10 0		1	10 0		1	10 0		1	10 0		1	10 0		1	10 0
Q <sup>r</sup> maysters ma	4	1	10 0	4	1	10 0	2	1	8 0	2	1	8 0	1	1	6 0		1	5 0
Yeomen	4	1	12 0	4	1	10 0	2	1	8 0	2	1	8 0						
Cockswaine		1	12 0		1	10 0		1	8 0		1	8 0		1	6 0			
Corporall		1	15 0		1	12 0		1	10 0		1	10 0		1	8 0		1	5 0
Cooke		1	5 0		1	5 0		1	5 0		1	5 0		1	5 0		1	4 0
Armorer		1	5 0		1	5 0		1	5 0		1	5 0						
Gunsmit		1	5 0		1	5 0												
Carp <sup>s</sup> mates	2	2	0 0	1	2	0 0		1	16 0		1	14 0		1	12 0		1	10 0
Mr Trumpeter		1	10 0		1	8 0		1	5 0		1	5 0		1	5 0			
Q <sup>r</sup> Gunners	4	1	6 0	4	1	6 0	4	1	5 0	4	1	5 0	2	1	5 0	2	1	5 0
Carp <sup>s</sup> Crew	9	1	6 0	6	1	6 0	4	1	5 0	3	1	5 0	1	1	5 0			
Steward		1	5 0		1	5 0		1	5 0		1	3 4		1	6 8		0	17 6
Stew: mates		1	0 8		1	0 8		1	0 8		1	0 8						
Able seamen		1	4 0															
Ord: seamen		0	19 0	In each rate.														
Grometts		0	14 3															
Boyes		0	9 6															



The next two pages contain a ready reckoner, showing rate of wages from one month to one day.

Page 23 contains "The Wages of Officers and Seamen in Rigging time," and "The number of Officers borne upon each rate in Forraign service"; on page 24 is a table of "The monthly wages of officers and seamen in harbour"; pages 25 and 26 are occupied by tables showing "The Weight of Cordage, being the Moderation of severall men's Collections at Chatham and Woolwich."

The following tables, from pages 27 and 28, may be worth transcribing:—

**The Weight** of ORDNANCE on board severall of his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Shipps, each rate.

		Tonn	c.	q <sup>r</sup>
1st	Prince . . . . .	141	12	0
2nd	{ Roy <sup>l</sup> James . . . . .	134	6	1
	{ London, &c. . . . .	120	0	0
3rd	Revenge, &c. . . . .	75	10	0
4th	{ Breda, &c. . . . .	50	13	0
	{ Phoenix . . . . .	40	0	0
	{ Saphire . . . . .	35	0	0
5th	{ Successe, frig <sup>t</sup> . . . . .	30	0	0
	{ Colchester, &c. . . . .	23	0	0

His Ma<sup>ty</sup> allowance of Sea Victuall, on boord the Shipps in his Navie of all kinde on our owne Coast.

	1 day.	A week.	A month.	6 mon.	For one man 10 mo. or for 10 men one mo.
Bread, Bisket - -	1 <sup>li</sup>	7 <sup>li</sup>	28 <sup>li</sup>	168 <sup>li</sup>	280 <sup>li</sup>
Beere - - -	1 gall.	7 gall.	28 gall.	168 gall.	280 gall.
Beefe - - -	2 <sup>li</sup>	4 <sup>li</sup>	16 <sup>li</sup>	96 <sup>li</sup>	40 4 <sup>li</sup> pieces
Porke - - -	1 <sup>li</sup>	2 <sup>li</sup>	8 <sup>li</sup>	48 <sup>li</sup>	40 2 <sup>li</sup> pieces
Pease - - -	1 pint	1 quart	1 gall.	6 gall.	40 quarts
Fish - - -	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	15 sized
Butter - - -	2 oz.	6 oz.	1 <sup>li</sup> 8 oz.	9 <sup>li</sup>	15 <sup>li</sup>
Cheese - - -	4 oz.	12 oz.	3 <sup>li</sup>	18 <sup>li</sup>	30 <sup>li</sup>

Not all y<sup>e</sup> kinds in one day.

Pages 29 and 30 give "The allowance for Tideworkes to workmen in his Ma<sup>ty</sup> yards." "For Lodging." "What Quantity of Cordage may Rigge some of his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Shipps of the severall Rates."

P. 31 contains a Table of "His Ma<sup>y</sup> Allowance of Freeguift and Imprest to Chirurgeons serving at sea for six months."

The next seven pages are occupied by an "Estimate of the Ordinary Charge of y<sup>e</sup> Navy for a yeare from June, '60 to June '61."

This estimate may be thus abstracted :—

		£	s.	d.
Principle ( <i>sic</i> ) Officers of the N <sup>y</sup> per Patent	Thrēr (Treasurer)	254	0	0
	Comptroller	500	0	0
	Surveyor	490	0	0
	Clerk of y <sup>e</sup> Acts	350	0	0
Commissioners	2 Comm <sup>r</sup> at 500 li p <sup>r</sup> annum each	1000	0	0
	1 Comm <sup>r</sup> at	300	0	0

The salaries of the clerks in the Navy office, purveyors, and messengers, &c., follow, producing altogether a total of 3830*l.* 10*s.*

Then come the salaries of the different officers on the establishments at Chatham (1610*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*), Deptford (970*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*), Woolwich (603*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*), Portsmouth (713*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*), making a total of 7735*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* The harbour wages of 505 men are put at 7849*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*, and their victuals at 5605*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*\* The materials and workmanship for ordinary repairs (for which the items are given), 28,080*l.* to which is added the gross sum (without items) for cordage for mooring yearly of 22,700*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (curiously large). The total amounting to 72,051*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* This is stated to be "the whole ordinary charge of his Mat<sup>ie</sup> for one yeare."

Then follows "the estimate of the charge in building severall shippes.

	Tonnes.	Li.
A shipp of . . . . .	900 . . . . .	9000
" . . . . .	650 . . . . .	5525
" . . . . .	450 . . . . .	3600
" . . . . .	350 . . . . .	2275
" . . . . .	140 . . . . .	630

Except mastes and yards."

The last article in the book is "A ready way for judgement of any shipp's burthen":

Let her length be multiplied by her breadth,

Her breadth by y<sup>e</sup> draught of water.

The 2 last figures cutt of

Nearly shows it.

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\* A leaf of items of this sub-head is lost here.

NOTES TO THE LIST OF SHIPS.

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The column headed "New" refers to the alteration in certain ships' names by the King, May 23, 1660.—See *Pepys's Diary*, same day.

\* The ships with this letter appended to their names alone survived in April, 1675.—See *Pepys's list*, MSS. Harl. 6277, printed in *Teonge's Diary*, London, 1825.

<sup>1</sup> *Sovereigne*.—*Diary*, April 9, 1661: "The ladies and I and Captain Pett and Mr. Castle took barge and down we went to see the *Sovereigne* [lying at Chatham], which we did, taking great pleasure therein, singing all the way; and, among other pleasures, I put my Lady [Batten], Mrs. Turnor, Mrs. Hempson, and the two Mrs. Allens into the lanthorn, and I went in and kissed them, demanding it as a fee due to a principall officer."

<sup>2</sup> *Resolution, alias Prince*.—*Diary*, April 10, 1661: "Then on board the *Prince*, now in the docke [at Chatham], and indeed it has one and no more rich cabins for carved work, but no golde in her."

July 11, 1663: "At noon to the Hill House (Chatham), and, after seeing the guard-ships, to dinner, and after dinner to the docke by coach, it raining hard, to see 'The *Prince*' launched, which hath lain in the docke in repairing these three years. I went into her, and was launched in her."

In the great fight with the Dutch on June 1, 1666, and subsequent days, the *Prince* went aground on the Galloper Sand, and there stuck, and was burnt by the Dutch, who could not get her off. "The *Royal Charles* and *Royal Katherine* both come aground twice over at the same place, but got off."—See *Diary*, June 7, 1666.

<sup>3</sup> *Nazeby, alias Royal Charles*.—Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, was appointed on Friday, March 2nd, 1659-60, jointly with General George Monck to be "Generals of the Fleet for the next summer expedition,"<sup>a</sup> and immediately went to sea with a fleet, which, after lying some little time in the Channel off Sandwich and Dover, proceeded to Breda to bring back the King. *Pepys* on this occasion sailed with Lord Sandwich as his secretary. The *Nazeby* not being ready for sea, they embarked on board the *Swiftsure*, and were there on March 30, 1660, as appears from the *Diary*: "This day, while my lord and I were at dinner, the *Nazeby* came in sight towards us, and at last came to anchor close by us. After dinner my lord and many other went on board of her."<sup>b</sup> On the second of April they seem to have transferred themselves to the *Nazeby*.

The *Royal Charles* bore the flag of the Duke of York as Admiral on the occasion of his victory over the Dutch off the Texel, June 3, 1665. On the disastrous occasion of the attack on Chatham

<sup>a</sup> *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 610.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Sandwich's flag was on board the *Nazeby* when he went to the Sound. (See note 7 on "*Swiftsure*.")

by the Dutch in January, 1667, the Royal Charles was taken and carried off to sea in triumph.—*Diary*, June 12 and 13, 1667.

<sup>4</sup> Dunbar, *alias* Henry.—*Diary*, April 18, 1661: "And hither come Sir John Minnes to us [at Chatham], who is come to-day to see 'the Henery,' in which he intends to ride as Vice-Admiral in the narrow seas all this summer."

<sup>5</sup> Richard, *alias* Royal James.—*Diary*, July 1, 1662: "Captain Cuttance and I to Deptford, where the 'Royal James' in which my Lord [Sandwich] went out the last voyage [to Algiers, &c.], though he came back in the Charles [bringing back from Lisbon Catherine of Braganza], was paying off by Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen. So to dinner, and from thence I sent to my Lord to know whether she should be a first rate, as the men would have her, or a second."

This ship would appear to have been burned by the Dutch in their raid on Chatham, June, 1667 (*Diary*, 13 June); but *quere* if this were not the "James," another second rate mentioned in the list as built in 1633; for in the copy of an old map descriptive of this disaster, given in Bright's edition of *Pepys*, iv. 363, "the old James" is marked as destroyed. The "Royal James," bearing the flag of the gallant Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral of England, was burned by the Dutch in the action off the Suffolk coast, May 28, 1672, when the Admiral lost his life.

<sup>6</sup> London.—*Diary*, 1660, April 24. In the Straits of Dover Pepys went from the 'Nazeby' to dine with the Vice-Admiral on board "the London, which hath a state-room much bigger than the Nazeby, but not so rich."

The London carried Queen Henrietta Maria back to France in January, 1661 (*Diary*, Jan. 11 and 27 of that year).

March 8, 1665: "This morning is brought me to the office the sad newes of the London, in which Sir J. Lawson's men were all bringing her from Chatham to the 'Hope,' and thence he was to go to sea in her, but a little on this side the buoy of the Nower she suddenly blew up. About 24 men and a woman that were in the round-house and coach saved; the rest, being above 300, drowned; the ship breaking all in pieces with 80 pieces of brass ordnance."

The ship, however, cannot have been totally destroyed, for she survived to be burned by the Dutch in June, 1667, when lying in Chatham harbour.—*Diary*, June 13, 1667.

<sup>7</sup> Swiftsure.—*Diary*, March 23, 1666: "My Lord [Sandwich] and Captain [Isham] in one barge and I, &c., in the other to the Long Reach, where the Swiftsure lay at anchor."

March 26 [on board the Swiftsure]: "This morning I rose early, and went about making of an establishment of the whole fleet, and a list of all the ships, with the number of men and guns."

<sup>8</sup> Langport, *alias* Henrietta.—This may be a mistake for "Lambert," as a ship with this designation had her name changed (for obvious reasons) by the King on May 23, 1660.

<sup>9</sup> Lime, *alias* Mountague.—*Diary*, May 2, 1661: "Then we and our wives are to see the Montagu [then lying at Portsmouth], which is a fine ship."

<sup>10</sup> Speaker, *alias* Mary.—*Diary*, April 25, 1660: "Off Deal, dined with Captain Cleslee on board the Speaker. A very brave ship."

<sup>11</sup> Tredagh, *alias* Resolution.—It was in this ship that Lord Sandwich, in September 1660,

brought the widowed Princess of Orange, eldest daughter of Charles I. and mother of William III., from Holland to England, where she soon after died. On the homeward voyage the ship "did knock six times upon the Kentish Knock, which put them in great fear for the ship, but got off well."—*Diary*, Sept. 25, 1660.

<sup>12</sup> Worcester, *alias* Dunkirk.—*Diary*, April 15, 1660: Off Dover, "Commission for Captain Robert Blake to be captain of the Worcester, in the room of Captain Dekings, an Anabaptist, and one that had witnessed a great deal of discontent with the present proceedings."

<sup>13</sup> Assurance.—*Diary*, Dec. 9, 1660: "Ill news from Woolwich that the Assurance (formerly Captain Holland's ship and now Captain Stoakes's, destined for Guiny, and manned and victualled) was by a gush of wind sunk down to the bottom. Twenty men drowned." The ship was weighed by Dec. 17, and was but little the worse.

<sup>14</sup> Elias.—Nov. 14, 1664: "The Elias, coming from New England (Captain Hill, commander), is sunk; only the captain and a few men saved. She foundered in the sea."

<sup>15</sup> Hampshire.—*Diary*, Feb. 27, 1661: "This day the Commissioners of Parliament begin to pay off the fleet, beginning with the Hampshire, and do it at the Guildhall, for fear of going out of towne into the power of the seamen, who are highly incensed against them."

<sup>16</sup> Nonsuch.—*Diary*, May 1, 1660: Captain Barker had a commission for the Nonsuch, "he being now in the Cheriton." Captain H. Cuttance had a commission for the Cheriton. The Nonsuch ran aground, and was lost in the Bay of Gibraltar.—*Diary*, January 23, 1665.

<sup>17</sup> Phoenix.—*Diary*, Jan. 23, 1665: News of the Phoenix being lost in the Bay of Gibraltar. Run aground.

<sup>18</sup> "C. Warwick" stands for "Constant Warwick." She was built in 1655, according to the list of 1675.

<sup>19</sup> "HReturne" stands for "Happy Return."

<sup>20</sup> Mathias.—*Diary*, July 21, 1663: Pepys heard an excellent sermon on board the Mathias, lying at Chatham.

<sup>21</sup> The particulars of the Princess, on the stocks in 1660, are given in the list of 1675, as follows: Men, 240; Guns, 54; Tons, 602.

<sup>22</sup> Basing, *alias* Guernsey.—*Diary*, March 27, 1661: "We settled to pay the Guernsey, a small ship, but came to a great deal of money, it having been unpaid ever since before the King came in, by which means not only the King pays wages, while the ship has lain still, but the poor men have most of them been forced to borrow all the money due for their wages before they received it, and that at a dear rate. God knows," &c.

<sup>23</sup> Satisfaction.—*Diary*, Oct. 4, 1662: "The Satisfaction sank the other day on the Dutch coast through the negligence of the pilot."

<sup>24</sup> Harp.—*Diary*, March 17, 1660: "In the evening, at the Admiralty. I met my lord there, and got a commission for Williamson to be captain of the Harp frigate. 18th: Then to my lord's lodging, where I found Captain Williamson, and gave him his commission to be captain of the Harp, and he gave me a piece of gold and 20s. in silver."

<sup>25</sup> Paradox.—*Diary*, April 23, 1660: "This afternoon I had 40s. given me by Captain Cowes of the Paradox."

<sup>26</sup> Phineas Pett, the shipbuilder, was a kinsman of Mr. Pett, a Commissioner of the Navy, frequently mentioned in Pepys.—See *Diary*, Aug. 23, 1660.

<sup>27</sup> *Diary*, 1664, July 24: Mr. Shish is mentioned as being at Deptford. *Evelyn's Diary*, May 13, 1680, gives some particulars of this shipwright on the occasion of his funeral (footnote by Mr. M. Bright). Elsewhere his death is stated to have occurred in June, not May, 1680.

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*Diary*, July 12, 1663. The neglect of discipline at this time in the British Navy lying in harbour is strikingly shown in the following passage:—"July 12, 1663. I took Mr. Whitfield, one of the clerks, and walked to the Docke about eleven at night, and there got a boat and a crew, and rowed down to the guardships, it being a most pleasant moonshine evening that ever I saw almost. The guardships were very ready to hail us, being, no doubt, commanded thereto by their Captain, who remembers how I surprised them the last time I was here. However, I found him ashore, but the ship in pretty good order, and the arms well fixed, charged, and primed. Thence to the Sovereigne, where I found no officers aboard, no arms fixed, nor any powder to prime their few guns, which were charged, without bullet though. So to the London, where neither officers nor anybody awake. I boarded her, and might have done what I would, and at last did find but three little boys; and so spent the whole night in visiting all the ships, in which I found, for the most part, neither an officer aboard, nor any men so much as awake, which I was grieved to find," &c.

VII.—*The Church of St. Augustine, Hedon, Yorkshire.*  
*Communicated by the late GEORGE EDMUND STREET, Esq., R.A., F.S.A.*

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Read June 16, 1870.

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IN venturing to lay before the Society of Antiquaries some notes on the architectural features of the church of Saint Augustine, at Hedon, near Hull, I have taken it for granted that I should be excused if I did not try at the same time to go into the archæological history of the town or churches; what is here expected from an architect being, I presume, that he should prepare a simple architectural description of the various parts of the building, such as might be given without any knowledge at all of the men who built it, or of any documentary evidence as to the dates at which they built. The truth is that we architects have not often the leisure necessary for the investigation of this part of the subject, and in this case I doubt whether if I had leisure I could have learnt much beyond what is told by Mr. Poulson in his careful *History of Holderness*.

There seem to have been originally, according to this writer, four churches in Hedon: St. Nicholas, St. James, St. Mary, and St. Augustine; and it is to the last of these, which alone still stands, that I shall confine my attention.

I can find, I regret to say, no references in Poulson's book to the fabric of St. Augustine which are of any value. We have items for the purchase of lead and of nails, 6*d.* for washing "woolen surplices" for a year, charges for mending vestments, for the difference in cost of exchanging two "little chalices belonging to the high altar, for two other chalices bought of Edward Clough, goldsmith, of Lincoln," and various other similar items of churchwardens' expenditure, but none which indicate the period at which any of the great works were undertaken in the building.

This is much to be regretted, for, though I may state to you with tolerable assurance what I consider the dates of the various parts of the work to be, it is impossible to say that such statements are absolutely to be depended on, and it is obviously somewhat difficult to say exactly where one man's work ended and

another took up the thread in a building in which (as in this) works of some kind were almost always in progress for a period of somewhere about three hundred years.

The four churches of Hedon have but followed the fortunes of the poor old town. This no doubt had once much trade. It has none now. It still boasts a Mayor and Corporation, and, until the time of the Reform Bill, I believe it returned two Members to Parliament. The main duty of its Members was at each election to contribute something to the repair of the church,—a form of bribery as to which one may be lenient. Nowadays there are no Members for Hedon, but had it not been for the zeal and liberality of Mr. Christopher Sykes, the Member for the East Riding, who started a subscription for the repair of the church, I should probably have had no interest in it, and should not have had to trouble you with a Paper on it to night.

Having now said as much as seems to be necessary on this part of the subject, I turn to that of which you will naturally expect me to speak rather more at length,—the architectural character of the building.<sup>a</sup>

If I were not reading a Paper upon a great Yorkshire church, I should have to dilate with no little enthusiasm upon the magnificent size and fine architectural character of the work. Almost anywhere out of Yorkshire such a church would be the glory of a whole county, but with Beverley and Hull, Howden, Selby, Bridlington, Patrington, and a number of other churches in its neighbourhood (each of which is fit in scale and architectural beauty to be used as a cathedral church), its claims are liable to be overlooked or forgotten. Even in Yorkshire, however, it may rank among the first of its own order,—that of parish churches, as distinguished from the minsters, abbeys, and collegiate churches which abound in its neighbourhood; and to us at this day, as practical men, the study of ancient parish churches is of even more value generally than that of any other class of building, pressed as we are on all sides by the necessity of erecting buildings of the same description to meet the wants of our ever increasing population.

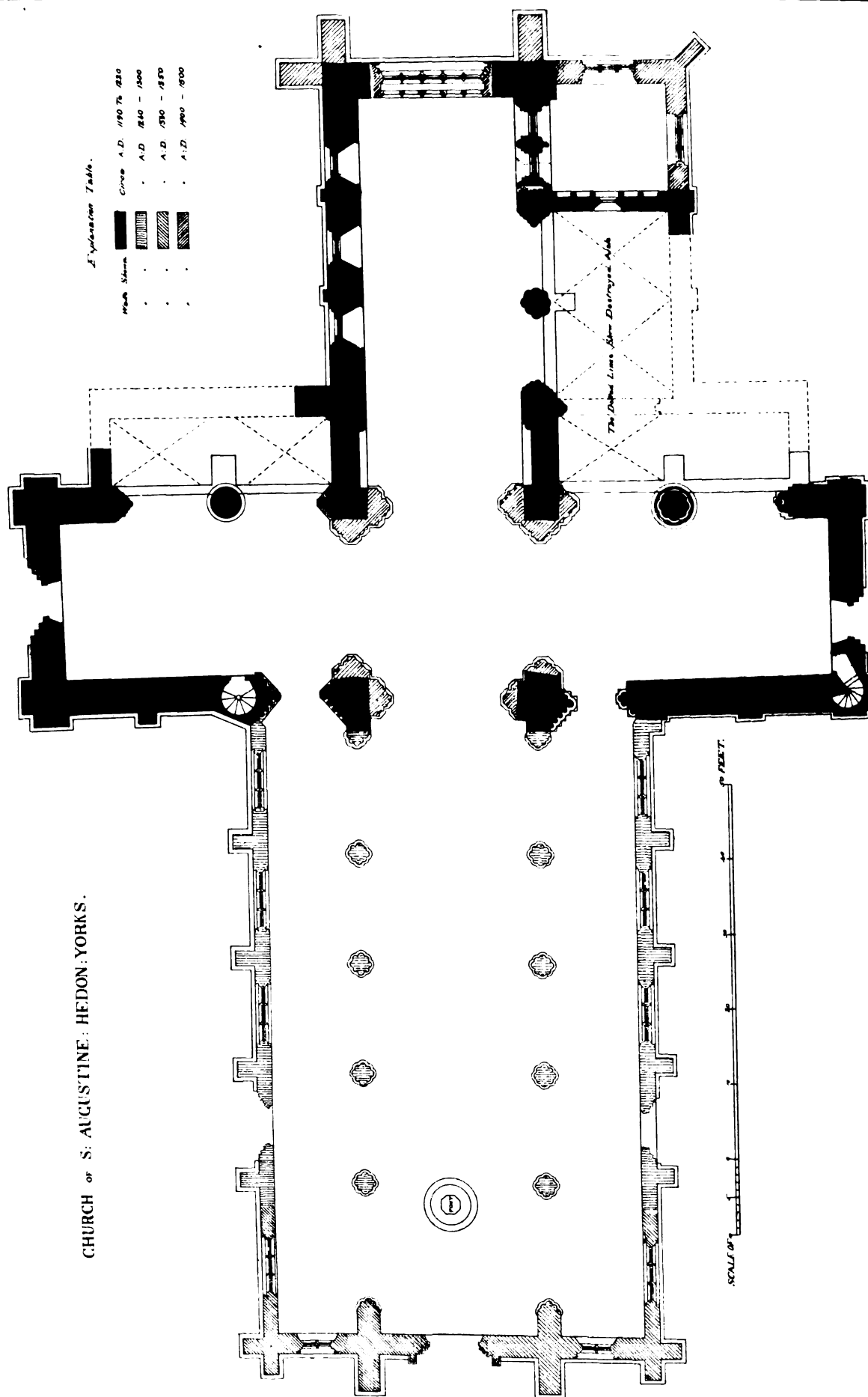
The ground-plan of the church which I exhibit will show you at a glance the shape of the building, whilst the shading on the walls will show roughly the varying ages of the several portions of the structure. It will be seen how very gradual the construction of the building was, and how much alteration it has undergone from time to time. The men who began it had no intention

<sup>a</sup> Plan, Pl. VII.; which Plate, made for the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, is here inserted by their permission, courteously given through our Fellow, G. W. Tomlinson, Esq. their Honorary Secretary. Elevation, Pl. VIII.





CHURCH of S. AUGUSTINE, HEDON, YORKS.



Explanation Table.

Work Shown	Circle	A.D. 1150 to 1250
•	•	A.D. 1250 - 1300
•	•	A.D. 1300 - 1350
•	•	A.D. 1350 - 1400
•	•	A.D. 1400 - 1500

The Dotted Lines Show Destroyed Walls

SCALE OF 0 10 20 30 FEET

whatever of completing the whole church, unless they found themselves able to do so upon a noble scale. Fortunately, in the good old days of church building, when faith and act were both more thorough-going than they usually are now, there was less impatience, less desire to see rapid results, and less weak pride in very small successes than are common among ourselves. Had it been otherwise we should have seen no such church as this occupying this site. You all know what we should have seen. Nowadays, hardly any one is satisfied to build a church by degrees. Not only must a perfect plan be made, but it must be one which, without any very great amount of self-denial, is capable of completion within a twelvemonth; it must be one which shall keep out wind and water for a time, but which must sail as close as possible to the wind for fear its cost should exceed the calculated cost per head of the people who are to use it; a cost which has now been so accurately calculated and tabulated that the character of the architect to whom the work is entrusted is valued not according to the knowledge of and feeling for his art which he displays, but according to the cheapness of the sheds he is willing to erect! The old Hedon architects were as reckless of cost in the thickness they gave to their walls as they were regardless of personal trouble in the delicacy and beauty which they gave to their detail; and the consequences were, first, that the work they commenced was constantly receiving new and stately additions; and, secondly, that in place of a mound of rubbish (which, if the world lasts long enough, will be the only mark of most of our buildings in three or four hundred years' time) we still have for our study and delight a work of art which, if carefully examined, gives us a complete epitome of all the changes of our national architecture from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fifteenth century; an open book, so to say, in which those who run may read the whole history of the greatest of the arts during one of the most interesting periods of our national history,—of the only art in which Englishmen have ever been surpassingly successful; and of that art in which, among Englishmen, Yorkshiremen have undoubtedly held the highest place. Let me now point out in detail the order in which this work was executed so far as the architectural character of the work enables me to do so.

The first architect about the end of the twelfth century seems to have prepared a scheme for a cruciform church of about the scale of that which now exists. There is (as far as I know) no evidence whatever that an earlier church ever stood on the same site; but, as the oldest part of the existing church appears to me to date from quite the end of the twelfth century, it is probable that an older building was standing when this was commenced, and that the south

transept, which is the oldest portion now remaining, was first of all undertaken in order that the older building might not be removed until there was some portion of the new church ready for the use of worshippers. The south transept certainly appears to be earlier in date than the chancel; and it is usual to find where there is no church already standing that the chancel and not a transept was the part first of all commenced. This was natural, indeed necessary, to men whose worship centred in the altar. And for this reason I assume with some confidence that an earlier church did exist here before the south transept was commenced. I believe that the south transept was commenced about A.D. 1190—1195; and that in the course of the next thirty or thirty-five years the north transept, the chancel, the south chancel aisle, and the eastern aisles of the transepts were all completed. So important a church no doubt had its central steeple either really built or prepared for in the substructure; and by the middle of the thirteenth century the people of Hedon were able to boast of a church whose transepts measured from north to south no less than 150 feet, a choir 57 feet long, and the base at any rate of a great central steeple. The men who built the work so far had made their scheme with a view to a nave and aisle of corresponding scale, measuring 51 feet wide in the clear, as is proved by the planning of the arches in the west walls of the transepts. Here there was a pause; the work had been so costly that no doubt men required a little breathing-space, and it was necessary for a time to give up the attempt to complete the work, the people meanwhile having room enough to carry on the services, and very probably having still standing the untouched nave of an earlier church within the site of the present nave. It was probably about the year 1275 that the present nave was commenced; but its progress must have been slow, for though the four eastern bays are of this period, the western bay, including the west front, cannot have been completed earlier than A.D. 1325. After this there was again a long pause; and the next work, the new east window, was rendered necessary, probably, by some failure in the older window; at any rate, the greater part of the east end was taken down and rebuilt about the year 1400. About the middle of the fifteenth century the magnificent central steeple was erected; soon after this a vestry was built in the angle between the choir and its south aisle; and, about the end of the fifteenth century, arches were inserted under the central tower, to counteract some tendency to settlement, which had no doubt then shown itself. The last act of all, before the Reformation, was one which I chronicle without commending,—the destruction of the old windows in the south transept façade, and the substitution for them of a large tracced





window of poor character, apparently, and which had again, in its turn, been nearly destroyed before I saw the church.

It needs not to chronicle the fate of the church after the end of the sixteenth century. It was a fate only too common and too sad. As roofs decayed they were altered and reduced in pitch, the old timbers being generally made to do service again in a new shape; whilst the walls, as they decayed, were either left to fall down, or deliberately pulled down. Finally, inside the church every single ancient feature was obscured, either by useless partitions and pews, by raising of floors and lowering of roofs, or by reiterated coats of paint and whitewash; and we have, in truth, to be grateful to our forefathers for the last three centuries for having shown no more active hostility than is implied in the utter indifference to the whole building which induced them not more determinedly to alter or mutilate what did not, by reason of its decay, come to ruin!

You see, therefore, by this short summary of events, that from and after the year 1200 for 300 years the works in the church were constantly in progress, and each generation was doing its part—and generally a noble part—towards the complete work. This is a frequent tale as regards our old churches; but, as I think you will see, it is seldom that we find in any one building of moderate scale so many good examples of work of various ages.

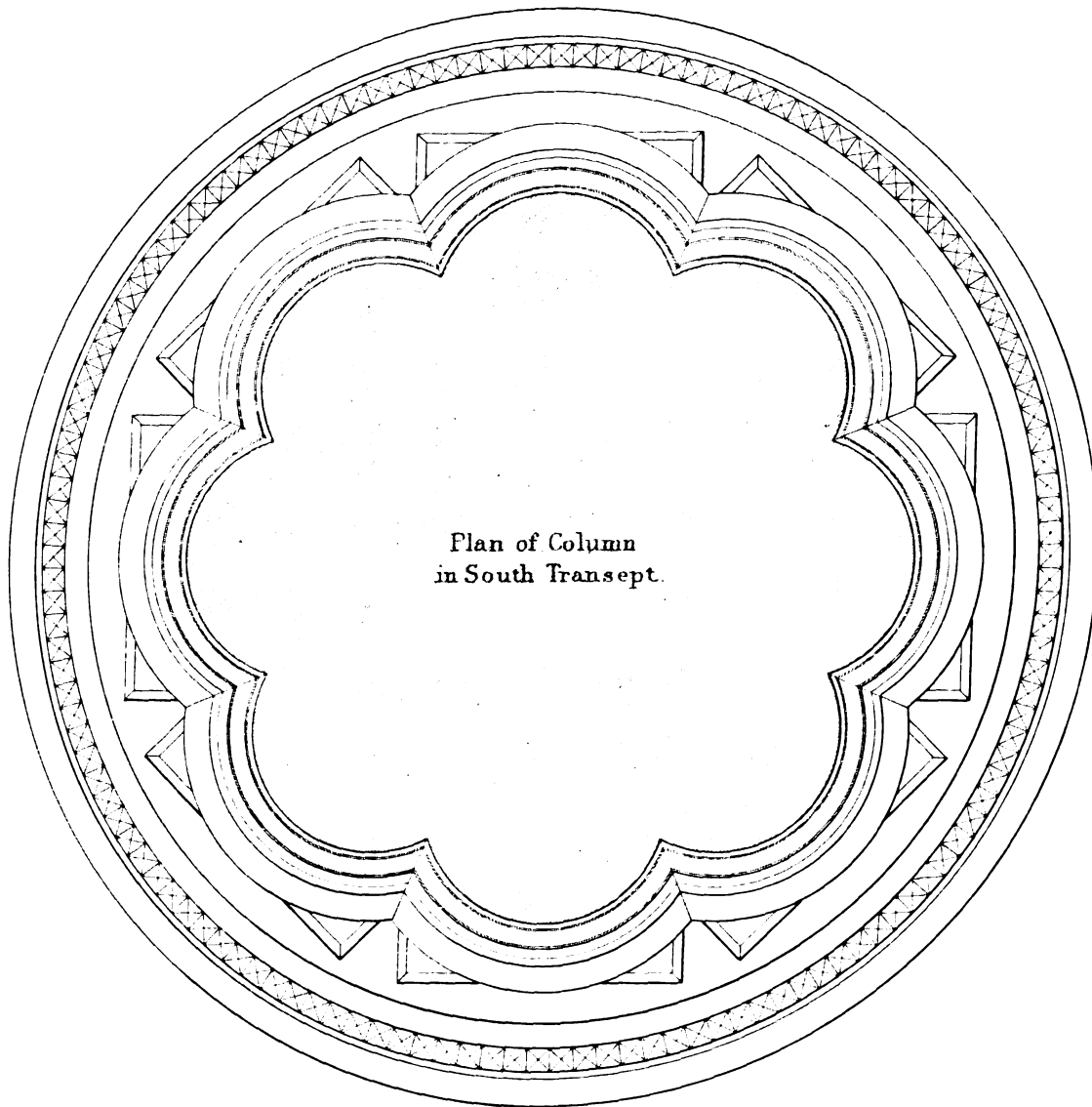
We will now, if you please, examine the various portions of the work more in detail, taking them in the order of their erection, which I have thus briefly stated. And first, let us take the Transepts. These are remarkable, not only for their fine scale but also for the elaborate character of much of their detail. The South Transept measures 21 feet  $\times$  36 feet 6 inches inside, the north transept 21 feet  $\times$  37 feet 6 inches, and the latter is (as will be seen by the drawing of the plan) set somewhat askew; rather, it would seem, in this case, owing to the carelessness of workmen than with any mystical or symbolical intention. There was formerly an aisle on the east side of each transept, giving space for two chapels on each side. This common feature in churches of this scale and date is, however, somewhat unusually treated on the south side, where the aisle appears to have been returned along the south side of the chancel, forming a chancel aisle. These aisles are now almost entirely destroyed, and the only evidence of the old design of any portion of them is to be seen inside the fifteenth-century vestry, the erection of which against the east wall of the chancel aisle has had the good result of preserving its east wall. The transepts of course lose much of their effect owing to the blocking up of their eastern arches. The columns supporting these arches are very different. In the south transept the column is a fine

clustered pier of eight,<sup>a</sup> with a base moulding which I commend to your notice because it is eminently characteristic of Yorkshire thirteenth-century work. Observe particularly the way in which the nail-head enrichment is introduced, and the vigorous effect of light and shade in the mouldings. Unfortunately, owing to the raising of the floor, a portion of this base was buried, and so the general effect was damaged, but it is now to be seen in all its old beauty of proportion. The corresponding column in the north transept is a plain cylinder, rude-looking by comparison with the rich and varied section of its responds. The arches opening into the aisles of the nave are equally deserving of admiration: that into the south aisle being planned with nook-shafts set in square recesses, that into the north aisle with a succession of filleted shafts set on a splay. It is quite worth notice that of these six arches there are no two which are alike. The detail is varied in all, and hence the work is infinitely interesting and worthy of examination. The love of the artist for his work is manifest everywhere. The artist has not given place to the manufacturer; and every detail of the work gave pleasure, no doubt, to the man who designed it.

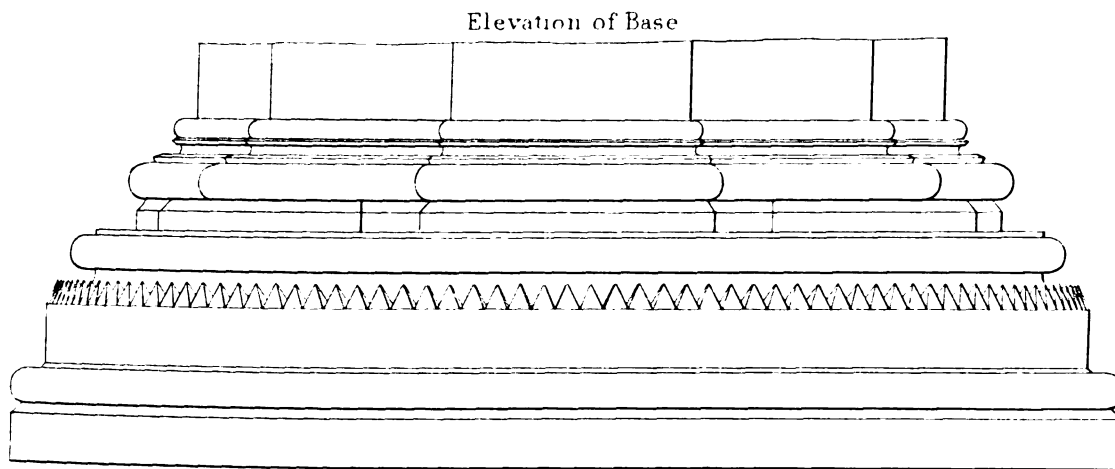
There are doors to both transepts. The southern door is round arched, rather narrow in opening, and placed to the west of the centre of the front. It has a peculiar imitation of the chevron enrichment at intervals on its label, but the mouldings generally are of decidedly pointed character. The north transept doorway is much richer, but may best be described with the rest of the façade—of which it forms an important part. The south transept front had unfortunately been very much altered. A large window was inserted not long before the Reformation in place of the original window, and this in its turn had been so much mutilated and damaged as to be uninteresting in the highest degree. Enough, however, remained of the original south wall to show that the system of windows and string-courses which remain in the side walls was continued across it. These side walls are divided by string-courses into three divisions in height. The first corresponding with the aisle columns is plain walling; the next is pierced with simple windows, with round internal arches; and the third, or upper stage, has a continuous arcade carried on clustered shafts, and pierced at intervals with windows. Passages in the thickness of the walls at this level led from the staircase in the south-west angle of the transept to the central steeple, and so on again to the north transept. Here again you must notice the eccentric variations of detail in the design. Some of the arches are divided into two, with an intermediate shaft. Some are moulded, some chamfered, some enriched with nail-

<sup>a</sup> Pl. IX.





Plan of Column  
in South Transept.



Elevation of Base

1 IN 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 FEET

George Edmund Street R. A.

C. E. L. L.

CHURCH OF S. AUGUSTINE, HEDON, YORKS.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.*



head, and some only with a single dog-tooth enrichment in the very centre of the point of the arch.

The west wall of this south transept is the only part of it which preserves the old design of the exterior nearly intact. Here the bays are divided by flat buttresses, and the lower windows are simply chamfered, whilst the upper windows are very elegant and have jamb shafts, the broad Yorkshire chamfer next the glass, and carved capitals. The abaci of the caps throughout this transept are square and circular, the two forms being used capriciously—save that the square abacus is oftenest used outside and the circular abacus inside the building.

The whole of this transept has now been carefully restored under my direction. The south front was in a dangerously insecure state. It has, therefore, been rebuilt from the ground. Every thirteenth-century stone has as far as possible been marked and restored to its old place; and, as you will see by the elevation before you, I have attempted to restore the whole façade as nearly as I could to its old state. The old roof was of timber, and an open roof has now been erected. This leads to a notice of the fact that this fine church was never apparently meant to be groined in stone, the arcading of the walls inside having been so arranged as to make vaulting impossible.

The north transept has suffered much less than the other; save its roof and gable, the exterior is really in very perfect condition, and it is rarely that a more delicate or graceful work is seen. Here, as on the other side, the wall is divided by string-courses into a succession of nearly equal stages; but the door is more important than the other, and placed in the centre; and the windows in both stages are equally ornate, and enriched considerably with dog-tooth ornaments as well as with delicate mouldings and engaged shafts. The buttresses are varied in design, those in front having recessed arched panels in the upper stages, and having been finished originally with very acute gables, and one on the west side having the broad chamfer on the angles,—so common a feature in the best Yorkshire work. The staircase, instead of being at the angle (as it is in the south transept), is in the west wall next to the north aisle. The mouldings throughout this transept are very delicate and good. The common thirteenth-century enrichment, the dog-tooth, is used not only in arch and jamb-mouldings, but also in capitals and bases. It is very much to be regretted that no indication exists of the original treatment of the gable. If this had been complete, few fronts of the period would have been more worthy of admiration than that of this north transept; and in a church full of good work it is, no doubt, the part which most of all challenges and merits our admiration.

The design of the interior of this transept is not so fine as that of the exterior. Passages are carried round the wall at two levels, and the detail of the upper windows is as in the south transept richer than that of the lower. But there is a poverty about the work which is inconsistent with the extremely ornate character of the exterior.

Of the original tower arches nothing now is visible, though it is probable that they still remain above the arches which were inserted under them, in order to strengthen the work, about the time that the steeple was built. The next portion of the work to be described is therefore—

The Chancel.—This is all of the thirteenth-century, with the exception of the east window. It had three arches opening into its south aisle, and one arch opening into the north transept aisle; these are now all completely blocked. The columns supporting them are clustered, and the detail generally very similar to that of the transepts. The north wall is of two stages in height, the lower stage pierced with single-light windows, the upper stage having windows connected by an arcading very irregularly divided and designed. The original buttresses are of shallow proportions and finished with gablets. A very fine two-light window, with double shafts in the jamb and a profusion of dog-tooth ornament, is preserved in the south wall where the vestry abuts against it; and an arcade of five divisions, with a lancet window pierced in the centre, which now forms the west wall of the vestry, formed originally the east wall of the south chancel aisle, and gives a high idea of the extreme loveliness of the work which has been destroyed in this part of the building.

No doubt the beautiful detail of the south chancel window and the east wall of the aisle were designed by the same man who ventured to plan the north wall of the chancel in the somewhat irregular fashion shown on the elevation which I exhibit. It is well therefore to notice that the artist who was so accomplished (as every one will admit) in one part of his work allowed himself some very decided departures from mere regularity in other portions of it. In truth he saw no merit in regularity, except where it was convenient; and so when he had a long plain wall to deal with he treated it to some extent in a playful spirit—arcading, piercing, and buttressing it as happened best to please him, and tying himself down by no rule as to regularity either in plan or in elevation.

In fact, what one cannot help feeling in presence of such a work as this is the extreme variety of character and interest which marks it, and the evidence thus afforded of intense zeal and love of his work on the part of its architect or architects. The work is all far too refined and good to make it possible for us to say

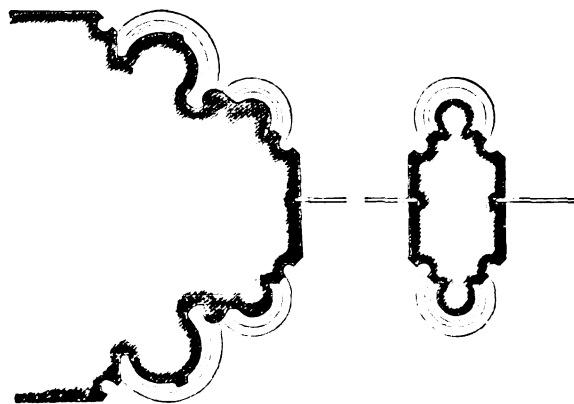
that it was the work of men who did not know the virtue of regularity or repetition of parts in architecture. I might without risk defy any one at the present day to draw mouldings more delicately, or designed with greater appreciation of their proper office and function; and when we find the man who was able to work so well going out of his way to vary his work everywhere, it is surely worth while to inquire why he did so. The answer is, I believe, not very far to seek. This love of variety is in fact only an evidence of the love of his work without which no artist's work is worthy even of the shortest attention. It is the possession of this and the want of it which are really the most marked distinctions between the average architect of the present day and the average architect of the Middle Ages. I thoroughly believe that this work at Hedon bears internal evidence everywhere of the devotion of the artist to his art; and I am certain that the only way in which we can hope to do work as good as this is by working much more in the same way and spirit instead of in the unreal and unloving mode which modern customs have taught us to be satisfied with at the hands of two out of three of the arts;—painting alone at the present day being practised generally with the belief that it is wrong for an artist not to bestow himself on his work to the utmost of his energy, his knowledge, and his enthusiasm!

Nowhere can we modern men so well receive such lessons as in Yorkshire; for nowhere in Europe, in the thirteenth century, were there architects superior to those who lived here, and, if we are ever to rival them, it can only be by following their example exactly.

Having thus chronicled the works of the thirteenth century at Hedon, let me now detain you for some short notice of the works of later schools and periods.

The church, so far as we have seen its history, may have remained for many years uncompleted. Its transepts and choir were finished, and no doubt used for service. It is possible, of course, as I have already hinted, that an older nave also existed. But towards the end of the thirteenth century a new endeavour was made to complete the church by the removal of any such earlier building and the erection of a nave and aisles worthy of the eastern portion of the fabric. The old architect was no doubt dead and forgotten, and his successor proceeded to build in what was the style of the day, quite disregarding the intentions of his predecessor, and not even adhering to the dimensions which he had marked out for the aisles of the nave. He designed his work also upon a different and much more economical plan than his predecessor. The elder architect had thought little about waste of stone, about unnecessary thickness in the walls, or

about mere economy in the work he was asked to do. But by the end of the thirteenth century men had become more careful; they asked their architects, just as people do now, to build as economically as possible, and their architect in this case plainly tried to comply with their demand. That his means were limited seems to be proved by the difference in character between the western bay and the four other bays of the nave, which seems to show that the latter were as much as they could first of all contrive to erect, and that then a long pause occurred before the west front was undertaken. But other evidence of this is to be seen in the work itself. Ornamental and elaborate as the detail is you will find that it is also economical just where the older work was lavish; *e. g.* the aisle-walls of the nave are only two feet in thickness, a dimension quite below what we usually find in such works; and giving, as it seems to me, too great an air of weakness to this part of the work. On the other hand, the main walls, and their columns and arches, are of bold dimensions; and the scientific character of the architect is certainly proved by the fact that here, where strength was most required, it was supplied; and that in the outer walls, where no great strength was required, they were reduced to the minimum of thickness. The detail throughout the nave is extremely interesting. The columns are not unlike the Early English columns in the choir, but the archivolt is well and richly



JAMB MOULDINGS OF WINDOWS IN NAVE-AISLES.

moulded, and the whole detail is most characteristic of the period. The main arcades used to suffer much in appearance owing to the nave floor being raised about two feet above its original level, so as entirely to conceal the fine old moulded bases of the columns. This, I am happy to say, is no longer the case, the whole nave having been repaved at its old level.

The detail of the jamb and arch mouldings of the aisle windows is rich and beautiful, and the tracery a capital example of the Early Decorated style. The doorways, with the small windows of spherical squares filled with tracery above them, are full of beauty; and, in fact, I know few examples which show better the general features of Early Middle-pointed English work than this. I cannot praise the clerestory so much. It seems to me to be small and insignificant for the scale of the church, and the

plain chamfered jambs of the windows inside do not satisfy the eye when seen close above the rich mouldings of the nave arcade; and I can hardly help suspecting that before the builders reached the clerestory they had found it necessary to economise.

If we now look at the western bay of the nave we shall at once see that it is of later date than the rest. The window traceries are more developed, with flowing ogee lines, and the mouldings are all later in character. What is curious also is that this bay is larger from east to west by about 2 feet 6 inches or 3 feet than any of the others in the nave. There seems to be no reason whatever for this departure from uniformity, and I cannot pretend to explain it. Externally the whole of this work is very fine. The buttresses have crocketed pediments, and the steep roofs and west window tracery are alone wanting to give the whole its old character.

It is well here to notice the difference in idea between this and the earlier work. The thirteenth-century architect gives the impression that his church is one for the use of a conventual body. His work is somewhat austere and dignified, and too solemn for mere worldly men. The nave, on the contrary, is the *beau idéal* of one for a fine parish church, elegant and well proportioned, but wanting in the sort of dignified severity that marks the earlier works, and suggesting something of a worldly desire to exhibit to the greatest effect all its gaiety, and beauties, and finery. In short, this nave is much more such a work as might be rivalled by modern architects and builders than are the transepts or the choir, because it seems to reflect a rather secular spirit akin to that of our own day.

After the completion of the nave the men of Hedon paused again; they had a noble church, what need to make it nobler? So at any rate they thought for three-quarters of a century; when some one undertook to put a new window in the east end, and to buttress the choir, so as to counteract a settlement which is still visible in the side walls. This window was one of a class which was common in the fifteenth century in Yorkshire. Examples of it are to be seen at Beverley and York minsters. The peculiarity consists in the addition of a second system of monials and traceries set in a line with the inside face of the wall. The east window here was certainly originally designed to be so constructed, though, if the design was ever completely carried out, the whole of the inner tracery has disappeared, leaving only the monials which were intended for its support.

It was about this time also that the noble central steeple, which so fitly crowns the whole work, was undertaken. It is really difficult to speak too well of

such a work as this. It is rich without being gaudy, stately without being heavy, and lofty without in the least destroying the effect of size and proportion of the church out of which it rises. We are too much in the habit of assuming nowadays that every tower must have a spire, and that every church must be finished with tower and spire complete before the day of its consecration. The study of such a work as this is therefore of the greatest value if it serves to convince us that a nobler effect may be obtained by the simple stateliness of such a scheme, than by the weak and frivolous character of many of our cheap modern Gothic spires. Steeples are architectural luxuries, and those who indulge in such luxuries should do so in such a way as to command the world's admiration. It is just the part of the building which is built mainly for display, and in which, if the display is not good, it had better never have been attempted. So at any rate thought the Hedon architect who reared this steeple, and who taxed the liberality of the people, no doubt heavily, to pay for his work. I doubt whether he did not build on the arches which were built to carry the older steeple, but he probably found the work giving some signs of failure, and so inserted the new arches,—which we now see,—under the old ones; for, if these arches were inserted when he began his work, there would not have been much reason for leaving any mark of older work above, which, if I remember right, there is. These arches are rather plain and bald when compared with the beautiful early work with which they are associated. Above the roof the tower rises in two stages, each side being divided vertically by buttresses at the angles and in the centre. There is no horizontal string-course dividing the whole tower in height, but the effects of separate stages is produced by the repetition of the belfry windows as arched and unpierced panels in the stage below. The parapet, though not very elaborate, is of large proportions; and, like the windows just mentioned, is partly pierced, partly solid. Clusters of pinnacles at the angles and in the centre of each side crown very fitly a noble work. The construction of this tower is very good, and the walls are nowhere unnecessarily thick. In the belfry stage they are 2 feet 11 inches thick, and they are built of stone and brick used together. The bricks are of the old English dimensions, 11 inches long,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, and 2 inches thick. The old weather mouldings on this steeple are valuable as marking the exact pitch of the early roofs of the church.

No doubt, fine as the effect of this steeple is, it has defects which make it inferior in architectural design to many examples which might be mentioned. The arrangement, for instance, of the belfry windows, two lights of which are pierced and one solid, is not very happy. Again, the mouldings are somewhat



thin and poor in effect, and no doubt the real value of the work is its outline and fine mass, which on all sides is seen towering high above the houses of the town, so as to make the church a conspicuous landmark on all sides.

The steeple completed, there was not much more to be done. The people of Hedon might well thank God for their noble church, and might fairly ask to be allowed to rest as well as to be thankful. In truth, they did so; for the only work done between the building of the steeple and the Reformation was the erection of a small sacristy at the east end of the south chancel aisle. This was a poor room, and its one redeeming feature now is what was at first its great sin. This is the fact that, owing to its erection against the east wall of the aisle, this still remains, though all the rest of the aisle is destroyed.

With this work the architectural history of Hedon church may fitly end. All that remains is to say that in succeeding ages this noble church has been somewhat mercilessly used, defaced, or allowed to fall to decay. My object in the works which have been in part executed lately is to do nothing but restore the church, as far as I can, exactly to its original state. We were obliged to begin with the restoration of the south transept, including the complete rebuilding of its south front and the re-erection of the steep-pitched roof. Here there was, of course, opening for discussion as to what ought to be done. If the late-fifteenth-century window had been retained it must have been entirely new, and restored conjecturally in most of its parts. So, though my rule is not to disturb such additions to the original fabric, I was really obliged to do so in this case; and accordingly I have erected a front somewhat after the model of the beautiful north transept, using up again all old stones in their old place in the most scrupulous manner. After this there still remains much to be done to bring the church into tolerable order; but there can be little to do about which there can be any difference of opinion. I should not think of touching the east window except to restore the inner order of tracery, as to the existence and design of which there need be no doubt; whilst the restoration of the other roofs to their old pitch is a work against which no one could cavil.

Fortunately such a church as this requires gentle treatment, and no more, to put it back into its old state of order and beauty. There is not much room and less necessity for ingenious additions or alterations. The old colour of the walls, the old look of the work, must nowhere be disturbed; and I hope that even the most conservative of archæologists will not be able to say when the work has been done that I have destroyed or altered any one portion of the work. What I have said in this Paper will, I hope, prove that I have too much reverence for

such a masterwork to do so; and I can only express a hope that the great liberality of those who have commenced this much-needed work of restoration will be backed, when necessary, by the liberality of all those who feel that our honour is really bound up with the conservation of these great works of art, which we are bound to hand down to our children in as fair and good a state as is possible, without any sordid considerations of the cruel neglect with which our predecessors have visited them.

And here shall I be pardoned if I diverge a little from the particular church to the general subject of the preservation of architectural antiquities, on which, as I think, the influence of this old and important Society is not exerted quite so vigorously as it ought to be. Here, for instance, at Hedon, is a parish of extremely small acreage, a population of about one thousand, and an endowment, according to the Clergy List, of 45*l.* per annum, without any house for the priest. The town is poor, without trade, and, I dare say, without one wealthy resident. Now, how is it possible that such a town or parish can do all that is required to keep such a building as I have been describing in decent repair? Occasionally by accident or good luck, or by some grand effort, something may be done to stave off the evil day when the ruin of a whole fabric seems imminent. This is exactly what has happened at Hedon. In a year or two the front of the south transept might have fallen had it not been rebuilt. In a few more years the ruin of the beautiful nave will be imminent, unless some external help is afforded. Then what external help has such a building a right to demand? Has it a claim of any kind on any one on higher grounds than mere personal or local attachment? Surely if in all foreign countries it is found prudent and necessary to inscribe certain buildings on a list of public monuments to be cared for by the State, there may at any rate be some exceptional cases—such as this of Hedon—in which even in this self-governing country the Government might step in to save that which the people on the spot are unable or unwilling to save. Any one interested in our national antiquities has only to examine the state of many buildings from time to time in order to arrive at a very certain conclusion, that many of them are suffering a steady deterioration. This is especially the case with our ruined abbeys and castles. By accident, one may almost say, they have fallen into the hands of their present owners. Their roofs have been stripped of lead, their windows of glass, their walls of copings and buttresses. Each autumn a saturated wall paves the way for the disruption of some portion of the walls during the winter frosts; and each fragment that falls makes the fall of something else more certain and more serious in its consequences. Within the life-

time of men still alive Whitby Abbey has lost its central steeple. What should we say if we heard that some other grand erection—such, *e.g.* as the steeple of Fountains—was likely also to come to ruin solely or mainly for lack of its roof? How can we measure the loss to history or to art of any one of these features of an old architecture? And if there is any risk in regard to these buildings of which every one is so proud, what shall we say of the prospects of those of which only a few of us know of the existence or the value? It is our own age that has seen the Guesten Hall of Worcester converted into a ruin by the removal of its exquisite roof. And such a step as this was taken, unless I much mistake, in spite of a protest from the Society of Antiquaries, by the authority of its guardians—a corporate body of dean and canons!<sup>a</sup>

I am sure I speak the feeling of most of the Fellows when I say that we ought on all occasions to offer the most hearty opposition to any attempt to deal in this way with any of our ancient buildings. It seems to me, indeed, that such a Society as ours, with its old and complete organization, its prestige, its wealth, is one of the natural guardians of all our English antiquities. I, with many others, wish to see it active not only in such curious archæological questions as generally engage its attention, but still more in jealous care for, and earnest promotion of the study of, those objects of national art which are in themselves more noble and more interesting, and in their influence on mankind far more valuable and serious. The success of our school of architectural art in this country depends mainly upon the conservation of every portion of our mediæval antiquities. And it seems to me that the Society of Antiquaries might well do more than it has latterly done with this view. Where, if not here, should we expect to find a careful catalogue of every single ancient building in this country? Where, if not here, should we find the machinery for forming such a catalogue? And with such a catalogue in existence do you not think that one great step would be taken towards instructing the owners of ancient monuments in the best way of preserving them, and in suggesting to them a greater reverence than they now have for what they possess? If the Society of Antiquaries could and would do some such work as this, I should hope, in course of time, to see some steps taken to prevent the destruction of any ancient building without the consent of some really competent constituted authority. At least, if the Society cannot of its own resources undertake so important a work, could it not very properly entreat Government to extend the inquiry commenced last

<sup>a</sup> See *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2d S. vol. i. pp. 178-184.

year, I believe, into the remains of royal monuments—an inquiry in which our Society took an active part. Some steps, also, I should hope to see taken for the repair of buildings of vast interest, and wholly beyond the means of those who are directly responsible for them. Not only should entire buildings be catalogued, but equally should their fittings and furniture be included. If this had been done long ago perhaps we should have lost less than we have. Museums might have been poorer; but, as the interest of old things is always greatest in their old places, art would not have suffered. Brasses would not so often have been torn from floors to adorn the collection of an antiquary; old tiles would still lie where they did of yore; old stained glass windows would not be seen in numerous curiosity-shops, and the shops of repairers, but would still adorn our old windows.

Some of you may think that all this is very unnecessary. My experience tells me just the reverse. It has been my happiness from time to time to save many an old building from the destruction with which it has been threatened. Especially is this destruction likely where incompetent architects are employed to restore ancient buildings; and it is good policy, therefore, whenever any one advises such destruction, at any rate to take a second opinion as to whether such a course is absolutely unavoidable.

You must pardon the liberty I have taken in straying from Hedon church into so very wide and general a subject. I have ventured to do so because I notice that architects like myself, who live, so to speak, among these old buildings, do not generally appear to take so active a part in the proceedings of this Society as they ought. And because the consideration of so glorious a church in so poor a case led naturally, as it seemed to me, to the question whether the Society of Antiquaries could not do a great work and enlist our most active sympathy by influencing popular opinion in favour of more vigorous measures for the support and preservation of fine examples of English art than have hitherto been taken, either by Government or, generally speaking, our ecclesiastical authorities.

VIII.—*Account of Papers relating to the Royal Jewel-house in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, in the possession of Captain HERVEY GEORGE ST. JOHN-MILDMAY, R.N., of Hazelgrove House, Somerset. Communicated by the Rev. JAMES ARTHUR BENNETT, B.A., F.S.A.*

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Read Feb. 5, 1880.

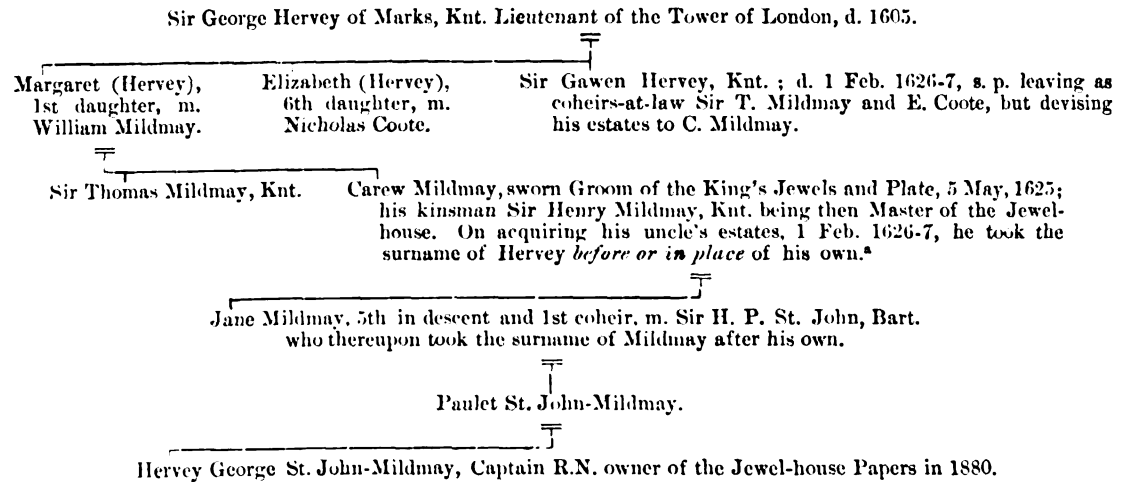
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THE following Papers, relating to the Crown Jewels and Plate in the times of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., are a selection from a number of Jewel-house Accounts and Papers, which are now in the possession of Captain Hervey George St. John-Mildmay, R.N., of Hazelgrove House, Somerset. The full catalogue will be found in the Seventh Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission.

This collection has but lately come to light, and is, I believe, the most complete, if it is not the only, set of documents now known to be in existence, which relate to the times when the magnificent gold and silver plate, which belonged to the Crown at the beginning of the reign of Charles I., was dispersed.

Before going further into any account of these papers, I should wish to acknowledge the obligations that I am under to our Fellows, Mr. John Charles Robinson and Mr. Charles Trice Martin, for assistance and information, and to Mr. Samuel Rawson Gardiner for his kindness in adding some historical notes.

Mr. Carew Hervey Mildmay, of Marks, in the Liberty of Havering, Essex, was the original owner of the papers. The following Pedigree explains his name, and their transmission to the present time.



When King Charles left London in 1642, the other officers of the Jewel-house followed him, but Carew Hervey Mildmay remained in London, and kept his charge until he was forcibly turned out of it in 1649. It was in this year that a Parliamentary Committee called upon Sir Henry Mildmay to render accounts of his charge. The materials for these accounts were supplied by Mr. Mildmay, and it would seem that some of these papers now under consideration are either such materials—namely, rough notes and extracts from the office-books which were made for the purpose of these returns—or copies of the accounts rendered. It is quite possible that some of the office-books are still in existence, for Mr. Mildmay complains in one of his notes that the books which remained were taken from him in 1649 by the Parliamentary Committee. But these books, if they ever should be found, would give but a very imperfect account of the Jewel-house, for Mr. Mildmay complains in another paper that even he found it difficult to make an accurate return, for that many of the office-books had been destroyed “when the soldiers first came to London, and the office was made a suckling-house, common to all sorts.”

As to Mr. Mildmay himself, it would appear that he occupied a difficult and uncertain position. Though nominally a servant of the King, and left in charge of the Jewel-house by him, and executing orders transmitted to him from the King, yet he is not without sympathy for the Parliament; he held a command for

<sup>a</sup> He became a Verderer of the Forest of Essex, *State Papers, Dom.* 1639, Mar. 26.

a time upon the Parliamentary side in Essex, and also contributed money and arms. His own explanation, in a memorandum of his services and claims, drawn up at the Restoration, is, that he only accepted the command for the purpose of maintaining tranquillity in Essex; and he says that he never fought, nor ever would fight, against the King; and he declares that at a later time he opposed, at the risk of his life, and opposed with success, "the develish petition" desiring the execution of the King, which Colonel Pride and others had brought before a meeting of the gentlemen of Essex.

But whatever may have been his difficulties in striving to reconcile the conflicting claims of his absent master, the King, and the powers in possession, it is at least clear that he is determined to be faithful to his charge of the Jewel-house. He may be ready to co-operate with the Parliamentary powers for the recovery of valuables which have been taken away, or not returned, by some of the King's servants, but he is not at all inclined to admit the claim of the Parliament itself, when its Commissioners seek to put themselves into the place of the King. Letters from the Commissioners, and peremptory orders from them, desiring him "to deliver up the offices," "to appear before them," "to deliver up his keys," &c. come to Mr. Mildmay one after another in the year 1649, but upon letter after letter appears the endorsement, in Mr. Mildmay's own hand, "not obeyed," "not obeyed," "Sir Henry Mildmay came himself and delivered up the keys"; and then, at last, it is noted, "They break into the office and commit me to the Fleet."

As a specimen of the correspondence a copy of one of these letters is inserted here:—

SIR,

Wee were waitinge at the Tower this morning to have delivered over to the contractors the plate in your custody, where wee received an unsatisfactory answer from you, whereby wee are put upon such a strait as wee know not what to doe, the publication beinge past for the sale of it, the plate beinge the first resolved upon for sale, before either the Upper Jewel-House or any other duplicate bee meddled with, and the publication cannot bee now recalled. Wherefore wee, with the contractors, beinge sensible of the very great prejudice that is likely to fall out to the publike by your failinge to meet with us, we concluded to send our messenger on purpose to you to desire you not to faile to meet us at the Tower on Saturday next, aboute nine of the clock in the morninge, where wee may doe what should have been done this day. If you come not then, or send not your keys, which you have direction from Sir Hen. Mildmay to doe, we must be forced against our wills to follow the direction of the Act. Wee hope wee so well understood our

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business that wee shall doe what may bee most advantagious to that service wee are employed in.  
Wee remaine this 20 Septemb. 1649,

Yours,

N. LEMPRIÈRE.

HENRY . . .

JOHN FFOCHE.

PH. CARTERET.

Sir,—You must please to  
take notice that there must  
be a good deale of time in  
sortinge the plate before it  
can bee fit to shew, and  
after that some days for the  
buyers to looke upon it.

WILL. ALLEN.

HENRY PARRE.

JOHN HEILES.

Before coming to any remarks upon the several papers which are presented here, I should wish to point out that, though the originals are many in number, yet that they do not form any connected general statement of the affairs of the Jewel-house between 1625 and 1649. They are evidently only a part of a much larger number of extracts and notes from the office-books. Many of the entries also occur again and again. Instead, therefore, of copying out all the papers, a few only of the most complete, or of those which seem to be the most interesting, are presented here; but these are copied verbatim from the originals, even though this may involve some repetition.

The papers are of two kinds or periods; those which existed before, and those which were drawn up in consequence of, the Parliamentary inquiry—those which record objects and transactions in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I., and those which record the like during the Commonwealth and at the Restoration.

The only papers in the collection which give any account of plate in the time of Elizabeth are four in number; being three “certificates” in different hands of certain presents given by her from the 30th to the 44th years of her reign, and a list of christening gifts from her, the first dated as of her 30th year. For illustration of the names in these papers see Nichols’s *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.

# 1.

A Certyfyate of Presents given by Queene Elizabeth from the thirtieth until the last year of her raigne to Ambassadors, Agents and Gent<sup>l</sup>, sent from fforraine Princes & att Christenings.

Sweden.	Given to an Ambassador from Duke Charles of Sweeden, A <sup>o</sup> 30 Eliz. A chaine	oz.
	of gold . . . . .	po3. 16 gold
Fesse.	To an Ambassador from the kinge of fresse, A <sup>o</sup> 31 Eliz. A chaine of gold	po3. 45 gold



		oz.	
Wettemberg.	To the Duke of Wettemberg, A° 32 Eliz. in gilt	400	plate
France.	To Mons <sup>r</sup> vidam de Chartoys, Ambassad. from the kinge of France, 36 Eliz. in gilt plate	pōj.	650 plate
France.	To Mons <sup>r</sup> d'Beauvois Ledger Ambassad. from the kinge of ffrance, 37 Eliz. in gilt plate	pōj.	2200 plate
Bullon.	To the Duke of Bullen, A° 39 Eliz. in gilt plate		3000 plate
Denmarke.	To the Chancell <sup>r</sup> of Denmarke, Ambassad. A° 40 Eliz. in gilt plate.	pōj.	900 plate
	To Christian Barracowe, Ambassade ffrom the kinge of Denmarke, A° 40 Eliz. in gilt plate	pōj.	850 plate
Italian.	To John Virginio, duke of Bracciano, an Italian, A° 43 Eliz. A cupp and cover of gold		26 gold
France.	To Mons <sup>r</sup> Boysire Ledger Ambassador from the kinge of ffrance, A° 44 Eliz. in gilt plate		1500 plate

2.—Gent<sup>l</sup> and Messengers.

		oz.	
Germany.	Given to a Gent <sup>l</sup> sent from Duke Cashmere, A° 30 Eliz. A chaine of gold	pōj.	22
Denmark.	Given to a Gent <sup>l</sup> sent from the kinge of Denmarke, A° 31 Eliz. A chaine of gold	pōj.	10
Denmark.	To a gent <sup>l</sup> sent from the kinge of Denmark, A° 31 Eliz. A chaine of gold	pōj.	14
Sweeden.	To Theophilus Homodius, D <sup>r</sup> of the law, sent from Duke Charles of Sweeden, A° 33 Eliz. A chaine of gold	pōj.	14
Holland.	To Mr. Burylake, a Gent <sup>l</sup> sent out of the Lowe Countries, A° 33 Eliz. A chaine of gold	pōj.	18
Denmark.	To Geo. Schomaker, D <sup>r</sup> of the law, sent from the kinge of Denmark, A° 33 Eliz. A gold chaine	pōj.	14
France.	To Mons <sup>r</sup> Gedenere, a gent <sup>l</sup> sent from the kinge of France, A° 36 Eliz. A chaine of gold		20
France.	To a ffrench gent <sup>l</sup> , A° 39 Eliz. A chaine of gold		18
Denmark.	To Hanse Reweam, secretary to the Chancellor of Denmark, Ambassad. A° 40 Eliz. A chaine of gold		22
Wettemberg.	To Adam Vinam, a gent <sup>l</sup> sent from the Duke of Wettemberg, 40 Eliz. A chaine of gold	pōj.	10
Sweeden.	To John Nicholai, a gent <sup>l</sup> sent from the Duke of Sweeden, A° 41 Eliz. A chaine of gold	pōj.	17
Holland.	To Mons <sup>r</sup> Caron, agent for the state of Holland, A° 42 Eliz. A chaine of gold	pōj.	68

3.—Presents to Gent<sup>l</sup> & Ambassadors.

Swede. 30 Eliz.	To a Ambassador from Duke Charles brother to kinge of Sweeden, A chaine	oz.
	of gold . . . . .	p03. xvi gold
fresse. 31 Eliz.	A Ambassador from the kinge of fresse, A chaine of gold .	. xlv gold
	To Count Whittembirge, in gilt plate . . . . .	. iiij <sup>c</sup>
	To Duke Philip, in gilt plate . . . . .	. cc
	To Mons <sup>r</sup> Durant, in gilt plate . . . . .	. exiiij
	To Mons <sup>r</sup> Vidam de Chartois, in gilt plate . . . . .	. vi <sup>c</sup> lvij
	To Mons. de Beauvois, Ambass. from y <sup>e</sup> ffrench king, in gilt plate .	. iii iii cc
	To the Duke of Bullion, in gilt plate . . . . .	. iij iij iij iij <sup>xx</sup> x
	To Christian Barracow, sent from y <sup>e</sup> kinge of Denmark, in gilt plate .	. viij <sup>c</sup> l
	To Mons <sup>r</sup> Bloysire, in gilt plate . . . . .	. iij v <sup>c</sup>

## Christninge.

30 Eliz.	To the Lord St <sup>t</sup> John Hallatt his child, in gilt plate . . . . .	oz. xxvij
	To M <sup>r</sup> Harrington's child, in gilt plate . . . . .	p03. xxx <sup>l</sup>
	To Sir Richard Knightley sonne, in gilt plate . . . . .	. xxiiij
	To the Lord Ritches child, in gilt plate . . . . .	. li
	To the Lord Wentworth his child . . . . .	p03. xxvj
	To the Sir Oratio Palavisino his child . . . . .	. liiij
	To Sir Robert Sydney his child . . . . .	. xliij
	To M <sup>r</sup> Henry Mordaunt child . . . . .	p03. xl
	To Sir Thomas West his child . . . . .	. lv
	To the Earl of Northumberland his child . . . . .	. clxviij
	To Sir Edward Winter his child . . . . .	. lxiiij
	To M <sup>r</sup> Barkley his child . . . . .	p03. lxx
	To the Lord Winsor his child . . . . .	p03. liiij
	To M <sup>r</sup> Henry Colford his child . . . . .	. cviiij
	To Sir Thomas Germaine his child . . . . .	. l
	To the Lord Herbert his child . . . . .	. lx

Earl of Ormond, Robert Sewell, Earl of Kildare, Earl of Darby, the Landesgrave von Hest, Arnold Whitfield, Earl of Northumberland, & Count de Beaumont, *all scratched out*.

*Endorsed*—A copy of little use, for one more perfect of 18 Dec. 1629.

The occasion of the issue of plate for the service of Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I., by the list and letter following, is noticed in Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* (1828), vol. ii. p. 460, as follows:—

From London, on the 11th of August, 1612, Mr. [John] Chamberlain thus writes to Sir Dudley Carleton:—

“The Queen begins her Progress to-morrow to Windsor; and so by Sir Robert Dormer's Ascot House, in Wing, Bucks, and Sir Richard Blount's, Mapledereham, Oxfordshire, to [meet the King at] Woodstock.”

It further appears from the present letter, that the Queen was officially attended on her progress by John Lord Harrington of Exton. The signature to the letter is that of Sir Henry Cary, Master of the Jewel-house at the time. His name, and that of Mr. Pigeon, appear at the foot of a Jewel-house document, printed in Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* vol. i. p. 607.

Plat for her grac service this pgrac to Woodstocke:

Basons ij.  
Ewers ij.  
Flagons for bere ij.  
Flagons for wine ij.  
Boles iiij.  
Salts ij.  
Spounes xij.  
Candelsticks vj.

Mr Pidgeon—I praye sayle not to [*illegible*] theise pcells for her Grace's service, and lett this remayne with you for a warrant, that whensoever my Lord Harrington shall send for anything in the office you make no scruple of my absence or farther privitie but deliver it as if my Lord Chamberlayn sent his warrant, and I will undertake to get it allowed afterwards.

Soe I rest

Yr well wishing ffreind,

H. CARYE.

Maribone p'ke this

20<sup>th</sup> of August, 1612.

The first paper of Charles's reign is dated October 26, 1625, and consists of five pages, containing a minute description of each one of forty pieces of rich plate, “wonderful masterpieces of goldsmith's work.” All this great treasure is said to be given by the King's “express command to the Duke of Buckingham, and carried into Holland.” An enormous value is put upon it, 200,000*l*.

And there is no slip or mistake in these figures, for the same thing is repeated in several different papers, and once the value is given in words as well as in figures. Indeed, that the value of the Crown jewels was very great, and that this transaction was known and not approved of, is well put by Sir John Eliot, in his great speech in Parliament on the 27th of March, 1626 :—

That we might view [he says] that ancient garden, and those sweet flowers of the crown! That we might see them even what they are now become; and how, the enclosure being let down, it is made a common pasture! Would that such a commission might be granted, if only that we then could search for the treasures and jewels that were left by that ever blessed princess of never dying memory, Queen Elizabeth! Oh, those jewels! The pride and glory of this kingdom! which have made it so far shining before others! Would that they were here, within the compass of these walls, to be viewed and seen by us, to be examined in this place! Their very name and memory have transported me.—Forster's *Sir John Eliot*, 1864, vol. i. p. 523.

There are two patents, dated respectively the 7th and 16th December, 1 Car. 1625, in favour of George Duke of Buckingham and others, each containing the list of plate and jewels delivered out of the Jewel-house on the 26th October previous, of which list that among the Mildmay papers is doubtless a draft.<sup>a</sup> These patents being printed, the first with the list as finally settled, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, 1726, vol. xviii. pp. 236 and 246, it seems superfluous to print a draft list now. The later patent authorised the pledging of the plate and jewels to the Lords of the United Provinces for 300,000*l*.<sup>b</sup>

In *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, VIII. App. Pt. i. p. 209, is printed in full length a royal warrant, dated December 5, 1634, for a commission to Sir W. Boswell and Nathaniel Gerrard to redeem certain jewels remaining in Holland impawned for 13,000*l*. and yet unsold or undisposed of, to sell them, and with

<sup>a</sup> The very interesting fact that two of these splendid pieces were at least as early as the time of Henry VIII. has been pointed out to me by our Fellow, Mr. Martin. He has informed me that "the cup of golde called 'the Dreame of Parris'," and "the Salte of golde called the 'Morris Dance'," are both described in the "Account of the Jewels delivered by the widow of Rob<sup>t</sup> Amadas, late Master of the Jewels, to Tho<sup>s</sup> Cromwell on his appointment in 1532."—*Chapter-house book*, <sup>A</sup><sub>22</sub>. Since Mr. Martin gave me this information I have myself examined the Inventory, but have not been able to identify any other pieces.

<sup>b</sup> A patent dated 29th August, 5 Car. 1629, authorised the redemption of some of the jewels pledged in Holland out of the proceeds of the sale of some ordnance to the Lords of the United Provinces.—*Ibid.* vol. xix. p. 99.

the proceeds of sale to redeem certain other jewels there, worth 64,000*l*. All these jewels are said to be part of those entrusted to the Duke of Buckingham "in the first year of our reign to dispose of for taking up money in the Low Countries for our use."

It is certain, as Mr. Gardiner points out in the note below, that the project of 1625 was never carried out in its entirety.\*

The next step in the dispersion of the Crown jewels and plate is a sale authorised by patent under the Great Seal to take place at the Tower in 1626.

Two parcels of plate are sold, one of 20,000 ozs. the other of 20,325 ozs. A list of the latter remains among these papers, dated 25th August, being a draft of that printed, as finally settled, by Nichols in his *Manners and Expenses of Antient Times*, 1797.

In consequence of letters patent, dated 13th Sept. 2 Car. 1626, to Sir Henry Mildmay, for delivery of 20,000 ozs. or thereabouts of plate to John Acton, the King's goldsmith, indentures were made two days afterwards between those two persons on such delivery, mentioning the particular pieces and their weights. The indenture, signed by Mildmay and delivered to Acton, came into the possession of William Herrick, Esq. of Beaumanor, Leicestershire, who permitted it to be printed as above stated. It is well worth perusal.

There is "An Accompt of the Plate in general, total 22,737 : 3," dated 1626 ; whether made before or after the sale at the Tower does not appear. It contains no particulars of interest.

"A note taken out of the Jewel-house Book the last daie of January, 1632,

\* It appears from the despatches of Sir Dudley Carleton (*State Papers, Holland*) that it was found impossible to complete the transaction. Only a certain part of the plate was taken. In a paper in the Harleian MSS. 3796, fol. 27, it is stated that there were, in 1635, 40,000*l*. worth of jewels in pawn. There was a privy seal, dated December 15, 1635, for 47,500*l*., for the redemption of jewels, and Job Harby, a London merchant, was employed to go into Holland to bring them back ; and the following entry in the *Pells Declarations*, Mich. 1635-6, shows that the money was actually paid to him :

"Job Harby, merchant, on his accompt to be by him disbursed for the redempcion of such his Ma<sup>t</sup> jewells as remaine impawned with divers merchants of Amsterdam and others in the Low Countries per breve dat. xv<sup>th</sup> Decembris, 1635 . . . . 47,500*l*." See also *State Papers, Dom.* 16 Dec. 1635.

As there is no entry of the money being repaid to the Exchequer we may conclude that the jewels were actually redeemed. It therefore follows that the statement in a letter of June 26, 1660—that "there is a Dutch ambassador coming over with very rich presents : a suit of gold plate, two of silver plate, and all the jewels of the crown that were pawned there" (*Hist. MSS. Report*, V. App. p. 154)—refers to a second pledging of the jewels at the time of the Civil War.—(S.R.G.)

of all the plate in the Mr's p<sup>n</sup>." The weight is 3,410 ozs. Sir Henry Mildmay still had this plate, or a similar quantity, in his possession in 1649, and then paid the value of it to the Parliamentary Committee, and retained it as his own. No portion of it, however, is known to be now in the possession of the family. It was probably reclaimed by the Crown in 1660.

Plate delivered out of the office of the Jewel-house for the service of the Princesses, the King's children; the lists are merely of ordinary pieces for daily use, without special descriptions, and are headed and dated thus:—

- 1639, July 27. To Mrs. Susan Fulcher for the service of the Princess Elizabeth.  
To Mr. Robert Carr, page to the Princess Elizabeth.
1639. To Mrs. Conant for the Princess Anne, in the hands of the Lady Roseborrow.  
More of it the Countess of Dorset had as governess.
1639. To Mrs. Mary De la Gard for the Princess Mary.  
To Alexander Taylor, yeoman of the pantry to the Princess Mary.  
To William Langley, yeoman of the Princess's chaundry.  
To Jeremiah Gregory, yeoman of the field to the Princess.
- 1645, Nov. 21. Plate delivered out of the office of Jewel-house for the service of Henry Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth, by order of both Houses of Parliament, 11th Sept. 1645.
- 1645, Sept. 11th, and }  
1645 6, March 18th. } Delivered for the service of Henry Duke of Gloucester.
- 1646, { Aug. 30th. }  
          { Oct. 29th. } For the service of the Duke of York.  
          { Nov. 10th. }
- 1647, Sept. 29th. Taken out of the Jewel-house in the Tower by order of the Committee of Revenue for the service of His Majesty at Hampton Court.
- 1649, June 22nd. An account, signed by the Earl of Northumberland, of plate lost in the service of the King's children.

Plate delivered out of the Jewel-house of the charge of Sir Henry Mildmay (whose patent as Master began 1618) :—

	Plate to the value of 236,797 <i>l</i> . 10 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> . besides the Duke of Bucks.	oz.	dwt.	grs.
25 July 1618.	Vicessimo quinto Julii xv Jacobi 1618. Given by his Ma <sup>tie</sup> to Conde de Gondemer Amb <sup>r</sup> Ledger from the king of Spaine in gilt plate of severall sorts parte of the charge of Sir Henry Mildmay of the Jewel House . . .	1998	3	1
21 Feb. 1618.	Given by the Queen's Ma <sup>tie</sup> 21 <sup>st</sup> february xv Jacobi 1618 to be presented at the Christening of the Prince Palatine's second sonne one cupp and cover of gold . . . . .	305	0	0

		oz.	dwt.	grs
17 <sup>o</sup> Jacobi 18 <sup>abr</sup> 1618.	Given 18 <sup>o</sup> November xvij Jacobi 1618 to Pietro Contarini Amb <sup>r</sup> from the State of Venice in gilt plate . . . . .	1500	0	0
13 <sup>o</sup> Dec. 1620.	Delivered to Mr. John Aston the king's goldsmith xij Dec. 1620 by warrant from Henry Viscount Mandeville Lord High Treasurer of England and the Vice Chancellor in gold plate . . . . .	827	0	1
Eod <sup>m</sup> die et anno.	Delivered more then by that order in silver plate set with stones and garnished with mother of pearl . . . . .	2818	3	1
22 Marcii 1622.	Delivered xxij Marcii 1622, to Sir Nowell Caron Knt. one of the Com[mis- sioners] of the States from the Low Countries in faire gilt plate . . . . .	503	0	0
2 <sup>o</sup> Maii 1623.	Given the second of May 1623 by the kinge's owne hands to the Ladie Marquesse of Buckingham a cupp of gold and cover enameled with a cupp of Assay suitable oz. 7966 : 3 : 1 . . . . .	14	0	0
2 <sup>o</sup> Maii 1623.	Delivered and given by his Ma <sup>tie</sup> the ij of May 1623 to Baron Dona Amb <sup>r</sup> from the Kinge of Bohemia in fayer gilt plate . . . . .	1504	0	0
16 Nov. 1624.	Given by the King's Ma <sup>tie</sup> 16 Nov. 1624 to one Bonner keeper of the silk- worms, one gilt cupp and cover . . . . .	17	0	0
5 April 1625.	Given by his Ma <sup>tie</sup> to the Earl of Kelly v <sup>o</sup> Aprill 1625 severall parcells of plate used in the Kinge's bedchamber at the time of his death . . . . .	381	3	0
10 Junii 1625.	Delivered to the Kinge's owne hands x Junii 1625 a standish of silver gilt curiously wrought . . . . .	49	0	0
28 Nov. 1625.	Delivered xxviiij November 1625 to the Duke of Buckingham by the Kinge's express coñmands divers parcells of gold plate sett with stones by Indenture under the Duke's owne hand. <i>Valued at least to bee worth the some of 200,000l.</i>			
11 Junii 1626.	Delivered to the King's Ma <sup>tie</sup> and by him given to the Queen xi Junii 1626 one cupp and cover of christall ovall fashion with two lipps and yeares of gold and a ringe of christall . . . . .	27	0	0
Eod <sup>m</sup> die et anno.	Delivered then to his Ma <sup>tie</sup> and by him given to the Queene one bowle of christall with a cover garnished with gold . . . . .	20	0	0
Eod <sup>m</sup> die et anno.	Delivered then to his Majestie and by him given to the Queene a broken cupp of christall with a cover of gold garnished with ffroggs and wasps and dayzies and flowers in the topp of the cover . . . . .	12	0	0
13 September 1626.	Delivered by vertue of the Kinge's L <sup>res</sup> Patents dated the xij day of Sep- tember 1626 to Mr. John Acton goldsmith to the Kinge in silver and gilt plate . . . . .	20,022	0	1 <sup>a</sup>
28 Decem. 1626.	Delivered xxviiij December 1626 to his Ma <sup>ties</sup> own hande a silver standish with a drawer, box and dust box . . . . .	83	3	0
13 Oct. 1626.	Delivered by vertue of the Kinge's Letters Patents dated xij Oct. 1626 to John Acton goldsmith to the Kinge in silver and gilt plate in divers parcells . . . . .	20,003	0	0 <sup>b</sup>
12 febr. 1628.	Delivered to William Kirke, given him by a warrant under the Kinge's owne hand xij february 1628 in silver plate of severall parcells . . . . .	397	19	0.

<sup>a b</sup> The two parcels mentioned two pages back.

		oz.	dwt.	grs.
	Given by his Ma <sup>tie</sup> owne hands to the Queene xxix of September 1629 one faier silver basket of wyer worke with the Kinge's armes in y <sup>e</sup> bottome .	414	0	0
Eod <sup>m</sup> die et anno.	Given then by his Ma <sup>tie</sup> owne hand to the Queene one gilt shipp and cover with a manikin on the topp .	411	3	1
13 Julii 1630.	Given xiiij July 1630 to Collonell Daniell Dumany sent from the Kinge of Sweden one chayne and meddall of gold .	58	8	0
24 July 1632.	Given by his Ma <sup>tie</sup> xxiiij July 1632 to the Lady Mary Crofts in faire gilt plate .	1750	0	0
24 Nov. 1634.	Given by his Ma <sup>tie</sup> warrant dated xxiiij Nov. 1634 to Sir Henry Wotton knt. severall parcells of gilt plate .	715	1	1
	Delivered by his Ma <sup>ties</sup> warrant dated xi July 1638 to Henry Lawton Clerke of the Kinge's Closet two altar candlesticks .	57	3	0
30 April 1641.	Given by the Kinge to the Princess Mary at her marriage with the Prince of Orange a castinge bottle of christall garnished with gold rubies and diamonds and a chayne with letters AR. .	8	0	0

A list for the Parliamentary Trustees to aid them in recovering such of the King's plate and jewels as were outstanding in the hands of various persons:—

23 Nov. 1649.	This Lyst deliv <sup>d</sup> in to y <sup>e</sup> Trustees for Sale of y <sup>e</sup> K. Goods.			
	Plate belonging to y <sup>e</sup> late King, remayning in the hands of the severall persons heerafter mençoned. Taken out of y <sup>e</sup> Jewel-house.			
Indent. May 1635.	Mr. G. Kirke, Gent. of y <sup>e</sup> Robes.	oz.	dwt.	grs.
	A collar of gold of y <sup>e</sup> Order . . . . .	po3.	35	0 0
	A George of gold garnished w <sup>th</sup> dyamonds . . . . .		7	2 2
April 1635.	Sent back from Sweden.			
	A collar of gold of y <sup>e</sup> Order contayninge 23 roses and 23 knotts.			
	A George of gold set all over with faire dyamonds.			
	A lesser George of gold sett all over on both sides w <sup>th</sup> dyamonds.			
	A garter, richly set with dyamonds.			
May 15 1620.	The Earl of Annandell.			
	A silver standish w <sup>th</sup> drawers . . . . .	po3.	78	1 8
	A gilt standish . . . . .	po3.	34	2 0
	One standish of gold presented to y <sup>e</sup> King by y <sup>e</sup> Countesse of Oxford	po3.	35	0 0
	A collar and George of gold, set w <sup>th</sup> stones . . . . .		42	2 2



				oz. dwt. grs.	
One standish of silver	.	.	.	. 78 1 2	) produced.
One gilt standish	.	.	.	. 34 2 0	

14 March 1641.

The Lord Fawkland, Secretary.

A bason and ewer, 2 p <sup>r</sup> of flaggons, a pott, a gilt bole, 2 candlesticks, a salt,	oz. dwt. grs.
12 trencher plates, 12 spoones, 14 dishes . . . . .	pōj. 992 1 0

16 Aug. 1641.

Sir Peter Wich, Comptroller.

In plate and vessels, by y <sup>e</sup> hands of M <sup>r</sup> R <sup>i</sup> Squib, his secretary	.	.	1307 2 0
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20 Dec. 1641.  
Mr W. Rosse and  
Th<sup>o</sup> Grant hands  
for it

The Lord Savile, Tre<sup>r</sup>.

Twenty dishes and one pott	.	.	.	.	.	1089 3 0
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Sir J<sup>o</sup> Burrowes, K. at Armes.

1636.	A crowne of gold	.	.	.	.	pōj. 22 0 0
	A chaine of gold .	.	.	.	.	6 0 0
	A jewel of gold and garnished	.	.	.	.	3 21 17

1628.

The Earle of Dorset as L<sup>d</sup> Chamberlain to y<sup>e</sup> Q.

Three dozen of trencher plats	.	.	.	.	.	482 0 0
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1628.

The Countesse of Dorset, as governess to the y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Yorke.

In plate	.	.	.	.	.	267 1 0
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The Earle of Holland, Groom of y<sup>e</sup> Stoole.

Eighteene silver dishes of severall sorts	.	.	.	.	.	1004 14 0
---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

1619.

Lord Wootton, Ambassador to Venice.

In plate	.	.	.	.	.	715 0 0
----------	---	---	---	---	---	---------

1624.

Sir Isaac Wake, Ambassador to Venice.

In plate	.	.	.	.	.	711 0 0
----------	---	---	---	---	---	---------

The Lord Moreton.

Lent him 6 silver dishes	.	.	.	.	.	261 3 0
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1619.

The Earle of Munmoth.

A rapier hilt chape and handle of gold	.	.	.	.	pōj. 17 1 18
--	---	---	---	---	--------------

To M<sup>r</sup> Th<sup>o</sup> Watkins, for y<sup>e</sup> service of y<sup>e</sup> Prince of Orange.

In plate, 7 trencher plates	.	.	.	.	.	118 0 0
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1619.

To y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Chamberlin Pembroke.

A folding table covered all over with silver plate ingraven. Without weight.

oz.

A gilt standish, with boxes and counters, w<sup>out</sup> w<sup>g</sup>ht.

A fountain of silver gilt cont. a bason with 3 satyrs y<sup>e</sup> one a woman w<sup>th</sup> a  
flagg . . . . . po3. 376 3 0

My lord produceth a full discharge under y<sup>e</sup> hands of Fr. Layton and Aston  
upon y<sup>e</sup> payment of 150*l*. to J<sup>o</sup> Acton.

1645. To y<sup>e</sup> E. of Northumberland and lost in service . . . . . 212 0 0

June 1640.

Mr. E<sup>d</sup> Aston charge an officer in y<sup>e</sup> Jewel-house.

Suffolk cup and cover . . . . .	25	0	0	} In gold, po3.	82	2	0
A cup of assay of gold . . . . .	5	3	2				
A gold salt . . . . .	16	2	2				
A gold cup and cover . . . . .	35	0	0				

And many others, chiefly members of the Household.

*Note at the end:—*Y<sup>e</sup> pticulers dd in to y<sup>e</sup> Trustees, 28 Dec. 1649.

In gold plate . . . . .	314	3	2	} Valued at 1000 <i>l</i> .
In silver plate . . . . .	29150	1	0	

Two statements concerning the royal plate and jewels drawn up in reference  
to the inquiry by the Parliamentary Trustees:—

An Abstract and Collection of Plate taken out of Sir Hen' Mildmay's office of Jewel-house by  
several order & command of K. James & y<sup>e</sup> late K. Charles.

30 Dec. 1620. A warrant to deliver severall p'cells of gold & silver plate appoynted by y<sup>e</sup> . . . . . £ s. d.  
king to be sold. To y<sup>e</sup> valewe of . . . . . 1731 18 0

This was but a remanet of Two other p'cells formerly delivered out, as  
appears by y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> warrant.

1 Charoli 1625. A warrant under the K. hand to S. Hen. Mildmay to deliver to y<sup>e</sup> Duke of  
Buckingham the gold plate set w<sup>th</sup> rich stones Jewels being y<sup>e</sup> cheifest parte  
of y<sup>e</sup> Treas<sup>r</sup> remayning in his hands. To y<sup>e</sup> valewe as is conceived of . . . . . 200,000 0 0  
w<sup>h</sup> was accordingly done. . . . . oz.

2<sup>o</sup> Charoli 1626. A warrant to deliv<sup>r</sup> out of y<sup>e</sup> plate remayning in his charge, to be sold . . . . . 20,000

15 Sept. A warrant to Sir Hen. Mildmay to deliver to y<sup>e</sup> goldsmith plate in his  
20 Jan. 2 Charoli. charge to be sold . . . . . 20,323

Which was done.

3 warrants to Sir Hen Mildmay to discharge several persons	}	E. of Kelly	381	0	0
y <sup>t</sup> had plate in th <sup>r</sup> hands, viz.: . . . . .		Mr G. Kirke	397	0	0
		Hen. Lawton	50	0	0

1634.	Delivered to y <sup>e</sup> Lords Commission <sup>r</sup> & to y <sup>e</sup> K <sup>s</sup> Attorney y <sup>e</sup> names of several persons y <sup>t</sup> had plate in their hands taken out of y <sup>e</sup> Jewel-house to be psecuted in the Exchequer to y <sup>e</sup> valewe of	oz.	10,304
	And in gold plate		90 2 0
1644.	Taken out of Sir Hen Mild: office by order of Parl <sup>t</sup> to be sold to pay y <sup>e</sup> sould <sup>r</sup> at Abbington	lb. wt.	500

	The six Spanish Candlesticks & 500 <sup>l</sup> . w <sup>t</sup> in gilt plate.	oz.	dwt.	grs.
1650.	Delivered in a lyst to y <sup>e</sup> Trustees of plate to several persons	In gold plate	314	3 0
	taken out of y <sup>e</sup> office	In silver plate	29,150	0 0
1651.	An addiconall lyst delivered in to y <sup>e</sup> Trustees of plate belong-	In gold plate	82	2 0
	ing to y <sup>e</sup> office	In silver plate	12,923	0 0

Severall other pcells of gold & silver plate hath been given away by y<sup>e</sup> King's owne hands to y<sup>e</sup> Queene and other ladyes some of w<sup>h</sup> there is no discharge for other pcells may be found discharged in y<sup>e</sup> office rolls w<sup>h</sup> requires a long & diligent search.

There was a great pycon of plate given out for y<sup>e</sup> service of y<sup>e</sup> King in his journey towards Scotland anno 1641. As also at his going away from London to Yorke 1642 w<sup>h</sup> is credebly beleaved was never all set downe in charge upon any pson. Because two of y<sup>e</sup> officers went away, one of them in y<sup>e</sup> lifeguard to y<sup>e</sup> King, the other stayed a while & then met y<sup>e</sup> K at Oxford & there died. So that it is not possible to know what plate or books of discharge hath been conveyed away. Thereby utterly to disable Sir Hen. Mild: from making a pticular accompt.

There have been these severall officers in y<sup>e</sup> Jewel-house since S<sup>r</sup> Hen. Mild: was y<sup>e</sup> M<sup>r</sup> of it. For whose fidelity it is hard to answer.

M<sup>r</sup> Pigeon  
M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Hazard  
M<sup>r</sup> Fran. Layton  
M<sup>r</sup> Car. Mildmay  
M<sup>r</sup> Chelsham

. . . Robinson  
Sir Rob<sup>t</sup> Seymer  
M<sup>r</sup> Cranmore  
M<sup>r</sup> E<sup>d</sup> Aston  
M<sup>r</sup> Wright  
M<sup>r</sup> Acton  
M<sup>r</sup> Williams } Goldsmiths.

Many office books and papers are missinge for in these tymes y<sup>e</sup> office was common to all sorts, it being made a suckling house for y<sup>e</sup> souldery at their first coming to London: and had they knowne of any plate of y<sup>e</sup> King within y<sup>e</sup> office noe question but it would have been judged good plunder.

Sir H. Mildmay after due allowance for waste is charged with 4344 oz. 1 dwt. 0 gr.

13 Oct. 1649. Y<sup>e</sup> Trustees took away all y<sup>e</sup> plate in y<sup>e</sup> Jewel-house at Whithall, Sir H. Mildmay himself being th<sup>n</sup> present.

7 Sept. 1649. Sir H. Mild. letter of command to me to deliver up all y<sup>e</sup> plate in y<sup>e</sup> office at y<sup>e</sup> Tower & Whithall to y<sup>e</sup> Trustees or my keyes.

- 25 Sept. 1649. A warrant from y<sup>e</sup> Trustees to deliv up my keys of y<sup>e</sup> Tower to them I refusing they committed me to y<sup>e</sup> Fleete.
- 18 & 19 Feb. 1649. 2 orders from y<sup>e</sup> Trustees to me to deliver up y<sup>e</sup> office books & records.
19. Ordered that Sir H. Mild. send in y<sup>e</sup> office books & treasure in his hand to y<sup>e</sup> Trustees & that he command his officers & servants to attend them with it.
- 3 Jan. 1651. Orders to Sir H. Mildmay to deliver up y<sup>e</sup> indent<sup>e</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> office.
- 30 Jan. An order to Sir H. Mildmay to deliver up y<sup>e</sup> indent<sup>e</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> office.
- 10 Oct. 1651. An order to Sir H. Mildmay to bring all y<sup>e</sup> books & papers to Trustees.
- 23 Nov. 1652. An order for me personally to appeere & bring in all y<sup>e</sup> Jewel-house books.
- Ult. Nov. 1652. A peremtory order to me to bring in y<sup>e</sup> books.
1641. 26 indent<sup>e</sup> delivered in to Mr Bechamp's clarke of y<sup>e</sup> committee. By their order.

Plate of the late King in y<sup>e</sup> office of Jewel-house for y<sup>e</sup> use of the Counsel of State by order of Parl<sup>t</sup>.

By order of Parl<sup>t</sup> 1649 there was left in y<sup>e</sup> office of Jewel-house for y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> Counsel of State severall parcells of plate to y<sup>e</sup> value of . . . . . 1023 0 0  
 And one great Bible covered with silver gilt valued at . . . . . 0 0 0

The Bible by (the order) was delivered in by order to y<sup>e</sup> Counsell of State.

The other parcels of plate of divers sorts, viz. candlesticks & flaggons. Potts g<sup>t</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> valew of 1023 oz. weare by order of y<sup>e</sup> Counsell dated 3 Octob<sup>r</sup> 1653 given & allowed unto me in liewe of a debt of 1047*l*. 4*s*. 0*d*. due unto me from y<sup>e</sup> late King at Michael. 1649. By an order of Parl. 1649, y<sup>e</sup> Trustees . . . . . £6500 0 0

Plate & jewels of y<sup>e</sup> late K. J. G. Taken out of the Jewel-house by y<sup>e</sup> Trustees at Somerset House & by oth. by ord. of Parl<sup>t</sup> Goldsmiths' Hall . . . . . £3000 0 0

June 1649. Plate for y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> K. child by order of y<sup>e</sup> Committee of Revenue to y<sup>e</sup> La. Leicester for y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> late K. children at S<sup>t</sup> James House & after at Harborrow Castle . . . . . oz. 406 0 0

Oct. 1644. Plate pawned for 3000*l*. to y<sup>e</sup> Com. at Goldsmiths' Hall worth as much more . £3000 0 0

Plate in y<sup>e</sup> hands of severall Lords & other great officers of state servants of y<sup>e</sup> household to a very great valew.

. . . . . oz. dwt. gr.  
 In y<sup>e</sup> Goldsmith's hand, W. J<sup>o</sup> Acton . . . . . 1109 0 2  
 More in a gold chaine . . . . . 40 0 0

As for any other y<sup>e</sup> goods of y<sup>e</sup> late K. reserved for sale I have none in my custody or charge nor know I any employed in y<sup>e</sup> service of his Highness y<sup>e</sup> Lord Protector of y<sup>e</sup> Commonwealth. But I bet there are other goods & plate of the late K. & Q. not yet accompted for, w<sup>h</sup> may be a great releife to y<sup>e</sup> creditors & servants.

Certificates in favour of Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Carew Hervey Mildmay in reference to the royal plate and jewels and an extract from a memorandum of Mr. Mildmay's services :—

Sir H. Mildmay's Certificate from y<sup>e</sup> Trustees.

These are humbly to certifie that Sir Henry Mildmay K<sup>nt</sup> Master of y<sup>e</sup> Jewel-house according to the Act of Parl<sup>t</sup> for sale of y<sup>e</sup> late King's goods hath caused to bee delivered unto us Trustees the King's & Queen's crowns & also one other crowne called Edward the Sixt, likewise gold & silver plate with divers vessels of christall & aggotts &c. belonging as aforesaid valued by us at 20,320*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*; together with 15 parcells of rich plate w<sup>h</sup> we are certified was by order of Parl<sup>t</sup> dd. into Gouldsmith's Hall for y<sup>e</sup> securinge 3000*l.* in money for y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> publike w<sup>h</sup> were by his faithfulness and care preserved in y<sup>e</sup> late times of trouble: he hath likewise paid into y<sup>e</sup> treasury for sale of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> goodes y<sup>e</sup> sum of 1001*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* in full satisfaction for y<sup>e</sup> plate as he is Master of y<sup>e</sup> Jewel-house beeloning to his table: he hath also cheerefully taken great paines in searching & causing to be searched y<sup>e</sup> books of y<sup>e</sup> said Office for indentures & charges of plate owing by divers late Courte officers & severall other persons & caused them all to be delivered unto us amounting unto 54,759 ozs. 1 dwt. 0 gr. in silver & gilt plate & 373 ozs. 1 dwt. 0 gr. of gould plate in y<sup>e</sup> performance of w<sup>h</sup> wee humbly conceive he hath done soe careful & considerable a service to the co<sup>m</sup>onwealth as we cannot but in justice present it he hath likewise further so exprest his uprightness and sinccere discharge of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> trust voluntarily taken his oath before us that beyond what he hath dd. to the two late Kings & for their use & by order of Parl<sup>t</sup> unto us & paid for in money & returned in plate hee knows not of one ounce of plate y<sup>e</sup> vallew of it owinge to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> office.

. . . . you that he hath delivered in by order from y<sup>e</sup> Parl<sup>t</sup> in . . . . .

Apparently a rough copy, with several erasures and interlineations.

Certificate presented by the Trustees Somerset House to Parl<sup>t</sup> that Carew Mildmay hath served the late King & Parliament in y<sup>e</sup> office of y<sup>e</sup> Jewel-house for 25 years last past, the which place was worth unto him for wages, bord wages, liverye, & New Yeare's gifts, y<sup>e</sup> summe of 129*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* of constant allowances, besides all other just belonging to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> place. We likewise certify that he hath not received any money . . . since Michael<sup>s</sup> 1640, nor any part of his wages since Mich. 1642, so that there is due unto him at Mich. 1649, 1,047*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* Wee likewise certify that wee found in his custody in y<sup>e</sup> Lower Jewel-house in gilt & white plate to the value of 16,496*l.*, which is employed for y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> state. All which plate we humbly conceive was by his care & faithfulness preserved, he staying & faithfully serving y<sup>e</sup> Parliament when the rest of his fellows deserted the Parliament & went to y<sup>e</sup> Kinge. All w<sup>h</sup> hath made his trust, charge, and attendance farre greater since the beginning of y<sup>e</sup> warre than formerly. As for his good affection to & suffering for y<sup>e</sup> Parl<sup>t</sup> we humbly certify y<sup>t</sup> hee from y<sup>e</sup> beginning freely served y<sup>e</sup> Parl<sup>t</sup> in all eminent places of trust in y<sup>e</sup> country, both civil and military, at his owne charge, readily observing all their orders & co<sup>m</sup>ands & voluntarily bent upon the proposi . . . 1642, in money & plate y<sup>e</sup> summe of 382*l.*, besides large contribution for England & Ireland. Lastly, wee humbly certify y<sup>t</sup> hee hath not only served y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid Treasury of plate, but hath by his industry

by their orders  
before 1642.

Somerset House.  
Feb. 1649.  
Vera Copia.

& paines discovered great quantities of plate concealed in y<sup>e</sup> hands of others to a considerable valew, w<sup>h</sup> may be recovered for y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> State.

Michal. 1642. 155 4 0.  
,, 1649. 892.

JOHN FFOCHE.	JO. HUMPHRY.
HENRY CREECH.	H. MILD MAY.
RALF GRAFTON.	JO. BELCHAMP.
DAVID POWELL.	J. LEMPRIÈRE.

Certificate of Coll. Mannering.

I doe hereby certify whome it may concerne that Carew Harvey al<sup>s</sup> Myldmay of Marke in y<sup>e</sup> county of Essex Esq. did upon severall Ordinances of Parl<sup>t</sup> lend these severall somes following: On y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1642 by plate & money payd to the treasurer att Guildhall the some of 60*l*. for which he had a receipt in the name of M<sup>r</sup> Francis Harvey his sonne . . . . . £ s. d.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> August 1642 by horse and armes valued by the commissary at 30*l*. for which hee tooke a receipt in the name of the said ffrancis Harvey . . . . . 30 0 0

On the 8<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1642 by plate and money paid att Guildhall in the name of y<sup>e</sup> saide ffrancis Harvey al<sup>s</sup> Mildmay . . . . . 50 0 0

And on 19 June 1644 for releivinge of the countyes of Radnor Hereford & Monmouth in the name of the s<sup>d</sup> ffrancis Harvey al<sup>s</sup> Mildmay the some of . . . . . 2 0 0

All of w<sup>h</sup> s<sup>d</sup> severall somes of money together with interest due for the same amountinge to the some of 190*l*. 14*s*. 6*d*. were doubled upon the Ordinance of Parl<sup>t</sup> of 16 Nov. 1646 for the appointing the sale of Bpp<sup>s</sup> lands ffor w<sup>h</sup> the treasurers appointed by the s<sup>d</sup> Ordinance have given their receipt as by severall certificates & receipts remaininge in my hands appeares. Given under my hand 14 Jan<sup>ry</sup> A.D. 1649.

ROBT. MANNERING.

Extract from Mem. of C. H. Mildmay's Services.

"That your Petičon<sup>r</sup> was then necessitated often to petition the pretended Par<sup>t</sup> & their Counsell for his arreares of wages due unto him before his Matie's death out of such monie as was raised by y<sup>e</sup> sale of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> plate and goods (as other of y<sup>e</sup> poore servants of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>). And after 4 yeares solicitation 3 Oct. 1653 it was ordered by y<sup>e</sup> then Counsell that y<sup>e</sup> plate reserved for their owne use should be allowed y<sup>r</sup> Petičon<sup>r</sup> w<sup>h</sup> was valewed att 250*l*. in lieue of 1047*l*. w<sup>h</sup> was made appeare to be then dewe w<sup>h</sup> your Petičon<sup>r</sup> was forced to accept of rather than to loose all. But as soone as this glorious sunshine day appeared in bringing his Royal Ma<sup>ty</sup> to his Throne, y<sup>r</sup> Petičon<sup>r</sup> immediately resolved to bring again into y<sup>e</sup> office of Jewel-house y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> plate in kind. And that verie same day he brought in a good part of it, and had taken order for pviding y<sup>e</sup> remainder with all speed had not Col. Halley and Coll. Loe peured a warrant from his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to receave y<sup>e</sup> value of y<sup>e</sup> plate in money —"

*State Papers, Dom.* 1653, July 25, "Council of State" (19); Oct. 3, "C. of S." (7).

Two receipts for clocks taken from the Jewel-house at Whitehall, by order of the Parliamentary Trustees, soon after King Charles's death:—

18<sup>o</sup> die february 1649.

Rec<sup>d</sup> then by vertue of this order one Clocke with divers mo<sup>o</sup>ns, two Globes, one Case for a Clocke and a Glasse, one Bullet Clocke, one Clocke with five Bells & one other Clocke, all w<sup>h</sup> were lyeing at Whithall late in the charge of David Ramsy. Witness our hands,

THOMAS GREENE.

JOSEPH MASHAM.

Rec<sup>d</sup> the 18<sup>th</sup> of febr<sup>y</sup> one other Clocke in a Bow by vertue of this order w<sup>h</sup> with those above men<sup>t</sup>ioned were all that were left at the Jewel-house by the above-named David Ramsey.

THOMAS GREENE.

JOSEPH MASHAM.

In *Archaeologia*, vol. xv. p. 271, was printed (from a MS. then (1804) in the possession of the Rev. John Brand, Secretary of the Society) a series of Inventories, forming a return made by the Parliamentary Trustees in or soon after 1649. The documents are as follows :—

(1.) An Inventory of the Plate in the Lower Jewel-house of the Tower in the custody of Mr. Carew Mildmay, taken 13th Aug. 1649. (2.) An Inventory of the Plate and Jewels, including the Regalia, in the Upper Jewel-house of the Tower, in the charge of Sir Henry Mildmay, taken 13th, 14th, and 15th Aug. 1649 (exclusive of an Inventory of the Plate in the Whitehall Jewel-house, delivered to the Council 3rd Aug. 1649). (3.) An Inventory of part of the Regalia removed from Westminster to the Tower Jewel-house. (4.) An Inventory of part of the Regalia in an iron chest in Westminster Abbey. (5.) An Inventory of several things remaining in Somerset House Closet in Mr. Browne's charge.

In *The Antiquarian Repertory*, ed. 1807, vol. i. p. 79, was printed an "Inventory of Plate in the Upper Jewel-house in the Tower, 15th August, 1649, from a loose sheet among Mr. Aubrey's MS. Collections relating to North Wilts, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxon. Communicated by T. Astle, Esq., F.R.S. and F.A.S." This document is but another form of part of the *Archaeologia* Inventory (2) in *Archaeologia*, vol. xv. p. 285. The King's crown, the Queen's crown, King Edward the Sixth's crown, the globe, two sceptres, and the bracelets, are described and valued, and this note is added :—"N.B.—Colonel John Dove, of Surry, kept, in his chamber at the Middle Temple, the book of the King's plate and jewels. I transcribed this of the crown, for which Mr. Simpson, &c. were much beholden to me when King Charles the Second's crown was made.—J. AUBREY."

Among the Mildmay papers are drafts or notes from which this return was made up, incidentally informing us that the Whitehall Jewel-house, as well as the Lower Tower Jewel-house, was in the charge of Mr. Carew Mildmay, and

that the return was delivered to the Council of State in 165 $\frac{2}{3}$ . There is also the following memorandum :—

Y<sup>e</sup> Trustees names who took away the King's plate out of the Jewel-house, both at Whitehall and in the Tower.

25 Sept.  
1649.

Geo. Withers.	}	The keys of y <sup>e</sup> Tower to be deliv <sup>d</sup> to th <sup>m</sup> .
Anth. Mildmay.		
P <sup>h</sup> Carteret.		
J <sup>o</sup> Forche.		
J <sup>o</sup> Belcampe.		
Hen. Creech.		
Ralph Grafton.		
David Powel.		
J <sup>o</sup> Humphreys.		

There are some points of difference between the account of the regalia in the Mildmay MS. and that in the fifteenth volume of *Archaeologia*, p. 271, and one quoted by the Rev. W. L. Blackley in a letter in *The Times* of Jan. 29, 1879, from a MS. of G. Vertue in the British Museum.

The King's and the Queen's crown are the same in all three lists. But a crown called King Edward's crown, valued at 428*l*. 16*s*. 8*d*. is only mentioned in the Mildmay list. The gold however of this crown is of exactly the same value, 73*l*. 16*s*., as a "small crown" in the *Archaeologia* list; and the jewels in King Edward's crown are of the same value, 355*l*., as the diamonds, &c., which are given as a separate item in the Vertue list.



IX.—*New Points in the History of Roman Britain, as illustrated by Discoveries at Warwick Square, in the City of London.* By ALFRED TYLOR, Esq., F.G.S., &c.

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Read May 5, 1881.

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I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this Paper is to describe certain Roman remains discovered in the year 1881 during extensive alterations on the premises of Messrs. J. Tylor and Sons (of which firm the writer is a member) in Warwick Square, adjoining the last of the three successive Roman walls of London, and near one of the gates of that wall (Newgate), and to draw therefrom certain conclusions as to the state in which Britain was found by the Romans, and the nature and object of their occupation. The more important of the points discussed are six in number. They relate to :

1st. The origin and growth of London, which the writer thinks was primarily built to guard the ferry across the Thames.

2nd. The British origin of the art of lead-working, a department of ancient British industry hitherto unnoticed.

3rd. The Roman occupation being connected principally with the development of an ancient mineral industry, to supply the wants of Imperial Rome, and not with mere agricultural colonisation.

4th. London being not so much the shipping-port of Britain as the junction of land-routes to and from the shipping-ports north and south of the Thames.

5th. Bembridge, Culver, and Brading district, in the Isle of Wight, being for the first time identified as the Ictis of the ancients, formerly an island and peninsula, and by name and position as part of the Island Vectis answering the description of Diodorus Siculus.

6th. The Mithraic or Pagan character of certain symbols, many of which have been referred to the Christian religion.

A great deal of the argument turns upon the question how far the prehistoric state of Britain affected the historic civilisation of the Romans.

## II.—SITE OF THE ROMAN REMAINS.

The ground upon which the Roman remains were found became the property of the great Warwick family in the Middle Ages.<sup>a</sup>

The Warwicks resided in Warwick Square and Warwick Lane during their great prosperity, on the east side of the city wall, which bounded the property. They had on the west or south-west of the wall a turret or tower,<sup>b</sup> by which they had access from Warwick Lane to the street outside, now called the Old Bailey, without going through the "new" gate. In rebuilding we have erected a campanile tower 150 feet high near this spot, on a line passing through the centre of Cheapside. The city wall, bounding the Warwick property, passed through what is now the prison of Newgate.

The ground is about 1,360 yards west of Gracechurch Street, which, I suggest, was the first western boundary of London. Its level is 59 feet 4 inches above Ordnance datum.

Its section is represented in Pl. X. and is as follows :

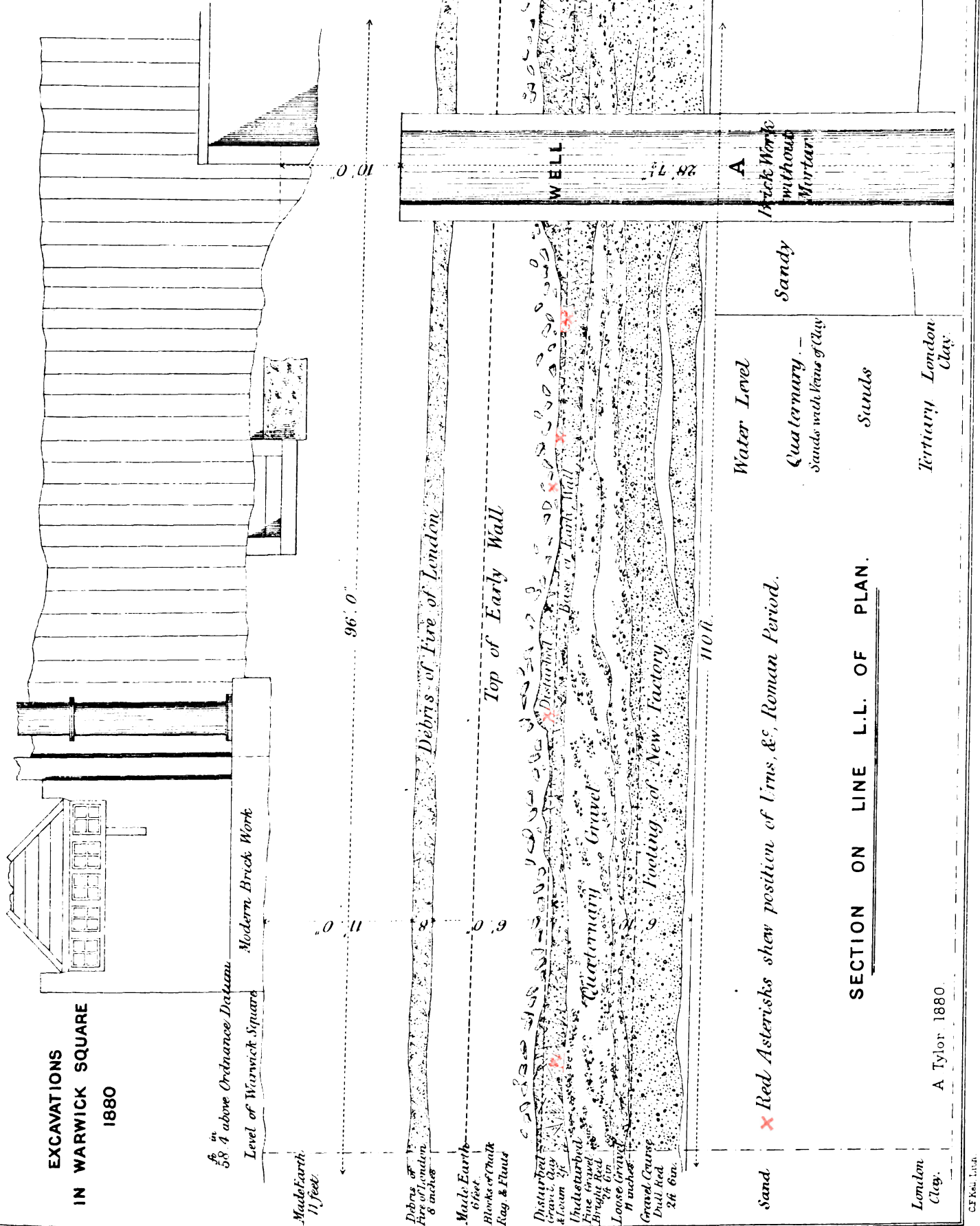
	Feet.	Inches.
1. Made earth . . . . .	11	0
2. Débris of the Fire of London . . . . .	0	8
3. Made earth, with blocks of chalk, rag, and flints at base . . . . .	6	0
4. Disturbed gravel, clay, and loam . . . . .	2	0
5. Quaternary gravel, undisturbed, fine bright red . . . . .	2	6
6. Loose gravel . . . . .	0	11
7. Dull red gravel . . . . .	2	6
8. Quaternary sands with veins of clay . . . . .		
9. London clay . . . . .		

The chalk is here at a depth of 256 feet.

<sup>a</sup> The site passed to the College of Physicians in 1667, and afterwards to the Tylor family in 1827. It adjoins property which belongs to the Church, and has been let at the same rent for 600 years, fines being taken.

<sup>b</sup> See MSS. in Record Office, 15.

# EXCAVATIONS IN WARWICK SQUARE 1880



OF NEW LONDON

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.

Depth of Chalk in Well, General Post Office, 256 ft.



The débris of the Fire of London, No. 2, forms a very regular dark bed about 11 feet from the surface.

The Roman remains were found at a depth of from 18 to 19 feet, in disturbed gravel No. 4. This gravel, known as the "covering bed,"<sup>a</sup> had been temporarily removed in order to get at a bed of brick-earth which lay immediately beneath. At the rebuilding of St. Paul's, traces of brickworks were found, and St. Paul's probably stands on the site of an old temple. This brick-earth the Romans had evidently, by the position of the moved gravel, worked out at this spot for brick-making, the gravel being thrown back again when the brick-earth was removed, as is the practice to this day in modern brickfields. Doubtless the bricks made here were used on the spot for the Roman wall. This gravel yielded no prehistoric remains, but a flint implement of palæolithic type was found in gravel of the same age in Gray's Inn Lane, early in the last century, and was figured in Hearne's Pref. to Leland's *Collectanea* (1715), vol. i. p. lxxv. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. (1860), Pl. xvi., and Evans's *Stone Implements* (1872), p. 522. The brick-earth is continuous with and of the same age as that containing elephant's bones at Clapton, Highbury, Balls Pond, and Hackney. On the surface of this bed I found a palæolithic flint implement at Highbury, in the year 1868,<sup>b</sup> associated with freshwater shells, among which at Hackney was *Cyrena fluminalis*, now living only in the Nile and India.<sup>c</sup> In No. 4 we have, therefore, the original level of the land at the time of the Roman occupation, and the bones of our conquerors are buried in a deposit which belongs to the human era, but to an early portion of it. The base of the Roman wall rests upon this stratum.

### III.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMAN REMAINS.

The Roman remains were in all cases carefully noted with respect to position and depth, and their sites are marked upon the accompanying Plan, Pl. XI. and upon other sections which are not published.

*Stone Vase.*—A magnificent stone vase (Pl. XII. fig. 4) was found at the point marked 8 in the Plan. Its height is 2 feet 3 inches, and the handles are formed out of the solid stone. It is peculiarly interesting as showing clear proofs of having been turned in a pole<sup>d</sup>-lathe. It was found close to a leaden ossuary.

<sup>a</sup> So named by A. Tylor, *Geol. Soc. Quart. Journ.* 1869, vol. xxv. p. 96.

<sup>b</sup> Evans's *Stone Implements*, p. 525.

<sup>c</sup> Discovered by S. B. J. Skertchley in 1865.

<sup>d</sup> A survival of the form of bow-drill, or fire-making drill.

The material seems to be a porphyry or serpentine, but I have seen no vase of similar shape or of similar material in any museum, and although a similar rock, the *verde di prado*, is largely used at Florence and elsewhere, no ancient examples of porphyry or serpentine vases are known, except of Egyptian origin. As a similar rock occurs near St. Davids, the vase may be of British origin and workmanship. It was full of calcined bones and contained a coin of Claudius I., described in Appendix A. Mr. A. W. Franks of the British Museum points out that this coin being a solitary one indicates the date, and so we are enabled to fix the date of this and the adjoining interments at some time in the first century.

*Leaden Ossuaria.*—Four leaden ossuaria were found near to the stone vase. They are all made of lead, cast flat and bent round into cylinders, the edges being joined by the blow-pipe without solder. Writers speak sometimes of ossuaria being formed of rolled lead, but this is an error, rolling being a process unknown to the ancients, and first invented in England in the sixteenth century. The Romans, however, in common with many ancient races, perfectly understood the art of casting and use of the blow-pipe.<sup>a</sup>

The coffin or ossuary represented in Pl. XII. fig. 2,<sup>b</sup> has upon it an ornament known as the *reel pattern*. This pattern is found on all the coffins of this age that I have seen, and is always so placed as to act as a support or rib, and is, furthermore, cast hollow to save metal. Its position strengthens the flat top or sides of the coffin. In modern engineering the lattice-bracing is placed diagonally in all cases, and is clearly a survival from Roman work; but even barbarous races design lattice-work of bamboo for bridges, &c., upon true mechanical principles. This ossuary has a figure of Sol in his quadriga cast on the outside, and it contained a glass vase of the best workmanship, with double handles (fig. 1). The vase was full of calcined bones.

Plate XII. fig. 3, is a leaden ossuary, ornamented with plain circlelets.

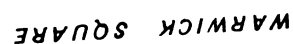
The chief interest of another leaden ossuary lies in an eight-rayed star, cast on the inside of the flat bottom (Pl. XII. fig. 5). This, I shall presently endeavour to show, proves the coffin to contain the bones of a worshipper of Mithras.

A number of funeral urns of ordinary Durobrivian or of Upchurch pottery

<sup>a</sup> For leaden coffins and ossuaria, see Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, 1854, vol. iii. p. 46, and 1880, vol. vii. p. 170. Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, Rouen, 1854, and *Mémoire sur les Cercueils de Plomb dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age*, Rouen, 1870-71.

<sup>b</sup> Found at "1 and 7" on the plan.

## PLAN OF



Scale  $\frac{1}{16}$  Inch to a Foot.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.*





were found on a similar level to the above relics, and coins dating from A.D. 40 to A.D. 330 occurred in the disturbed gravel, a list of which coins will be given in Appendix A.

About a hundred feet west of where these relics were found, we some years ago came upon a piece of Roman brick-work, part of the city wall. There were numerous foundation walls of chalk with bricks from older walls of the eighth and ninth centuries.

The above, and three specimens of true Samian ware, are the most important of the relics.

#### IV.—ROMAN LONDON.

*a. Its Strategic and Commercial Position.*—The date of the founding of Roman London is not exactly known. We may assume from the evidence of the roads through Kent and Hampshire and to the North of England, and from the absence of special London coins or traditions of its existence, that Londinium was practically a new town founded some time after the visit of Julius Cæsar to Britain, B.C. 54. The first site of Roman London appears to have been fixed at the most convenient point for passing, and guarding the ferry or bridge over the Thames, and for keeping up the direct communication between Eboracum (York) and Rome. Thus from its important strategical position Londinium became the southern capital. York, probably an old British city, was doubtless chosen as the northern capital because it commanded the northern lead district of Alston Moor, and some southern Yorkshire lead-mines. The great road between Italy and the Roman Wall of Antoninus in North Britain was through these two cities *via* Gessoriacum (Boulogne) and Dubris (Dover).

*b. Leadenhall Market.*—That the first great building in London was close to the ferry over the Thames, where old London Bridge stood at the beginning of this century, is proved by the recent discovery of a Roman basilica. This was placed close to Gracechurch Street, and nearly at right angles to the Thames at London Bridge. The foundation walls were 12 feet thick, 130 feet long, 40 feet apart, and there was a circular apse at the southern end. This spot afterwards became the site of Leadenhall Market; hence we see that the Roman forum or market has been continued to our time, for it appears that this particular piece of ground has never been private property.

*c. Growth of the City.*—No funeral relics have been found between Gracechurch Street and the Tower. This area then seems to me to have been the site of the original city, whose western boundary wall we may thus place near Gracechurch Street, and the eastern wall near Tower Hill.

The second extension of the city westwards was to Wall-Brook, an increase of 455 yards, and the third and last to the Old Bailey near Ludgate and Newgate, a further increase of 930 yards. It was part of this third wall that was found on our premises.

The third wall was so placed as to command the Fleet Valley, and to make the Fleet river, then an important stream, serve as a moat to the Roman city wall. Most probably a Roman castle stood at the angle where the rivers Thames and Fleet join, forming the western protection of the city, just as the Tower commanded the eastern extremity. Nothing now remains to mark the exact site of this western castle; but a Norman fortress, Baynard's Castle, probably succeeded<sup>a</sup> the Roman structure in the same place. This castle is well known to history, a small portion still remains in a building now occupied by the Carron Company, and gives its name to Castle Baynard Ward. The importance of the Fleet river in early times is proved, *inter alia*, by the fact that a great battle was fought for its possession at Battle Bridge (near King's Cross Station) in British times.

The city of London thus laid out remained practically the same as late as the time of Elizabeth, in whose reign there were as many houses within the city walls as without them.

The date of the third wall cannot be fixed with certainty, but from inscriptions and other evidence we know that a great many Roman stations were founded in Britain during the first century. The extension of the area within that period occupied would necessitate a larger capital; therefore I presume the third wall was built near the Old Bailey not long after these funeral remains were deposited, between A.D. 50 and A.D. 100.

It is remarkable how the Roman wall (only passed by a few gates) and the street plans laid down by the Roman road-surveyor turn even modern city traffic in the old directions. Traffic for the north often has to traverse London in an east and west direction owing to the lack of streets running north and south. Within this century have several diagonal streets been constructed, such as King William Street and Queen Victoria Street. Lombard Street itself is not

<sup>a</sup> E. Freshfield, Esq. F.S.A. drew the attention of antiquaries to this fact.

Fig 1 Glass.

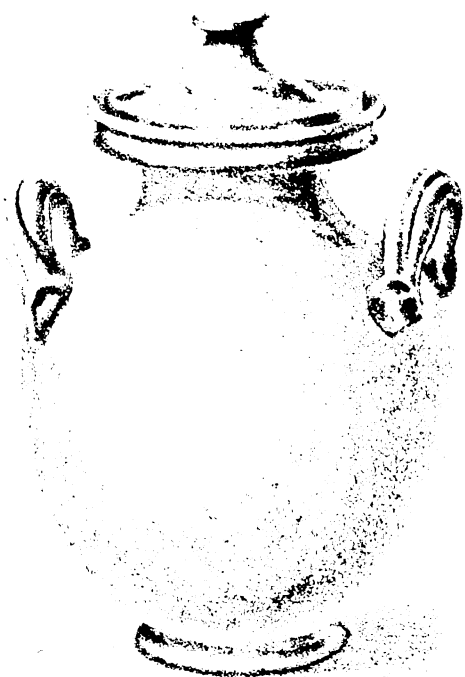


Fig. 3 Cast Lead



Fig 2 Cast Lead

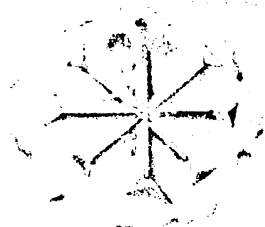
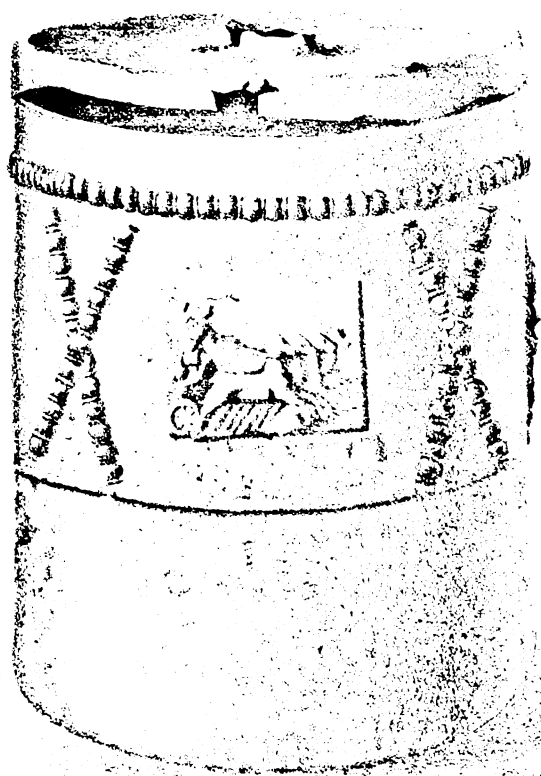


Fig 5.

Fig 4 Stone.



CF Keil Ltd

OBJECTS FOUND NEAR WARWICK SQUARE LONDON, 1881.

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Roman, but most of the streets and lanes leading to the Thames from Watling Street and Cheapside, and also those parallel to the river, are evidently Roman. Only in the last century the City Road was made to displace St. John Street Road, the principal mediæval northern route for traffic. Until the year 1829 the mail traffic from the General Post Office in Lombard Street went up the narrow streets Old Jewry and Coleman Street to the north, and thence by the (new) City Road. This continued to be the case until Princes Street and Moorgate Street were made after 1832, when London Bridge was opened.

In Chaucer's time the same Roman route is shown; for the pilgrims started from the Tabard Inn, situated on a Roman street, and travelled on the Roman road to Canterbury. It may here be recorded that Chaucer's father's house had a garden bounded by the Wall-Brook, which though formerly a winding stream is now a straight sewer. Chaucer's house was on the north side of Thames Street, three doors west (as I consider) from the corner of Wall-Brook. Surely an inscription might be placed on the birth-place of the father of English poetry.

Formerly the northern and north-eastern traffic went either by Gracechurch Street to Tottenham by the old Roman road, or, starting from east to west, it left the city by one of the western gates, Ludgate or Newgate, and thence by St. John Street to the north. The western traffic also passed by Newgate or Ludgate.\* There was no break in the city wall between Aldersgate and Newgate, and this made the east and west streets within the city very important. The large block of ground without carriage-way about Austin Friars is a consequence of the Roman wall affording no passage.

As late as the year 1563 the Moorfields had no main road through them, and were open for the public. They were the lungs of the City, but were unfortunately allowed to be built over about a century ago by the carelessness or cupidity of the civic authorities. In consequence of the city authorities forgetting to give notice to renew the lease the estate has passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Moorfields joined the Shepherd and Shepherdess Fields, which were open until fifty years ago. Had they been preserved as open spaces they would have been of the greatest value.

We thus see how much of Roman influence still pervades London.

\* A corruption of Fludgate or "Fleet" Gate.

## V.—ROMAN COMMERCE ON BRITISH LINES.—BRITISH LEAD-WORK.

*a. Early British Commerce.*—The specimens of lead-work discovered in Warwick Square are amongst the most remarkable ever found, and I desire now to state the grounds upon which I claim this work as an indigenous British industry. It will be advisable, first, to give a brief sketch of the commercial relations of the Britons at the period of the Roman occupation.

The earliest written record of British commerce is afforded by Pytheas of Marseilles, a Greek traveller who lived B.C. 330, and visited Britain. We learn from the quotations of parts of his diary that long before the Roman period the British occupied themselves with various industries, and, as he describes the British-made chariots, we may assume that the smelting and working of tin, lead (copper?), and iron were British occupations, as these metals are used in the manufacture of chariots and weapons. The Western Cassiterides,<sup>a</sup> so frequently mentioned by old writers, were almost certainly our Cornish metal districts, though this explanation has been doubted.<sup>b</sup>

We know also that the Britons had a good gold coinage of Greek pattern a century before Julius Cæsar landed on our shores. This discovery was made by Mr. John Evans, although previous antiquaries had approximated to the truth, rather, however, by shrewd guesses than by precise scientific evidence. If the Britons in B.C. 150 were able to institute a gold coinage, there can be but little improbability in suggesting their ability to execute such lead-work as is now in question. Nor were British manufactures of a slight character, for Pliny himself ordered a chariot from Britain in the first century.

Indeed the civilisation of the Britons at this time was of a much higher character in some respects than has till recently been supposed. It is true our ancestors had no alphabet of their own, but borrowed from the Scandinavians and others. They may have had a later literary civilisation than the mainland; but metallurgy is an art that in early times was quite independent of literature. The Runic alphabet was itself of Greek origin, indicating an early communica-

<sup>a</sup> I consider hereafter fully the precise point, that the tin from Cornwall was conveyed to Brading Harbour, where larger ships could be loaded dry at low water in Vectis (the Isle of Wight).

<sup>b</sup> Elton, *Origins of English History* (1882). [He distinguishes the tin trade with Cornwall from that with the Cassiterides, which was of a much higher antiquity, p. 37.—H.S.M.]

tion between Greece and Northern Europe. Indeed, as Isaac Taylor points out, a close affinity existed in dress, games, ornaments, and even in numerals, amongst the European races from Northern Scandinavia and Finland to Etruria. Gold ornaments seem, in Europe, to have been first made in Etruria,<sup>a</sup> whence they were spread by trade throughout the Continent. Tin, lead, and copper may have gone by land-routes on high and dry ground to the east coast of Britain, and then by sea to the mouths of the Elbe and Vistula, and thence by various routes to Italy, in exchange for gold. The numerous relics found in interments, &c. along certain routes prove that there was a close and early connection by land between the amber-producing countries without gold and the gold-producing amber-consuming countries of the south; just as the compass was first used on land and then transferred to the sea, so the travelling was at first as much as possible by land, gradually to be superseded by coasting-vessels.

*b. Early British Commerce as guiding Roman Organisation.*—Having thus indicated the comparatively advanced state of civilisation of the Britons, let us see if the distribution of the centres of population help us to show that the metallurgical wealth of Britain gave it the importance it possessed in the eyes of the Romans.

In the first place we notice that a large majority of the British towns were situated near the sea or on rivers, showing that water-carriage was the prevailing mode of transit. Thus we have Colchester on the Stour, Durobrivæ on the Medway, Peterborough (Caistor) on the Nene, York on the Ouse, Chester (Deva) on the Dee, Lydney, Gloucester, and a town on the site of Uriconium, on the Severn, Caerleon (Isca) on the Usk, Southampton and Portsmouth on arms of the sea, and so on.

The Britons did not make durable roads between their towns, but rather tracks from the high ground where they resided, to the shipping ports, with, however, several notable exceptions. A British road, according to Mr. S. Skertchly (author of *The Fenland*), has become durable accidentally. This road led from Earith in Huntingdonshire, across part of the fen-land of Cambridge-shire to Downham Market in Norfolk. By an accident, water, charged with carbonate of iron, or with iron made soluble by the presence of carbonic acid gas, has percolated through the stones of the road to the wattles or fascines below, put there by the Britons to keep the road dry, and the iron has preserved the wood. The oldest builders in stone preferred stones for building squared

<sup>a</sup> Probably on the Egyptian system of working gold into wires and soldering with the blow-pipe.

instead of making joints with mortar. This was the case with the earlier Egyptian and Cyclopean architects. The Britons at Worle Hill, Somerset, built enormous walls of unhewn stones without mortar. Then was made the grand invention of building with good mortar, and a cement invented that would set under water for building constructions. I have seen part of a Roman road in an exposed position on a cliff at the edge of the sea-shore, near Palazzo Arengo, Mentone, in the Riviera, in which the stones are still held together by the good mortar or cement. This was, however, on limestone, which was a favourable soil. The British roads were not constructed on a good plan, and this accounts for their disappearance in most places. Still the presence of a great number of chariots in the war with Cæsar proves to a certain extent the existence of a system of British roads. The duration of the steps and road or path at Worle Hill proves that the Britons understood paving. The superficial head or drift at Worle Hill in which the British stones are imbedded has fixed the stones in a natural bed, and saved them from the destruction by weather which other British roads have suffered.

The Romans, on the other hand, made a complete system of permanent inland roads to connect the Continent with the military posts, London, York, Colchester, Chester, Uriconium, Gloucester, Winchester, Silchester, Porchester and Brading, and chief trading towns with each other. At commanding points along or near these roads the Romans constructed camps, and so placed their legions as to protect the centres of metallurgical industry and the roads leading to them. Thus Silchester commands the approach to five roads within a distance of thirty miles. The Romans did not originate the sites of many new seaport towns, or towns on large navigable rivers, and when they did so, as in the cases of London, Richborough, Uriconium, Rochester, Canterbury, it was for strategical reasons or indirectly connected with the traffic with minerals, the great industry of Britain during the Roman occupation as it was before it. We have negative evidence also. Hibernia was mentioned in the earliest accounts as an island close to Britannia. It had as early a civilisation, but not sufficient minerals to tempt a Roman occupation; gold was however worked in Ireland. A building of stones fitted without mortar, containing a bee-hive cell dwelling, still stands on the shore at Valentia on the west coast of Ireland as firmly as it did when Cæsar landed in Kent.

Brading is only lately known to have been a Roman station, to which I now add the term "port." I adduce evidence for the first time to show that this district near Bembridge was really the port of Ictis, "the Channel" (Gwyth),



*divortium*, being now silted up. The Romans followed more ancient routes of commerce, just as the moderns followed the Romans.

It is a curious instance of the survival of Roman ideas that the founders of Benedictine Abbeys a thousand years later laid out all their thousands of monasteries on one plan. They erected buildings in squares for each special purpose, in the same relative positions, somewhat similar to that followed in laying out such a Roman town as Silchester; the church occupying the place of the pagan basilica, and being somewhat similar in shape.

It is even now easy to understand the considerations which regulated the Roman road-makers in their route from the Kentish ports (Sandwich, Deal, Dover and Lymne) to London and thence to York and Scotland. Cæsar landed between Deal and Walmer, and there was also hard ground for a good road nearly all the way to London from the coast.

The point of departure, between Deal and Walmer, was probably taken to commemorate the spot where Julius Cæsar landed. (See Napoleon's *Cæsar*, and map.)

The Roman road-surveyor first drew a line straight from near Walmer to the site of Canterbury; then, after bending a little near Rochester ferry, it resumed the original direction, and continued it to the Thames at Greenwich; then it passed the Bricklayers' Arms, Kent Road, where a Roman villa has been found, and thence to a point near St. George's Church, Southwark. From this junction-point the great North Road started in one direction across the Thames, where London Bridge now is, the Western Road in another, to Pontes (Staines).

Silchester (which possesses a basilica three times the size of that found near Leadenhall Market, and thus seems to have been thought of more importance strategically than London) was forty-five miles from London, and was on high ground away from river or forests, and not far from the junction of a number of land-routes. It was on dry ground on which wagons could travel. It was convenient for roads giving access to Cornwall for tin; to the Mendips for lead, copper, or brass; Gloucester and South Wales for iron; and from these termini there were routes passable to the east and south coasts of England. Silchester commanded the junction of the great south-south-west route from London to Brading in the Isle of Wight to the south-west routes from Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*) and Salisbury (*Sorbiodunum*) and the great western route to Gloucester (for South Wales) and Bath (for the Mendips). Silchester is supposed to be the *Callea* of Antoninus, but is not described with sufficient exactness by the makers of the Roman Itineraries. They probably missed Silchester because it is a little off the

main roads, and they would not expect a large Roman camp at such a short distance from other Roman towns, where travellers would find lodgings, and where a main Roman road passed directly through the town.

I was much struck by the isolation of Silchester in driving to it 16 miles from Steventon Manor,—a mediæval building which has been partly rebuilt by Mr. Henry Harris, a gentleman belonging to a family that were settled at Fordingbridge three centuries ago. I feel certain that the Roman Silchester could never have been built for trade, that its purpose was simply for a garrison. At Steventon Manor are some interesting Runic remains not described, showing there was once an early settlement on this open and high land. "The Vine," which has been supposed to be Vindomis, is between Steventon and Silchester.

Silchester British amphitheatre is 45 miles W.S.W. of Charing Cross, and is distant from the following Roman stations thus:  $8\frac{1}{4}$  miles S.W. by S. from Reading,\* the junction of the rivers Thames and Kennet, where stood a great abbey in the Middle Ages, no doubt on the site of an ancient temple;  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles N. of Basingstoke market-place, which is on a straight line between London and Exeter; 29 miles from Guildford; 25 miles from Staines (Pontes); 29 miles from Winchester (Venta Belgarum); 45 miles from Salisbury (Sorbiadunum); 13 miles from Spinæ (Speen); 47 miles from (Porchester) or Portus Hamonis; 47 miles from Chichester; 25 miles from the Roman portways at Andover; 48 miles from Bittern, Southampton (Clausentum); 55 miles from Stans Ore Point, four miles E. of Lymington in Hampshire. Silchester Camp has a large area, enclosed by a Roman wall, which has still the gates perfect, and, according to the frequent rules of settlement, is close to a British fort or amphitheatre. The population of the district is now insignificant.

This position, taken with the great size of Silchester, and the regularity of its plan, proves that, like Uriconium on the Severn, commanding the Denbighshire lead districts, Silchester was built to command a number of the great junction roads, so as to be a most convenient station suitable for strategical purposes, and for the important purpose of protecting the land and sea transit of the products of the metallurgical industries of Cornwall, of the Mendips, and of South Wales, on the passage to the Continent or to London.

*c. Identification of Ictis at Brading and Bembridge.*—We must remember that the first British tin-commerce with the Continent in prehistoric times moved, either on packhorses or by chariots, in hilly districts, towards Essex,

\* Roman remains are rare at Reading, but in laying pipes some pieces of Roman pottery have been found.

Norfolk, and Suffolk, that is, in the direction from west to east; then by sea from the eastern British shipping-ports, of which Camulodunum on the Stour, close to the Thames (Colchester), is a type, to the Baltic. Thus at first the "tin" used to find its way partly by land and partly by sea from Cornwall to the mouths of the Elbe and Vistula, there to meet the land caravans of the Baltic amber-commerce from the north of Europe to the south; for amber from the Baltic first reached the Mediterranean markets by the land routes to the Adriatic, Etruria, and other parts of Italy. When the land route throughout Gaul was established, the tin had to go across the English Channel, not to Brittany across the rougher and wider part, but to Normandy. The Isle of Wight was nearer Normandy, and a suitable entrepôt for the coasters meeting the fleets of ocean trading-ships. The transshipment was described by early writers as taking place at Vectis, six days' sail from Cornwall. In reference to the coasters, we must remember that the early descriptions of British boats show they were coracles made of skin, and not of planks like those of the Carthaginians or Greeks, and were therefore more fitted for coasting than for crossing from Cornwall to Brittany or Spain. The British mariners were probably less advanced in the art of navigation than the foreign traders who came to Vectis.

Iron and lead were also valuable British productions, and could easily reach the Isle of Wight by coasting vessels or by the British or Roman roads *viâ* Salisbury or Winchester to the Beaulieu River mouth, where there is a remarkable point near the end of the Southampton Water. Stans Ore Point is said to be named from Stannum (tin). It was about two miles from Stans Ore Point to Gurnard's or Gurnet's Bay in the Isle of Wight. This name may be a corruption of the Roman name Gubernalis, as Stans Ore seems to retain the Roman word Stannum. Needs Ore Point is another curious name. Gurnet's Bay in the Isle of Wight is a little to the west of the mouth of Medina River. Medina is evidently a corruption of Medium Insulæ, not of Medium only, as has been supposed. Thence the road passed by Carisbrooke<sup>a</sup> to Brading near Bembridge (Bem Briga), a part of what has always been known as the Island of Vectis. Witgar is found in the old Saxon Chronicles. Vectis is a bolt or security, equivalent to Gwyth, meaning the safe channel. I suggest that this island with a channel may refer to what is now Brading. Nodes Point, opposite Bembridge Point, may derive its name from the British divinity Nodens, as may perhaps Needs Ore. At all these places named, Roman remains have been found on sites probably British.

<sup>a</sup> With-gara-burh, Saxon.

I would remark that all ancient roads to British shipping-ports were of course British. The immense quantity of chariots possessed by the Britons at the time of Cæsar's invasion indicate that they took the trouble to make roads. Without roads it would be impossible to get over the low, often clay, grounds, or to reach the seaports in chariots, as the seaports were constantly on the clay. I have shown that the height of ground depends often upon stability of the material forming the land to resist the action of rain, in a Paper, *Geol. Mag.* 1875, p. 466.<sup>a</sup> The stability of limestone, chalk, and sandrock is so much greater than clay or sand, and these hard rocks form the cliffs and high ground generally, and the clays the valleys or low grounds. If we walk along a coast section the height of the cliff varies according to the stability and instability of the rocks, sands, or clays cropping out.<sup>b</sup> Consequently it was impossible to reach the shipping-ports, which are all at low levels, without roads, as the clay and sand would be impassable for chariots. Of course pack-horses could travel where chariots could not, but if the main roads were made for chariots they would be equally good for pack-horses. The Romans established stations every eight or ten miles, and no doubt the British had some like arrangement.

The making of roads with wattles was known to the Britons, and the term Watling Street records the process used. The British roads were crooked and poor compared with the Roman roads, which were straight and paved and often formed of stones cemented together. There is however a British paved path near Weston-super-Mare. As I have remarked, the roads over the low clay grounds were probably made by the Britons with wattles or fascines.

I would suggest that the reason why nearly all British forts and habitations are on high ground, and generally why that population lived on dry soil like chalk or rock, was because of the great stability or stand-up of sand, rock, chalk, and the comparative dryness of the soils on chalk and limestone. British chariots could run on mere tracks, also chariots and pack-horses could travel without difficulty on the grass or on imperfect roads on these rocky hills, which are smoothed naturally, sometimes by denudation. The Britons did not clear the low ground from trees, perhaps partly from superstitious feelings, and their chariots could only move with difficulty over the clay valleys. The

<sup>a</sup> Also *Geol. Mag.* 1872, p. 487.

<sup>b</sup> Also during and some time after the Glacial Epoch the Baltic was dry and the amber-bearing pines drew on what is now the sea-bed. The Solent was also dry, and Spain and Ireland united, forming a real Celto-Iberian period, when area and height of sea and land differed much from the present.—A. Tylor, *G.S.Q.J.* 1869, vol. xxv. p. 9.

stability of the clay was small, and therefore the stand-up of the clay above the sea or river level was low, and sub-aërial denudation was rapid in the Pluvial period.\* Then there was difficulty with valley streams, while the high rocky ground was comparatively free from large watercourses. I have never seen any satisfactory explanation of the peculiar tendency of our predecessors to settle on high ground, and therefore offer these suggestions.

The researches of Mr. Petrie, F.S.A., published in the *Memoirs of the Anthropological Institute*, 1878, page 112, on Metrology, prove that the Britons possessed accurate knowledge of geometry; that they built their camps often in ellipses with scarcely any error. I showed in the *Journ. Anthro. Inst.* 1876, vol. vi. p. 125, that the constructors of Stonehenge possessed considerable astronomical knowledge, by the correct position of the pointer or man-stone in relation to sunrise on Midsummer Day.

What have been described often as "the four Roman roads" turn out to comprise at least two British roads.

We are certain, therefore, that the Britons really possessed a considerable amount of civilisation before the Roman invasion. They made their own steel for their scythes. As Mr. Henry Seebohm saw a Siberian in 1880 produce steel in a forge, this is not too difficult an operation for the discoverers of the art of smelting tin and lead to be able to accomplish.

Amber was a most important article of commerce in prehistoric times. It was only produced in the north of Europe, and it passed by land-routes all over the south. The early importance of amber in Europe is proved by its presence throughout the long neolithic age, in so many European burials of importance, long prior to the bronze age. Amber was only an ornament, although the most important, while tin was an absolute necessity in Europe in the bronze age for use in the founding of bronze celts, for service as weapons in the chase and war. These European land-trading routes I have mentioned, combined with short sea or coast-routes, are no doubt much older than the long and hazardous sea-route from Cornwall to the Mediterranean *vid* Gades and Marseilles, as is proved by the voyage of Pytheas to seek a new sea-route to replace the existing land-route.

The position of Brading in Vectis (the Isle of Wight) opposite the coast of Normandy would be a point from whence very conveniently goods and travellers by the short sea-route from Britain combined with the land-route *vid* Normandy could reach Italy. They would proceed to a point not far from the mouth of the Seine for the journey to Marseilles. Brading has a good sheltered harbour

\* So named by A. Tylor, *G.S.Q.J.* 1868, vol. xxiv. p. 105.

under Bembridge Point, in fact an excellent entrepôt harbour. We may infer that in prehistoric times this town must have been chosen as a safe place for the transhipment of the tin, lead, and iron brought by coasting vessels or by land-route from Cornwall, the Mendips,<sup>a</sup> and South Wales and North Wales. The land-routes start from the north and west of Britain and Wales, running as much as possible on high ground through London, from Gloucester and Bath and Cornwall, and by Silchester to Porchester<sup>b</sup> (Portus Hamonis), or cutting off a corner *vid* Salisbury and Southampton, and thence to the Isle of Wight by short sea passage. Brading probably received the metals there for carriage to France and North Germany. Classical writers particularly mention Ictis as a port for transhipment. The Itium of Strabo probably means only a term for a Channel port.

No harbour could be more convenient than Brading, in Vectis or Ictis, for the purpose of receiving coasting vessels and for exchange or transhipment of cargoes. St. Michael's Mount is a steep rock and does not form a harbour at all, or answer in description the accounts of early writers as an island at high water.

The Rev. E. Kell (*Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* 1866, vol. xxii.) brought much evidence to bear on this point, of Ictis being Vectis, or Isle of Wight, but did not observe that at the south-eastern part of the Isle of Wight was a tract five miles by one and a half miles, and till lately a peninsula at low water, and an island at high water. He had a theory like Sir H. Englefield, and Mr. T. Webster previously, that the Solent had been excavated since the third century B.C. No doubt the Solent is geologically a comparatively modern sea excavation, but there is no proof that this excavation occurred in historic times. There are no islands answering to the description of Diodorus Siculus on the coast of Britain except Bembridge and Thanet.

Then there is another argument that should be considered, viz. the circumstance that early trade was never direct but local, of which we have proofs in Diodorus Siculus. To imagine that traders from Gaul went to Cornwall is against probability. Also we know, by the position in Egypt of so many towns lying so closely together and of such great size, that these towns must have been

<sup>a</sup> See Tacitus respecting a British prince who amassed great treasures by transporting metals to the Channel coast from the Mendips.

<sup>b</sup> The name of Portus Hamonis near Porchester has an aspect as of a foreign trading port. There may have been a foreign settlement there to match that on the Seine, or between the Seine and Ache rivers. Ptolemy writes of *Trisantonis*, probably the Celtic name for the original town *Antonis* situated near where Southampton now stands, the Celtic *Tre* becoming Latin *Tris* in error.

built by the means of wealth gained by local and not by direct trade. Even in Egypt it is probable that distant direct trade was unknown till a late period. Each great town on the Nile, I consider, traded with one just below it, because goods could be stopped or taxed. Goods were constantly transhipped and a new start made at every town on the route in the infancy of trade. The only possible explanation of the position and of the great wealth of Egyptian towns situated on great trade routes, but which produced no exchangeable product, is that at each stage transhipment occurred, and a profit was taken. This custom would explain the origin of many great towns and their greatness. The extensive, but until lately unknown, Roman settlement, in a remote place like Brading Harbour, can only be accounted for from Brading, near Bembridge,<sup>a</sup> being a shipping-port for the Continent. There is no other opinion possible or probable.

This part of the Isle of Wight also answers to the description of Ictis in Diodorus Siculus.<sup>b</sup> I venture to assert that an arm of the sea divided the Isle of Wight in comparatively recent times into two unequal parts, and that it has been filled up, like the channel which divided the Isle of Thanet from the rest of Kent. This is shown on some ancient maps.<sup>c</sup> There is now only recent alluvial soil between Sandown Bay and Brading Harbour. The Bembridge and Culver district was therefore in ancient times a peninsula at low water and an island at high water. That an arm of the sea once passed right through the east part of the Isle of Wight has also been proved by the levels, and by the sea in storms in historical times passing right over the embankment of Sandown Bay to Brading Harbour, and temporarily covering the new dry land.

Celtic Gwyth, or Gwith, is in Latin *divortium* = channel, and it is to this channel now closed that the ancients referred to, as I believe. White Cliff Bay, near Sandown, is conspicuous for lofty chalk cliffs called Culver, from the headland of Sandown Bay. These white cliffs would be a good mark for vessels entering the *divortium* or channel in Sandown Bay. They were no doubt originally known as "Gwyth" Cliffs, the Channel Cliffs, afterwards corrupted into White Cliff at their westernmost extremity. The channel mouth in Sandown Bay was 350 yards wide, and at the other extremity, at the Brading Harbour entrance, near Bembridge Point, was 500 yards wide.

<sup>a</sup> When the termination *briga* appears in the Celtic name of a place, it means always a town on the bank of a river or estuary. It is often changed into *bridge*.

<sup>b</sup> See a literal translation from the Greek of Diodorus in Appendix B.

<sup>c</sup> The maps in the Latin Ptolemy, 1525. The groyne at Sandown was made previously to 1670.

The term islands is used in the old accounts of Ictis as well as island. Vectis on this point of view was an island, having a peninsula at low water at its south-east corner, and therefore the term islands might be employed to describe it. According to Nennius there were three islands, Orc (Orkney), Gwyth (Wight), Menaw (Man). Also in Celtic, we read Ynys yr Wyth, the Island of the Channel. The splendid Roman remains described by Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., and Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1880-1, show that the usual custom by which a substantial town was placed by the Romans on the site of an old badly-built but well-situated British trading-town, is followed near Bembridge and at Brading.

For these reasons, that is from geographical position, from philological name, and from history, we may infer that the Brading district was referred to as Ictis, and was a station from whence tin was shipped from the earliest period, long before direct trade with the Mediterranean was established, *i.e.*, before 330 B.C.<sup>a</sup>

Having now seen the arrangement of Roman roads near and towards London, we return to London itself.

It seems certain, from the position of the Thames dividing the south-east of England from the east, and the difficulties of crossing it, that the site of London was chosen on a low cliff or stratum of gravel, on the bank of the Thames, as a most convenient point for crossing the river, so as to connect Rome with the northern and western metal-producing and shipping districts of Britain. This view is confirmed if we consider the route to Gaul; from Vectis to the Seine was the general route before that from Dover to Gessoriacum (Boulogne) was established. The shorter sea passage to Gaul afterwards no doubt interfered with the longer one, as it does now. The fact that British towns are so often on estuaries or large rivers, and that no three British towns lie in a straight line, proves that the Dover route was a new one. The position of Canterbury, Rochester (Dur-o-brivis, literally "on the river banks"), and London, three towns built on a straight Roman road, proves their foundation to be due to other circumstances than those which determined the position of old British towns. We must consider two of these three towns as of purely Roman origin, directly connected with the formation of the Roman road from Dover to London. They were all towns at junctions, and intended for the protection and use of through traffic more than for local traffic.

<sup>a</sup> A remarkably marked ingot of lead has been found in the Isle of Wight.



The Roman potteries were established at Upchurch, near the Medway. The greatest recent discoveries have been made by Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., at Sittingbourne and Milton, British and Roman pottery being found in large quantities here between Rochester and Canterbury.

Three Roman roads,—one from Rutupiæ (Richborough), the centre of the oyster trade, another from Portus Lemanis (Romney Marsh), and another from Dover,—joined together at Canterbury.

To show that the Romans followed the British plan of keeping the routes on high and dry ground, I would point out that the direct route from Portus Lemanis to London would be along the valley of the Weald, on the Weald clay which carries the present South Eastern Railway. This country was then thickly wooded, and the strong clay soil was unsuitable for good roads in the opinion of the Roman road-surveyor; who therefore avoided the direct route to London and made a straight road on high dry ground (chalk principally) from Portus Lemanis to join the Dover and Richborough routes at Canterbury. Thence the road was nearly straight to London, as I have stated.

We may infer from the action of the Romans in these matters that for communication with London they contrived to have the choice of all the Kentish ports, and also of Regulbium, &c., so as to be able to cross the Channel to Kent in almost any way, and get to London by land. The Downs were made accessible by the road from London to Canterbury. They were then a refuge for shipping, and their great importance for the same purpose down to the present time is a testimony to the skill of the Roman surveyors.

*d. Lead in Britain.*—The importance of the mineral wealth of Britain to the Romans having been pointed out, it remains to bring forward my suggestion that working in lead, or plumbing, is a native industry.

In the first place it is a known law that metallurgical discoveries are made in metallurgical districts, and to this hardly an exception is known. It is highly improbable that the art of plumbing should be an exception to this rule. Therefore we may assume that the art arose in a lead-producing country. The question would be only, which was the most probable of the lead-producing countries.

Now Spain and Britain were almost the only two lead-producing countries known to the Romans at this early period. Italy may have had a few mines. As the Britons had long before developed their tin industry themselves, we may infer they were capable of applying a similar process to another material. It is not likely that Britons obtained the knowledge from Spain, but rather the contrary; neither is it likely that the art was of Italian origin, for Italy has little lead.

Unfortunately (probably for this reason) classic authors make but slight mention of lead, as it never came within their notice. When we examine the leaden funereal relics from England, Italy, France, and even Sidon, and the pipes for conveying water, the similarity of shape, design, and mode of manufacture, is so striking as naturally to suggest a common origin.

The collection at the British Museum proves that the names of Emperors were placed on pigs of lead, but this by no means proves that the metal was smelted or moulded at first by the Romans. I have, however, more direct evidence, for upon a piece of a cast lead coffin found at Caistor, near Peterborough,<sup>a</sup> and upon cast lead pipes discovered near Lyons,<sup>b</sup> I find two British names, Cunobarrus upon the former and Cantius (the Kentishman) on the latter. The workmanship upon the Lyons pipes accords with that of the Roman pipes at York. We may then conclude, I think, from the evidence and reasons which I have adduced, that the art of smelting and working lead is probably a native British industry, and taught by the conquered to the conquerors.

#### VI.—ROMAN SYMBOLISM.

*a. Symbols on the Ossuaria.*—The lead-work found in Warwick Square is peculiarly interesting from the character of the symbolism which it presents. The Romans were in the habit of decorating their tombs with representations of games, legends from the Odyssey, Bacchanalian subjects, or mythic secular scenes, and were in this respect in strong contrast to the Egyptians, who invariably selected subjects relating to death, to funeral rites, or to religious or moral tenets.

It is singular that all the ornamentation on the leaden ossuaria found in Warwick Square is more allied to the Egyptian than to the Roman practice.

Plate XII. fig. 2, for instance, possesses the reel pattern, which appears to have been, as usual, a rude representation of thread-reels, and most probably had reference to the thread of life. Upon this coffin is also a representation of Sol in his *quadriga*, a symbol of the race of life; perhaps also a suggestion of the solar myth of the sun making his journey from light to darkness, here signifying the passage from the light of life to the darkness of death. The circlets in the

<sup>a</sup> There is a fine collection of Roman remains from Caistor at the Dowager Lady Huntly's at Orton-Longueville, about three miles from Caistor.

<sup>b</sup> This specimen is in the British Museum.

ossuarium (fig. 3) appear to be the well-known emblem of eternity. This emblem is often modified into a serpent, such as is figured upon the leaden coffin-lid of a lead interment at Colchester.

*b. Mithraic Worship.*—The most interesting ornament, however, is an eight-rayed star, cast upon the *inside* of the flat bottom of a leaden coffin (Pl. XII. fig. 5). This emblem I believe to be Mithraic, and advance the following arguments in support of that idea.

In the first place, there is no *primâ facie* objection to the supposition that we have here the remains of a worshipper of the Persian deity, Mithras, for the Roman legions included many foreigners. Further, many Romans were numbered among the votaries of Mithras, of whom we may mention Severus, who was adopted by Eliogabalus (sometimes written Heliogabalus), a priest of Mithras. He was made Cæsar A.D. 221, and took the names of Marcus Aurelius Alexander. After the death of Eliogabalus he was made Augustus and Emperor, A.D. 222, when he added Severus to his name. He was assassinated in A.D. 235, near Mayence; his cremated relics were preserved in the superb urn known as the Portland Vase, now in the British Museum. Upon the base of this wonderful work of art Mithras is represented adorned with a Phrygian cap. The fact of finding these emblems in so public a spot as the tomb or mausoleum of Severus demonstrated the prevalence of Mithraism in Rome during the third century.

Mithras was the Persian name for the representative of the principal solar deity. In Sanscrit the word *mitra* signifies a friend, and the Reg-veda contains hymns to this "friend of the gods." In the Zend-avesta, the parallel work to the Reg-veda, the name is spelt Mithras. The Mithraic idea arose in Assyria or in some preceding nation in that part of Asia. It appears in the cuneiform writing of both the Semitic and Aryan races, and spread from Persia to Phœnicia and Egypt, and thence throughout the world. As a monotheistic religion it gained ground in Rome, and almost superseded Polytheism, and hence was a rival to Christianity, whose Fathers have consistently decried it. Like Gnosticism, it was a secret religion, and left no manuscript records. Hence it is that Gibbon, relying upon written evidence, was unaware of the prevalence of Mithraic faith in Rome; but since his time much light has been thrown upon this question, especially by the discovery of a catacomb containing interments of many Mithraists. In Britain the faith was so common among the Romans that more altars were dedicated to the Invincible Mithras than to any other god.

The eight-rayed star has been claimed as a Christian emblem, and as a modification of the Christian Chi-Rho. I shall now proceed to show, firstly, that the

star is Mithraic and not Christian; secondly, that it is not a modification of the Chi-Rho, but a solar symbol; and thirdly, that the Chi-Rho itself is of Pagan, not Christian, origin.

In the first place it must be remembered that not a single manuscript, sculpture, inscription, coin, altar, or any sign peculiar to Christianity, has ever been found of earlier date than A.D. 320. This is admitted by the best recent authorities. There are many Pagan emblems which were adopted by the Christians, like the Chi-Rho on coins of Ptolemy Euergetes 200 B.C.

If then the star upon this ossuary be Christian it is the only piece of Christian work extant before the fourth century; hence very strong evidence is needed to establish the point. But the evidence is in reality all the other way.

The earliest trace of the use of the eight-rayed star as a solar emblem that I know is an Assyrian example. Two Assyrian Gods revolve the sun, represented as an eight-rayed star, by means of a rope. The date of this relic is B.C. 840, or a thousand years before the date of our coffin, and 800 years before the Christian era. Three figures are seen adoring the solar luminary.

Another example shows Assyrian trappings with standards, spear-heads, and crosses, and an eight-rayed sun. A third example is an Assyrian sculpture, also in the British Museum. It is a rounded boulder stone, on which are the mystic signs of an eight-rayed sun, a head-dress, the crescent moon above it, and a turtle. The opposite side of the stone is covered with a cuneiform inscription recording a conveyance of land, and the occult signs are evidently a ratification of the compact by calling upon the gods to witness and protect the rights of the purchaser.

Space will not permit me to trace this star down to Roman times, though the evidence is clear and convincing, similar stars being of common occurrence on Gnostic gems or Mithraic sculptures down to and after Roman times. Many such gems have been found in Egypt, Greece, &c.

From prehistoric times the custom of wearing magical rings as talismans to avert the evil eye has prevailed, and was known to the Greeks as *dactylomanteia*. The early Christian bishops were as devout believers in magic or necromancy as the Pagans, and adopted similar means of preservation from its fell influence. Hence St. Clement of Alexandria, about 200 A.D., recommended his flock to wear rings with Christian instead of Pagan characters engraved upon them. Some of these rings are still preserved, and certain specimens have the inscription *Spes in Deo* associated with the eight-rayed star. Thus we see how Mithraism was continued into the Christian era.

The supposition that the Chi-Rho is derived from the eight-rayed star is contradicted by illustrations like Pl. XII. fig. 5, from Warwick Square, in which the rays are straightened and crossed with a straight line. But figures from Mithraic or Gnostic gems show the same modification, and clearly have no association with any Christian emblem. Other signs upon these curious talismans are derived from the Demotic alphabet, and are evidently the originals of many of the Freemasons' signs, such as are seen in Roslyn Abbey and other mediæval buildings all over Europe. This connection of Freemasonry and Mithraism receives further confirmation from the fact that in the old faith there were ten mysteries as there are ten grades in the Masons' craft.

*c. Origin of the Chi-Rho (X P).*—The Chi-Rho has been confidently claimed as a Christian symbol, but though it was certainly adopted by the Christians it is of Pagan origin. This is at once proved by its occurrence upon a coin of Ptolemy III. B.C. 230. The same symbol is also seen upon a medal of the date A.D. 250, to commemorate a Pagan prefect whose title was probably Archon.

In the time of Constantine, A.D. 320, the Chi-Rho was definitely adopted as a Christian emblem, appearing as a standard on many of his coins. It is also frequently found on coins of Decentius, A.D. 350.

What the original signification of this symbol was we do not know, but Constantine invested it with a new meaning, and it soon became popular. In some of the catacombs of the fourth century we find it combined with the ordinary cross.

*d. Christian Symbolism.*—Just as the X P was adopted from Paganism, so other emblems were taken over by the early Church. The cross itself is a case in point. M. de Mortillet has brought forward evidence of this fact, and I have found fresh testimony. A Maltese cross is represented as adorning the breast of an Assyrian priest, and on an Assyrian standard we find a perfect cross. A Maltese cross is shown on the pediment of a Phœnician temple, represented on the obverse of a Phœnician or Celt-Iberian coin, bearing the name of the town of Abdera, in Spain, in Phœnician characters. An ordinary cross is also represented, formed by a cross-bar on one of the pilasters within the portico of the temple. The head of a Roman Emperor on the reverse dates this coin and shows it to be pre-Christian.

The ceremony of baptism, or initiation, is again older than our era. Thus an engraved stone, in which the eight-rayed sun appears, represents a neophyte about to be baptized, simulating death in order to come to life a new being. Many sculptures, indeed, represent sprinkling or baptism before the time of

Christ, as an important religious ceremony of initiation. Among the Australian aborigines at the present time, according to Howitt's paper read in February, 1884, at the Anthropological Institute, one part of the ceremony of initiation is still to cover a living man with leaves in a shallow grave, a survival of pre-historic practices.

#### VII.—CONCLUSION.

From the study of the Roman remains found in Warwick Square, and researches arising therefrom, we have been able to draw the following conclusions :—

1. That Britain was chiefly valued by the Romans for its mineral wealth.
2. That London is of Roman origin, and that its site was chosen for strategic reasons to guard the ferry over the Thames, which was also the junction of many of the northern with the southern land-routes in Britain.
3. That Leadenhall Market occupies the site of the ancient Forum, and has never been private property.
4. That three successive walls from north to south mark as many westward extensions of London during the Roman occupation.
5. That the Roman roads were made primarily to afford ready access by land to the mineral districts, and to connect shipping ports, and their strategic value was a necessary consequence.
6. That the consideration of the reasons for which particular Roman roads were constructed may be deduced from external evidence and from analogy. This points to the conclusion, therefore, that Diodorus Siculus referred to Bembridge and Brading Harbour as the Ictis of the ancients, a point that has not hitherto been suggested.
7. That the art of plumbing is probably of British origin as well as that of smelting lead.
8. That Mithraism is represented by the emblem, an eight-rayed star on one of the leaden ossuaria discovered in Warwick Square.
9. That the eight-rayed star is a Mithraic symbol representing the sun.

10. That it is not the prototype of the Chi-Rho, and is not of Christian origin.

11. That the Chi-Rho is of Pagan extraction.

Some few other points are detailed in the text, and in conclusion I may add that these interesting relics, which were preserved on our premises in Warwick Square, are now deposited in the British Museum under the charge of Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A.

My brother Mr. William Henry Tylor inspected the excavations daily. I attended to the position of the Roman remains being duly and clearly marked on the plan and sections, which were prepared under my direction. Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., visited the excavations constantly, and put many broken specimens of pottery together. Mr. White, F.S.A., cleaned the leadwork himself with the greatest care. Mr. H. S. Milman, Director S.A., has translated the succeeding passage very carefully and given other valuable assistance.

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## APPENDIX A.

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### LIST OF COINS, COUNTERS, AND TOKENS, FOUND IN WARWICK SQUARE.

#### ROMAN COINS.

##### *Claudius I.*

*Obv.* Head of Claudius, laureate, to left. *Leg.* TI . CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG . P . M . TR . P . IMP .

*Rev.* Pallas Promachos to right; in the field s . c .

A dupondius, struck A.D. 41. Found in stone vase (p. 4).

##### *Nero.*

Head of Nero to right. *Leg.* IMP . NERO CAESAR AVG . P . MAX . TR . P . P . P .

*Rev.* Victory flying to left and bearing a shield, inscribed, s . P . Q . R . ; in the field, s . c .

A second brass or dupondius, described in Cohen,<sup>a</sup> vol. i. No. 253, p. 206.

<sup>a</sup> Cohen, H., *Monnaies Frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, vols. i.-viii, 1860-1868.

*Vespasian.*

Head of Vespasian to right. *Leg.* IMP . CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG . COS . IIII.

*Rev.* Fortune standing to left, holding a branch of olive and a cornucopia ; in the field s . c .

*Leg.* FORTVNAE REDVCI.

A second brass described in Cohen, vol. i. No. 296, p. 304, but much worn, the inscriptions being scarcely traceable.

There are two other dupondii of this emperor but the types of the reverses cannot be made out.

*Trajan.*

Bust of Trajan to right, laureate. *Leg.* IMP . CAESA . NERVAE . TRAIANO AVG . GER . DAC . P . M . TR . P . COS . V . P . P .

*Rev.* Abundantia standing to left, holding ears of corn and a cornucopia : at her feet a modius ; behind her a prow ; in the field, s . c . *Leg.* S . P . Q . R . OPTIMO . PRINCIPI. A large brass or sestertius (See Cohen, vol. i. No. 452, p. 471). Struck between A.D. 104-110.

A second brass of the same emperor, with the type of the reverse, Roma seated on shields holding a Victory and her spear, and placing her left foot on the head of a Dacian. *Leg.* S . P . Q . R . OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (See Cohen, vol. ii. No. 419, p. 466.) The inscription on the obverse cannot be read.

*Hadrian.*

A large brass of this emperor, with the type of the reverse so much rubbed that it cannot be identified.

*Faustina Junior.*

A second brass, the type of the reverse of which cannot be identified.

*Commodus.*

A large brass of this emperor with the type of the reverse Fortuna ? seated to left. The inscription on this piece cannot be read and the type on the reverse is somewhat uncertain.

*Tetricus or Victorinus.*

Four copper denarii, probably of these Emperors, two of which have on the reverse figures of Providentia and Victory. These coins were struck in Gaul.

*Maximian Hercules.*

Bust of Maximian to right, laureate and wearing armour. *Leg.* DN . MAXIMIANO . P . F . S . AVG.

*Rev.* The genius of Rome holding a patera and a cornucopia. *Leg.* GENIO POP . ROM .  
*Ex.* PLN .



A follis struck in London between the years 306-312.

There are, besides the above, twenty-two coins or fragments of coins, all of which appear to be of a date anterior to the last piece, with the exception of a small *nummus*? of Constantius II. struck about A.D. 340, but of which the type of the reverse cannot be made out.

#### MODERN COINS.

These consist of a farthing of Charles II., dated 1679; halfpennies (two) of William III., dated 1700; a similar coin of George I., dated 1718, and a farthing of 1724; four halfpennies of George II., two of which are dated 1740 and 1741; and several much worn tokens of the end of the last century. There is also a Spanish dollar of Charles IV. of base silver, struck for currency in the American colonies; and a four-kopec piece, Russian, date 1762.

#### COUNTERS.

Most of these, fourteen in number, were struck at Nuremberg during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Some of them bear the names of the moneyers, Wolfgang Laufer, Mathew Laufer, and Hans Laufer, the first two being of the sixteenth century. The legends on those pieces are GOTES REICH BLEIBT EWIG; GOTES GABEN SOL MAN [HABEN], &c.

#### TRADESMEN'S TOKENS—SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

##### *London (Blow Bladder Street).*

ROBERT . BOYS . IN . 1654 = Three sugar loaves.

Rev. BLOW . BLADDER . STREET . = R . B .

##### *London (Custom House Quay).*

IOSEPH . DREW . AT . THE . BLAK = A negro smoking.

Rev. BOY . ON . CVSTOM . HOVSE . KAY = HIS . HALF PENY.

#### GREENHITHE.

RICHARD . SMITH . = A goat's head and a shoemaker's knife.

Rev. IN . GREENHIVE . KENT . = R . <sup>s</sup> .

#### NEWMARKET.

RICHARD . SKELSON . IN ROSE . = A large Rose.

Rev. ALEY . IN . NEWMARKET . = R . <sup>s</sup> . M . HALFPENNY .

## APPENDIX B.

According to Diodorus Siculus (v. 22), the dwellers at Belerium, a cape of Britain, are especially fond of foreigners, and through intercourse with foreign merchants are civilised in their habits. They mine and smelt tin. (2.) "And beating it up into knuckle-bone shapes they carry it to a certain island lying off Britain named Ictis; for at ebb-tides, the space between drying up, they carry the tin in plenty by waggons thither. (3.) (A singular thing happens about the 'near' islands [τὰς πλησίον νήσους] lying between Europe and Britain; for at flood-tides, the strait between filling, they appear as islands, while at ebb-tides, the sea running back and leaving much space dry, they are seen as peninsulas.) (4.) And thence [Ἐντεῦθεν] the merchants buy it from the inhabitants and carry it over to Gaul; and lastly, travelling by land through Gaul about thirty days, they bring down the loads on horses to the mouth of the river Rhone."

On this passage, the portion between commas being a literal translation from the Greek, some remarks occur.

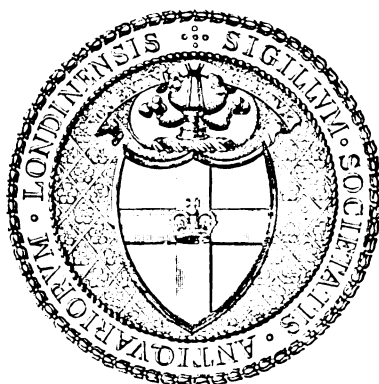
Sentence 3 is a parenthesis inserted by the author on revision, as appears not only from its language but also from "thence," the beginning of sentence 4, referring over to sentence 2. It states generally a tidal feature of the British Ocean, in explanation of the special case of Ictis; a statement which a Sicilian historian, writing for Mediterranean readers, has properly inserted, as showing a strange contrast between the tides of that ocean and those of the inland sea to which he and they were accustomed. Its subject is the *near* islands, that is to say, the islands near both main-lands, as distinguished from any that may be in mid-channel. At the same time it is as explanatory concerning small islands near large islands, as concerning large islands near main-lands; and therefore illustrates the relation between Ictis and its island-peninsula, although not limited thereto.

The land-carriage is described as on waggons in Britain, on horse-back through Gaul,—a description suggesting that the roads of Britain were better than those of Gaul.

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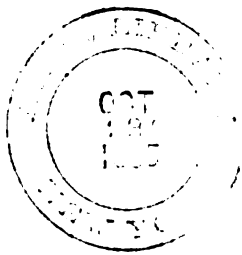
ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR,  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY,  
PUBLISHED BY THE  
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.  
VOLUME XLVIII.



LONDON :  
PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.  
SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE.

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M.DCCC.LXXXV.



18956.

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## CORRECTIONS.

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Page 100, line 19, *for* "III." *read* "IV."

Plate II., *for* "Askos from *Salonæ*" *read* "Akos from Risano."

Page 253, line 21, *for* "Buckinghamshire" *read* "Bedfordshire."

„ 274, line 7, *for* "Arras" *read* "Arles."

„ 303, line 24, *for* "Fellowes" *read* "Fellows."

„ 304, footnote, line 4, *for* "Fellowes" *read* "Fellows."

„ 322, line 18, *for* "Mr. A. Evans" *read* "Mr. A. J. Evans."



X.—*Extracts from Lincoln Episcopal Visitations in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries.* Communicated by EDWARD PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Read April 12, 1883.

THE following extracts have been made by me, by the kind permission of the Bishop of Lincoln, from certain fragments of visitation books and detached papers connected therewith in the possession of his lordship. They range from 1473 to 1627, and are, as will be seen, of very varying degrees of interest; some of them are perhaps so trivial that it may seem almost an intrusion to bring them under the notice of the Society of Antiquaries; but all have at least a local interest, and the originals from which they are copied are many of them in a state of such rapid decay that it is to be feared, if they be not now preserved by being printed, that all memory of them may be lost.

1473.

This document and the two next following are original presentations made at the visitation. They are undated, but are evidently of the year 1473, as they have been carefully preserved by being neatly folded and inserted between the stitching of the binding of a visitation book of that year. Linwood is a little village about two miles south-east of Market Rasen, which is memorable for having been the birth-place of William Lyndewode,<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Saint David's, the author of *The Provinciale*. Of Thyrston Fayreclough I have not been able to discover anything beyond what the following lines disclose.

Lynnewode.

It his to haue in mend þat Thyrston ffayreclough has off þe kyrke godys xxvj<sup>a</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> and has hadd many yerys and þey chan newyr getyd howt off his handys, and god knowed they haue gret

<sup>a</sup> "Lego ecclesie de Lyndewode, ubi natus sum, antiphonarium meum, minorem de tribus."—Test. Will. Lyndewode, in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 418.

nede ther to, wat ffor renewyng off the bellis, and also ffor a chalys, ffor they haue but oon þat is but lityll worth and therffor at þe reuerens off gode lett hym be sumown, ffor with owt my lordys help they gete it neauer.

Ther es a nodyr in lynwod, his name is waren, but wat more I wot newyr, þat has diuers timys bet his ffadyr and his modyr, but as far fforth as I can thynke, he was newyr a solyd ther off, of them þat hadd powyr.

Worlahy is a small village about five miles north-east of Brigg.

Reuerent and worschypfull lorde with all our seruic als lawly as we can, to your worthy hynes we hus recommaund, doying your worschippfull lordship to haue knowlege þat þar is one annas þe vecar of þe sayde towne has haldyn to hys speciall this vj 3ere & more, and no correction done þerefore, wharfore we be seke yow of your gracios lordschip þat ze wyll wytsame (*sic*) to or (*sic*) þat þei may be correkyd.

The following is a curious account of a dispute as to certain money which ought to have been expended in masses for the soul of Herry Cawnt, but was wrongfully withheld, according to the statement of the petitioner. The family of Deane was settled for some generations at Barrowby, near Grantham. Early in the sixteenth century Thomazin, daughter and heiress of James Deane, of that place, married William Vernon, whose daughter and heiress, Joan, was the wife of Henry Saville of Lupset.<sup>a</sup> I am not able to show in what relation the Nicholas Deen here mentioned stood to James Deane. The Bluetts were in the succeeding century of Harlaxton, near Grantham. Their pedigree is entered in the Heralds' Visitation of 1562-4. It contains more than one person of the name of John. The person named Harrington was most probably a member of the family settled at Witham and Exton. Before the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, the chief magistrate at Grantham was called the Alderman—an imperfect list of these officials is given in Turner's *History of Grantham*,<sup>b</sup> but the year 1473 is not represented therein:—

To my honorabul and wurschypful lorde off lyncoln.

Plesyth it to 3our good and gracyus lordschype to calle to 3our rememberens þat 3our pore beedman Nycolas Deen of Beroby complened to 3our lordschype at Grantham y<sup>e</sup> day of 3our wysytacon apon John Blwet of Grantham merchaund and opon mayster willyam Banckys, for that they withhold wrongffully, as the alderman of Grantham, heryngton, and mayster John Bugge will testyfy, vj<sup>th</sup> vj<sup>a</sup> for the wich S. herry cawnt sangge fore, and dyd truly hys servyce as a preste ought to do. And þere apon he toke charge on his sowle, has he wold answeare afore god at the

<sup>a</sup> Peacock, *Eng. Ch. Furniture*, p. 40.

<sup>b</sup> P. 46.



day of dome, the wich S. herry had no more mony to dispose for his sowle þe day of his dethe, but þe forseyd mony, and desyryd ȝour seid beedman to receyfe þis forseyd mony and dispoſe it for his sowle according to his Will, the wich I haue all whey bene redy to do yf I might a had it with owght sute or plee, and therfor for dyschargeyng of my conceyns I haue oſten thought to certyfie this matter to my lord ȝour predeceſſor and dyd not, and ſo now I commytte this matter to god and ȝour lordschype, and as ȝour lordschyp rules it I hold me wel content. My lord for ȝour Inſtruccyon this is the anſwere þat John Bluet and mayſter willyam Banckys gyffys to me. Tru it is þat þe fader of þis ſeyd Bluet hyred the forseyd S. herry cawnt for x yerys euery yere to haue for his ſtypend vij merkes and charged his executors þat his preſt ſchuld haue his terme performed, but they ſey by cauſe þat old John Bluet commaundyd þat his preſte ſchuld be keppe forth the x yere and ſeyd not S. herry is preſte, they thinke it was at theyr lyberte to take wat preſte þey lyke, and ſeyd to me mors ſoluit omnia. My lord in þat old Bluet had no oder preſte but alonely S. herry Cawnt it muſte nedes be vnderſtand þat his will was to performe hys bergayne þat he made with hym at þe begynnyng. Also, my lorde, mayſter willyam Banckys ſeyd to me yf I wold ſue them in any cowrt þat longys now to ȝour lordschype, he ſchuld remewe the ple and anſwer me yf I wold ſpend xl<sup>li</sup> ther apon. I ſeyd to hym agayne, I had no good of S. herry cawntes to ſpende but alonely þat he and bluet withheld hym, I wold not ſpend my none good, no more then I haue don, and ſo comyt my matter to god; jugement. And ſo Bluet haſe had a ponyſhment ſen þat tyme, and I dowte not but mayſter banckys ſhall haue anoder or he dye withowghte þat this be performed.

## 1525.

The ſtrange account here given ſhows how, before there were any ſigns of the Reformation being at hand, the coming revolution was prepared for by men's thoughts being diverted into theological channels. No change had outwardly taken place in the religion of England, and yet we find a poor threſher attached to the Abbey of Sawtree having his ſoul troubled by viſions, the purport of which, as he thought, was to explain the myſtery of the holy eucharist. To moſt of us it will ſeem probable that the poor man's mind was diſordered. He may have heard converſations in the abbey kitchen concerning the teachings of the German reformers ſuch as ſet him thinking and overtaſked his brain. From whatever cauſe theſe viſions ſprung their ſpecial form was undoubtedly ſhaped by what the poor man had ſeen on painted wall or in ſtained glaſs. The details as to colour are very curious. The Abbey of Saltrey, Sawtrey, or Sawtree was in Huntingdonſhire. There is an account of it in the *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 521. The liſt of Abbots there given is ſo imperfect that we cannot diſcover therefrom who George Cartar ſerved. At the time of the Diſſolution William Angel was abbot; he had twelve monks and twenty-two ſervants under his charge.

George Cartar seruiens abbatis de Sawtre, thresher, juratus et examinatus, dixit, that in the hoste that is consecrate by the prieste in masse & within the circle is the body of our lord in fleshe & bloode, and the circle that goith about without ys veraie white breade the thiknes off a small twyne threde, ffor he sayth that when a man or woman shalbe howseled the edge off the hoste may happen to hyt vpon a man's tothe and then iff the circle of breade were not ther to kepe in the bloode the blode wold peraventor fall down without his lippys, and this he saith and bileveth and will doo whils he lyveth, and iff that he be moved or induced to say that he bileved other wayes he wold peradventor say bifor M. chaunceler<sup>a</sup> that he bileved other waies, but when M. chaunceler wer goon he saith he wold say to hym selff goo foole goo, and he saith that he wold bileve agayn as he dydd bifor and as is above rehersed. And he saith that vpon xv yeres agoo he was seek and then he dydd see the Alyment<sup>b</sup> open the bread of ij brode berne doores and a place within that blue and grene which is called crownate, and ther he saw a tall man in the topp of the same weryng a violet Jaket, a tawny fustion dublet, his hose yalow tawny sylk, a pair of pynsons<sup>c</sup> with a litle blak spott at the ankyll, and then he se a woman with a must de villers<sup>d</sup> gown, a crymsyn hatt, white kyrchyvus, hyr gown tyed vp bihynd with a silk, blue & grene, drawe as a crosse knot, and he saith he was in the courte of right wisnes & ther he hard oon call for S. John Wed priest of blakeburne & dean ther, and then he apered and went vp a gree<sup>e</sup> &

<sup>a</sup> Nicholas Bradbridge, S.T.P., was Chancellor of Lincoln from 1512 to 1532.—Hardy's *Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglic.* vol. ii. p. 93.

<sup>b</sup> The air, or perhaps rather the visible heavens.—See *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 31; *Twelfth Night*, act i. sc. 1; *Julius Caesar*, act i. sc. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Shoes.—See *Catholicon Anglicum*, p. 281: "Payd to Henry Shomaker . . . . for a payre of pynson shoyse." "Acc. of Lestranges of Hunstanton" in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 511.

<sup>d</sup> "Una toga de Musterdevyles cum capicio" occurs in an inventory of the middle of the fifteenth century, printed in W. D. Macray's *Notes from the Muniments of Magdalen College, Oxford*, p. 19. Mr. J. E. T. Rogers says that "This article is cloth, manufactured at Montivilliers, in mediæval Latin, Monasterium Villare, a town near Harfleur, in Normandy." The earliest date of the word he has met with is 1450.—*Hist. of Agriculture and Prices in Eng.* vol. iv. p. 566. Cf. Fowler, *Ripon Act Book*, p. 286.

<sup>e</sup> A step, a flight of stairs.

"Grece, or tredyl, or steyr, *gradus*."—*Prompt. Parv.* vol. i. p. 209.

"The lady . . . . .

Glydes down by the grece & gos to the king."

—*Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, E. E. Text Soc. p. 85.

"Mending of the grysts before the high altar, 4d."—*Ch. Acc. of Stoke Courcy in Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vol. vi. p. 349.

"Let me speak like yourself; and lay a sentence,

Which as a grise or step may help these lovers."—*Othello*, act i. sc. 3.

There is a flight of steps in the city of Lincoln called Greetstone, or Grecian stairs, which is a corruption of this word. The late Mr. Davies was of opinion that the name Grecian Steps, at York, had arisen from a similar confusion.—*Walks through York*, p. 204. A street at Scarborough goes by the name of Long Greece.—J. B. Baker, *Hist. Scarborough*, p. 394.

his gown was full of ashes, as he had been rolled in the ashes, and ther a blak fello met hym & put hym bihynde a walle & ther was many great skrykes and fro them cam down ashes [as] at a mylne, whithe & blak, and he told the same preste was deade when he was ten myle fro hym. Then he saith he rekouered a gayn and went to the churche to here masse & had with hym xiiij maydens & xx or xxx men, and at the sacryng tyme he dydd see in the hoste ouer the priestes heade a chylde naked in fleshe & blode & his armes abrode & hys fete streght down haldyng furth his harte, and all thoste was read as blode except thuttermost circle which was white as breade the thycknes off a small twyne threde, & he thonketh yt was white breade, and he saith when the preste brak the hoste in the broken yt was colour of a lawmber<sup>a</sup> beade & when the preste went to the lavatory he dydd see six grene dropes hangyng at the preste ij fore ffyngers whils the preste whiped them off with the towell, and that sight maketh hym beleve that in the hoste within the circle is the body of our lord Jhu criste, and the litle white circle goyng about the hoste is white breade, & hol[deth] in the blode, and this he saith he will bileve whils he d[oeth] lyve & noon other wise for noo man.

An then M. chaunciler moved him other wise to bileve that the oste ther & euery parte off yt is the veraie body off our lord god fleshe & bloode, but the said George said he would byde by that he had said, and that almyghty god shued him so, & he is his master. And he saith he had leve gyven hym off god by a voice to shue this openly, so he said that men wold not bileve hym except he had a token, and the voice bad him say pat by this token that Dominus is the bloode of criste.

## 1526.

Tillbrook is a village in Buckinghamshire, near Kimbolton. The evidence here given as to small tithes is curious, as showing the strictness with which the Church's rights, even in very minute matters, were guarded. It is interesting also as being an early instance of evidence recorded in English.

William Byworth de Tilbroke etatis lxx annorum colonus, libre conditionis vt asserit, vbi xlvij annos testis, productus, narratus & examinatus.

Dicit that he hath hard olde Robert Colson, hopkin henson & old william holcott saye that ther was a certain ground callid prest holm, the which was of old tyme gyven by a certain prest then dwelling in tylbroke to the parson of the church ther in recompence of tithe fruits, apples, herbes, hemp & flax dyggid with spade in gardyns with in the town, & after hym S. Thomas holm, & after hym doctor berd, & after hym doctor Wyatt & now S. Robert Gamell. But he saith he cannot tell whether the parishonars did euer paye tythe apples or noo. he neuer knew noon payde, nor he neuer paid tithe apples, and he hath had apples growing this x yeres. And als, he

<sup>a</sup> Amber. "x bedes of lambr'."—Inv. of Guild of B.V. Mary of Boston, 1534, in Peacock's *Eng. Ch. Furniture*, p. 95. "1 paire of beedes of laumber."—Louth Ch. Inventory, 1486. Lammer beads are still spoken of in Northumberland.—J. F. Fowler, *Ripon Act Book*, p. 286 n.

saith it is a common voice of the contree & town ther, & hath been of long tyme, that the said preste holme was gyven to recompence the tythe of apples, ffruites & herbes as is above said & in like case is the custom at Kymbalton & the prior of Stoneley<sup>a</sup> hath also called the parson close for lyke tythes.

Johannes Byworth de Tilbroke' vbi fuit oriundus & mansit ibidem pro xxx annos, colonus libere condicionis, etatis xl annorum, testis, productus, narratus et examinatus, saith that by yond xxx yeres past he hard his wyffes moder saye that preste holm was gyven to the parsonage of Tilbroke for tythe of such thinges as were diggid with spade within gardyns of the town, and interrogate whether he knew ever enny apples gyvyn for tyth he saith that he neuer knew no such tithes askyd but bi doctor Wyatt, which neuer had them, but he saith ther was on kyng, ffermer of the parsonage, bicause he was an honest man and kynde to his neighbors and therfor this deponent & his wiff with ther neighbors did gyve hym apples dyuerse tymys, but as no tythe apples, saving that his wiffe the fyrst yere she cam to town delyueryd to Kinges wiff tithe apples & so told her husband & then this deponent said whi did you so? You shold pay noon for he hath a holm for all manner of curtlage tithis diggid with spade & that he herd his wiffes moder saye that the preste that gave the holm dwellyd in the howse wher this deponent dwellich.

## 1527.

This is a highly curious picture of a popular delusion of very early date, which has come down to the present time. Persons who seek by enchantments for hidden treasure are, I have understood, common to this day not only in the East but also in many parts of Germany, and almost within my own memory a small farmer who lived at Laughton, near Gainsborough, was cheated out of nearly the whole of his substance by a wanderer, who professed to be able to point out to him where a large sum of money was hidden in a sand-hill. The hill in which these simple persons went to search for money was probably a barrow. If it was a place of heathen burial the fact that it was believed to be haunted by "a man sprite and a woman sprite" is of easy explanation. Perhaps it was on account of the evil reputation of the place that a cross had been erected thereon to hallow it. There seems to have been a notion abroad in the earlier part of the sixteenth century that treasure was to be found by digging in the vicinity of crosses, for in one of the railing accusations of John Bale cross-diggers are mentioned in very evil company.<sup>b</sup> Humberstone is a village about four miles from Leicester. Cumbleton I have not been able to identify.

<sup>a</sup> Stoneley Priory was in the parish of Kimbolton. It was a house of Augustinian Canons.—*Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 476.

<sup>b</sup> The passage is perhaps worth copying as being a pretty complete catalogue of such persons as dealt with curious arts at the time of the Reformation.—"It serveth all witches in their witchery, all sorcerers,

Johannes Trawlove de humberston etatis xxix annorum juratus, saith that oon . . . percivall, some tyme of Kettering, tailour, now dwelling at Cumbleton, he knoweth no moer off his name nor yet where he dwellyth, did show to this deponent in woodford in Northampton shire that John Curson of Kettering dyd show hym that ther was iij thousand poundes of gold and syluer in a bank besides the crosse nygh hand to Kettering, and that it is in ij pottes within the ground; and this deponent saith that the said John Curson dyd show to hym that ther is iij thousandes poundes off gold and syluer besides the said crosse; and the said Curson dyd apoint this deponent and oþer withen written to mete hym at the said crosse, and when they came ther, the said Curson dydd say bifour them all, here standes the on pott within the ground and here standes the oþer. And he said to this deponent or they come ther that he hadd spendyd his good about thing, and that it cost him xx<sup>ti</sup> nobles; and that he dyd speke with a lerned man for the knowledge of the trueth. And also the said John Curson did not name with what clarke he had ben with all. He said also that he and ij men with hym whiche he dydd not name hadd been ther at the same crosse bifour to haue digged ther, and when they hadd putt in a wymble they hard such a lumbring within the ground that they dyrst nott tarry with hym. And said that a man sprite and a woman sprite dyd kepe the said ij pottes. And this deponent saith that he and Curson did first comon of this matter at hari'burgh,<sup>a</sup> and ther Curson shewed hym that ther was iij thowsand poundes in ij pottes beside the said cross. And this deponent saith, by the virtue of his Othe, that he neuer dyd counsell with bern man to know of enny mony ther, nor in non oþer place, and that he never was present at the dyggyng of enny crosse, nor yet in enny oþer place in that bihalff, but al only at Kettering at saint Nicholas day at night last passed, then beyng present with hym the said John Curson, the whiche dyd cause them all to goo about the dyggyng of the said hyll beside the crosse aforesaid, William Godely of Humberston, John Russell of Kettering, shomaker, . . . Sped of Kettering, John Amore of Arthingburgh, John Spicer off Weldon, peddeler, and this deponent; and the said John Curson hadd his boo and brawght with hym ij pickaxes and a spade and a spytt for to dygg the said ground. And this deponent saith that they hadd noo money ther. He saith that it hath ben dygged saynys,<sup>b</sup> but he can not tell whoe dydd dygg it. And saith that he neuer dyd shoe to Curson that he wold goo to enny cunying man for pat matter, but Curson shoed hym that he hadd been at a Cunnyng man for that matter, and that it had cost hym xx<sup>ti</sup> nobles. And this deponent saith that he and Goodly came to gidder that day to Kettering market to by corn, and nott to dygg ther that day.

Willelmus Godely de Humberston, colonus etatis xxxiiij annorum, iuratus et examinatus, saith that he went to Kettering market of saint Nicholas day to by corn, last past, and hadd noo knowledge then off enny digging to be made ther, and when this deponent com ther John dyd shewe hym that he and ij or iij of kettering moo wold goo dygg in a hyll beside a crosse nighe kettering, and that ther dydd lye iij thowsand pownd of gold and syluer. And this deponent dyd

charmers, enchanters, dreamers, soothsayers, necromancers, conjurors, cross-diggers, devil raisers, miracle-doers, dog-leeches, and bawds; for without a mass they cannot well work their feats."—*The Latter Examination of Mistress Anne Askewe*, Parker Soc. Reprint, p. 236.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps Market Harborough in Leicestershire.

<sup>b</sup> Query, since.

aske Trauelove howe he knew it, and Trauelove said that the forsaid Curson did shewe him soo, and hath spendyd much mony for the knowledge therof; and then this deponent went with them, and beside the crosse, nighe xx<sup>ii</sup> fote from the crosse, the said John Curson said her is ij pottes, oon of gold and a noþer of silver, and sett down his fote, her is the on pott, and sett down the oþer fote, her is the oþer potte, and it is nott iij quarters of a yerd depe to the said pottes, then being present this deponent and the said Curson with his boo, John a more of Arthlingburgh, and he saith that John Russell and Robert Spede was a cowncell with them and come furth with them but the[y] taried not with them, and when they war dygging come cumpany and they went þeir way. And this deponent saith by the virtue of his othe that he was neuer dygging of cross, nor off counsaill of diggyng for noo money but onely this oon tyme.

1528.

The following is the evidence taken in the parish church of Liddington, in Rutlandshire, concerning an alleged contract of marriage between Richard Bate and Alice White. In 1528 the canon law was in force in England in all things pertaining to wedlock and espousals, though very little seems to be known as to the proceedings in such cases. Hardly any documents relating to the subjects, if indeed such exist, have been brought before the notice of students. Our Fellow, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, in his *Acts of Chapter of the Collegiate Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, has published some highly curious documents relating to contracts of marriage.<sup>a</sup> These are, as far as I aware, the only papers which at present exist in a printed form which directly refer to this interesting subject.

On Wednesday in Easter weke he [Richard Bate] and she [Alicia White] went to hir ffathers, and her ffather dyd aske hym, ar you content to mak a bargayn off mariage with my doughter Alice? and he said ye, and so he and Alice com home to gidder, and he saith, when he and she come home to gidder his moþer wold nott suffre them to come into hir hows, and then Richard said to his moþer in the presence of Alice, I will haue hyr to my wiff, and iff we cannot come into the hows to gidder we wyll worke to gydder on the day light, and he saieth that he desired his moþer to be good vnto me for I wyll haue hyr to my wiff. And at his desier his moþer went to the churche and desired the parson to aske them in churche on the Sondag after, and ageyn on the Sondag after that, and this he saieth in the presence off Alice. She saith that this is truthe, and that she was euery tyme contented to haue hym to hyr husband, and by hir consent was asked in the churche. And the said Richard fatetur quod post bannas editas cognovit eam carnaliter sex vicibus ad minus.

Interrogatus de altera muliere margareta Treman, dicit that he com ffyrst to hyr about the

<sup>a</sup> Pp. 38, 159, &c.

twelfte day, and after that he dydd send hyr a pair of gloves and a sylken lace for tokens in that entent to mary with hym, and upon palmesonday last he come to Sayton<sup>a</sup> hym selff to her M. hows, and ther he hasked hyr iff she myght fynd in hir hart to love hym bifour all oþer, and she sayd that she myght fynd in hir hart to love hym bifour all oþer, if he might get hyr Emmys<sup>b</sup> good will, and they then poynted that he might come to Sayton on the tuesday in Easterweke that they myght goo to gidder to hir vncl to haue his mynd, but he saith he come not that day bicause that Alice said she was with child with hym, and that she wold deuoure hyr selff<sup>c</sup> except she hadd hym to hyr husbond, and off the wednesday after he went to hir ffaythers and as he hath said befor.

An order was issued that Richard Bate should make no contract with Margaret Treman or any other woman until the matter with Alice White was adjudicated upon.

We have here a curious picture of the early Protestant worship of Germany as it appeared to a man who we may be sure was, before he visited Amsterdam and Bremen, utterly ignorant of the ways of theological controversy. What he saw there must have filled him with wonder. We have also an example of the strictness of ecclesiastical discipline where the shadow of a suspicion of heresy was concerned on the very eve of the Reformation. I have not succeeded in identifying Henry Burnett or any of his companions. Barrow is a village on the Humber nearly opposite Hull.

Henricus burnett de Barow in comitatu lincoln &c iuratus ad sancta dei euangelia ac deinde examinatus, dixit that about Candelmasse last past, he & five of hull, Robert Clarke, Roger Danyell, Nicholas Bayly & one William . . . apprentice with M. Mycolow of hull, and Robert Robynson of hull, did passe over the see in a duche shippe, fraughted with merchaundise of hull & launded in holand in a Town called hamsterdam & ther thei were a vj or vij wekes & then toke a shipp & went to Brem' & ther thei frauctyd a shippe with wheat & thei taryed at Brem' v wekes and there the people did folowe luters warkes and no masses were said ther, but on the Sondaye the priest would reuest hym self and goo to the aulter and procedid till nygh the sacryng tym and then the prest and all that were in the church, olde and yonge, wolde syng after their mother Tong and ther was noo sakryng. Thei were at Breme from Easter tyll the weke afore whitsondaie, and there was noon of them howselyd nor cowld not be howselyd, but thei wold have

<sup>a</sup> Seaton, in Rutlandshire, near Uppingham.

<sup>b</sup> Uncle—

“Whilst they were young, Cassibalane their eme,  
Was by the people chosen in their sted.”

—Spencer, *Faerie Queen*, book ii. canto x. st. xlvii.

<sup>c</sup> “Selff” is here written over the word child, which has been erased.

been howselyd if thei cowlde by eny meanes. And they were in dyuerse places of ffirce lande and through all the contraye was there no masse, but after luters opynyons was the people ordered, and thei had euery Sondag Sermones & Preachinges, but this respondent nor noon of his company did vnderstand them, and in the whitsonwyke they cam to hull and ther he left his company & cam to Barow, and within iiij dayes after he asked of the vicar of Barow his curat to be confessid & howselyd & the vicar would nether confesse hym nether howsyll him without the consent of his ordinary. Then he was sent to M. doctor Pryn<sup>a</sup> by the comandement of the vicar of Barow, & M. doctor Pryn sent him to Mr. Chauncellor.<sup>b</sup> Interrogatus whether he or eny of his company went into that countrey to lerne luters warkes or opynyons or noo. He saith naye, and thei were not nygh luter not by l dutche mylys. He saith he vnderstondeth noo latyn, but he can Rede Englyshe. He had never booke of luters opynyons, but he saith Roger Danyell had the gospelles in Englyshe, which the dean of Yorke hath. He saith that he & his company in the fische dayes when they were be yonde the see thei did ete fflesche, and he himself did ete fflesche ij days after he came to Barow & never sence, and he beleveth in goddes lawis as a good Xpen man shold do. He was ij tymys at lincoln to have spokyn with M. doctor pryn for to be howselyd & he went home without any word for M. doctor pryn was not at lincoln.

\* \* \* \* \*

Injunxit sibi sub pena excommunicationis maioris That he shall never teche nor show to eny folkes such erronyous opynyons and dampnable abusions as he hath hard and seen in ffirce land and the countries ther abowt.

The following monastic lists are not of much general interest, but they furnish information which it is almost certain cannot be found elsewhere :

GRACEDIE[U, Belton, Leicestershire].

Domina Agnes litherland, priorissa.<sup>c</sup>  
 Domina Anna greysley, sub priorissa.  
 Domina Katerina Cheselden.  
 Domina Anna Costly.  
 Domina Elisabeth hawll.  
 Domina margareta knottisford.  
 Domina Anna geylott.  
 Domina dorothea Inglshe.  
 Domina margareta podrell.  
 Domina Anna Asheby.  
 Domina Emma Michell.

<sup>a</sup> John Pryn. LL.D., Prebendary of Lincoln 1528 ; Treasurer 1532 ; Subdean 1535 ; died 1558 ; buried in Lincoln Cathedral.—Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Anglic.* ed. Hardy, vol. ii. pp. 40, 90, 158.

<sup>b</sup> Nicholas Bradbridge, *vide ante*.

<sup>c</sup> The last prioress. She surrendered the houses 7 Oct. 1539.—*Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 567.



Domina Elisabeth presbery.  
Domina Johanna Barwell.  
Domina Elisabeth Bagott.  
Dicte priorissa et sorores habent ecclesiam parochialem de Belton.

[OU]STON.<sup>a</sup>

Dominus Johannes Slawston, abbas.  
Dominus Robertus buckmynster, subprior.  
Dominus Johannes Weston.  
Dominus Thomas leicester, sacerdos.  
Dominus Robertus vppingham, precentor.  
Dominus Willelmus Weston . . . . .  
Dominus Willelmus Tilien, sub sacrista.  
Dominus Johannes langam, nouicius.  
Dominus Robertus Burton, nouicius.  
Nicholas Okeham, nouicius.  
Ipse abbas et conventus habent ecclesias parochiales de Ostweston,  
Est Norton & Slawston.  
Dominus Abbas muleires accedunt ad monasterium.  
Subprior non habent presbuteros nisi quatuor ad omnes missas  
celebrandas in dicto monasterio.

LAUNDE prioratus.<sup>b</sup>

Dominus Johannes lancaster, prior.  
Dominus Willelmus Stokkeston, subprior.  
Dominus Willelmus platelyng.  
Dominus Johannes lodington, celerar.  
Dominus Thomas medeborn, sacrista.  
Dominus Thomas ffrysby, Refectorarius.  
Dominus Willelmus howghton, precentor infirmus.<sup>c</sup>  
Dominus Willelmus alderwas, subcellerar.  
Dominus Willelmus leceter, petitionarius.  
Dominus Robertus Northampton, subcentor.  
ffrater hugo halstede, nouicius.  
ffrater Robertus lydington, nouicius.  
ffrater Thomas Bcrow, nouicius.  
ffrater Johannes haloughton, nouicius.

<sup>a</sup> An Augustinian Canonry, near Melton Mowbray.—*Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 422.

<sup>b</sup> *Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 187.

<sup>c</sup> The word "infirmus" is entered in the margin.

LEICESTER monasterium.<sup>a</sup>

Dominus Richardus pexsall, abbas.

Dominus hugo whitwik, prior.

Dominus Richardus Bromeley, subprior.

Dominus Thomas Broughton.

Dominus Willelmus Bottisforth.

Dominus Robertus Sapcott.

Dominus Johannes leicester.

Dominus Thomas Bathe

Dominus Thomas hampton.

Dominus Robertus byrmyngham.

Dominus Johannes Nottingham.

Dominus Richardus lichfeld.

Dominus Thomas Dey.

Dominus Johannes Bosworth.

Dominus Thomas whitwyk.

Dominus Johannes Jeston.

Dominus Johannes greysley.

Dominus Johannes Buxum.

Dominus Thomas dethyk.

ffrater nicholaus hartington.

ffrater gregorius barkby.

ffrater hugo Aston.

ffrater Richardus norton.

ffrater Willelmus bramley.

ffrater Robertus welby.

Abbas et conventus habent ecclesias parochiales subscriptas . . . . viz.

Barkby, Barow, hungarton, humberston, Evington, Billesdon, Endarby  
cum Wheston, quenyborowe, Brackley, Chesham, leicester, cockerham,  
lylleborn, sancti martini leicester.Abbas dixit quod dominus Thomas Whytwyk magister nouiciorum non est  
diligens nec indifferens in instructione nouiciorum, aliquos diligenter  
instruit et aliquos alios minime curat instruere.

1529.

Alleged contract of marriage between Richard Ingram, of Eston, and  
Elizabeth Roys, of Belton. The decision was in favour of the marriage.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 462.<sup>b</sup> Contracts of marriage such as this were considered binding in conscience until the passing of the

Richardus Dowke de Eston . . . dicit that after all halow masse last past he was by when the said Richard & Elizabeth did comen of matrimony and this deponent did bed them take handes & so they did, then he said Isabell (*sic*) maist thou fynde in thei hart for to forsake all other & to lede thy lyff with this yong man Richard Ingram & for to gyve hym thy faithe and thy trouthe; Then plyte thowe hym thy trougt. And the said Isabell said I plight you my trouth. Interrogatus quo in loco. He saith it was doon in Horningwolde in domo Johis Calverley. . . . .

Johannes Ingram . . . he saith he was by when Richard Ingram did aske of Isabell Roys if she cowlde fynd in her hart to love hym afor all other & therto to plytt hym her trouth, & she said yea & therto she plytt hym her trouth. This was doon at hornynwold the Twesday before Martinmasse daye, then being present the parties above named, Richardus dawke & this deponent.

The following is an instance of a brawl between a priest and a layman who were evidently drinking together, probably at a church ale or in a public house. Any one who struck a priest except in self defence incurred excommunication.\*

Thomas Awdeley de howghton conquest . . . dicit erat contentio inter eum & dominum Richardum Graunt capelanum & . . . Richardus vocavit eum ffalse harlott<sup>b</sup> & iste Thomas

Marriage Act of 26 George II. c. 33. In Aphra Behn's play *The Town Fop*, published in 1677, Bellmour says:—

“If you must yet delay me,  
Give me leave not to interest such wealth without security,  
And I, Celinda, will instruct you how to satisfy my tears.  
Bear witness to my vows— [Kneels and takes her by the hand.  
May every plague that Heaven inflicts on sin  
Fall down in thunder on my head  
If e'er I marry any but Celinda,  
Or if I do not marry thee, fair maid.”

Celinda answers—

“And here I wish as solemnly the same:  
May ill arive to me,  
If e'er I marry any man but Bellmour.”

The lady's brother and nurse were present. The latter adds—

“We are witnesses good as a thousand.”—Act ii. sc. i.

The whole plot of the play turns on the fact that this was a valid marriage.

\* See the sentence in Myre's *Instruc. for parish priest*.—E. E. Text Soc. p. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Harlott was formerly applied to both sexes.

“A sturdy harlot went hem ay behind  
That was hir hostes man, and bare a sakke,  
And what men yave hem, laid it on his bakke.”

—Chaucer, *Sumpnours Tale*, l. 7336.

Awdeley dixit eidem, ye haue been my gostly,<sup>a</sup> & ye know wether I be a falsse harlott or no & I be so declare me & idem dominus Richardus dixit, Thow art a ffalse harlott. Tunc dixit iste Thomas, Call me so no more for yf ye do I shall ley the on the face with this pott, & immediate dictus dominus Richardus dixit Mary thou art a ffalse harlott in thy saying. Tunc predictus Thomas recepit ollam & wolde haue smytten the preste & the ffermer then being present did beare of the stroke with his arme & the ale was spylt on the prestes face and on his clothes.

An account of a person who went to visit a conjuror or wise man for the recovery of stolen goods. For consulting this impostor John Welford was sentenced to offer one pound of wax before the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church at Lidington, on Sunday morning, after the second bell.

Johannes Welford de howghton magna . . . . juratus . . . .

In primis interrogatus super primo articulo; fatetur that he went to Cisciter to on that reported hym self to be a doctor dwelling at Sates,<sup>b</sup> whose name he knawith not, to knawe who hadd stollen vij<sup>li</sup> from hym, for yt was shoid hym that that man coud tell of stowle gudes. He saith that the said doctor did byd him go home ageyn, sayying that he shuld here of his money ageyn, but this deponent dyd not beleve hym. The doctor bad hym if he coud not fynd his gude ageyn to send hym a byll and he wold loke for yt, but this deponent wold go no more to hym, and this he reported to his neighbours. He saith also that he desired Richard Godfrey to go furth to on to ask for the same money, whey and to whome he went this deponent cannot tell.

Ad secundam. He saith he hard at Northampton of dyuerse, that that man coud tell of stollen guddes. He had no counsell nor his costes of no body.

Ad tertiam. He saith he went but oons, and to non oper but to hym before named, and he saith he gave hym no thing for his labour, but he promised the doctor that if he coud tell hym of his guddes he wold please hym.

Ad quartam. He saith that Ric . . . . was suspected and arested before he went furth, but noon after.

### 1538.

Two women accused of using charms for the cure of diseases. The earlier is noteworthy, though the text is corrupt. This charm is written as prose, but is certainly a rude kind of verse. It has been truly said by a now forgotten author that "there has always been a tendency in the human mind to believe with as little expense of the reasoning faculty as possible."<sup>c</sup> The want of apparent connection between words and visible objects has never been held to be a reason

<sup>a</sup> The word "father" seems to have been omitted here.

<sup>b</sup> I cannot identify this place.

<sup>c</sup> E. Landon, in *Life*, by Layman Blanchard, vol. ii. p. 99.

why mere words should not have preternatural effects on things living and dead. Here, notwithstanding its orthodox ending, the charm has come down to us from a period earlier than that of the introduction of Christianity. It unmistakably points to the heathen frame of mind, when the gods were charm-smiths.<sup>a</sup> The Church was unequal to the task of extirpating these old-world dreams, but she had power sufficient to have some influence on their forms. The voice is the voice of the worshippers of Odin and Thor, but the vesture is trimmed with patches plucked from the Church's creeds and prayers.<sup>b</sup>

In ecclesia de owndell xxij<sup>th</sup> septembris anno domini predicto.

Quibus die et loco comparuit Agnes Robson vxor Thome Robson de owndell detecta & confessa est pro sanavit, deo mediante, parvos porcos & alia animalia hoc sortiligio. God almyghty, god and saincte charyte. I beseche you of your blessyd goodnes to helpe this same thing saying thus. John is thy xpen name. John and thre, bytter bytter hathe the bytten, Thre bytter, bytter hathe the nyppen, and thre bytter bytter hathe the stryken, besechyng almyghty god whedder itt were eye or tong or hert the better shall be your heale and boote, the father the son and the holy gooste.

Ac Johanna connyngton vxor petri connyngton de eadem confessa est pro conjuravit pueros infirmos sub hac forma. . . . In the worshipec of the father the sone and the holy goste and god and the trynytie, send this child helth and boote and it be Xpistes will, for senct charyte Three byttes haue ye bytten with hert and tong and eye.

The following presentment of the churchwardens and others of the parish of All Saints, Northampton, is undated; it probably belongs to about this period.

Omnium Sanctorum ville Northampton

William negosse	} gardiani
Thomas yetes	
John Colson	
John grattewood	
Henry Like	

<sup>a</sup> Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I. xxviii.

<sup>b</sup> Bishop Hooper, in his *Declaration of the Ten Commandments* (1548), tells his readers that among christian folk there are people "that by the abuse of God's name, through the help of the devil," cure men of sickness, and that "not many years sith I was borne in hand of a poor man that erred by ignorance that this medicine could heal all diseases, + Jesus + Job + habuit + vermes + Job + patitur + vermes + in + nomine + Patris + et + Filii + et + Spiritus Sancti + Amen + lama zabaethani +."—*Early Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 328.

Rogier yerland

Thomas bayes

Raffe watson

Henry ffannoke

They wyche doo present seying that ther ys a comyn ffame in the parishe off all santtes that oone Dane John goodwyn prior off our lady off grace & Dane Stevyn wylson frere off the blake ffreres In the horsse markett of Northampton dyd Raille azenst the blessyd sacrament off the aulter saying that the blessyd sacrament off the aulter was not the blessyd bcdy off chryst, nor the blessyd body of chryste was not conteyned in the blessyd sacrament off [the] aulter, thes men being present & in the companie off them in the halle of the syne of the bell S Thomas ladbroke, curat of bryngton, Richard moterton, the goodman off the howse John barton, William Parker, bucher.

Item they doo present that the afforesaid dane stevyn wylsson off the blake ffreres shoulde see in the presens off John clyfford, sherman <sup>a</sup> with other mo that matens & messe was but a babbelyng.

Item they present seying that oone Richard greyne the bucher shoulde make his report that he dyd comytte adhultery with elezabet branefford wedow.

Item they do present that the wyffe of edward myelles shoulde sklander hyr owne husband seying that hyr husband shoulde comytt adhultery with Jone . . . servant vnto peter Jeffere.

Item they present that ther chanssele wyndow ys brokyn in so muche they cannot kepe a candell lyght in the masse tyme.

Thomas yngerom, Hugo bowker, two of the towne sargenttes of Northampton, doo present vn to your lordshippe that oon wylliam beckwith, Sheppard vnto Mr. presetes of northampton, Mr. meyres, clerke of the towne of Northampton, dyd take & flynde oon dayne Stevyn wylson off the blake ffreres in the horsse market off northampton, that dyd commytte advowtery with oon nawghte pake,<sup>b</sup> sometyme servant vnto branefford of northampton aforesaid vpon the blessyd yester evyn in þe evynsongtyme, and whe the seid Thomas yengerom & hugo bowkar dyd brynge the afforesaid nawghte pake beffor the bayles off northampton that wher at that tyme & ther she dyd confesse that the aforesaid Dane Stevyn wylsson did commytt advowttery wythe hyr in the daye

<sup>a</sup> "Shearman, one who shears worsteds, fustians," &c.—M. A. Lower, *Eng. Surnames*, 4th edition, vol. i. p. 114.

"Villain, thy father was a plasterer;

And thou thyself a shearman, art thou not?"

—*Henry VI. Part II. act iv. sc. ii.*

<sup>b</sup> Naughty pack seems to have been a common designation of a harlot. In Richard Bernard's *Terence in English*, 5th ed. 1629, we read "Let us now preuent this whilst time is . . . before that his naughty packs shrewd crafts and fained teares do worke againe his loue-sicke minde vnto pittie and compassion," p. 50. The word was sometimes used to designate an evil living person of the male sex.

& place above wrytten. In venella vocata walbekke iuxta viam publicam inter northampton & kynges thorpe in vigilia pasche.

\* \* \* \*

Richardus morton ville northampton etatis quinquaginta annorum et vltra testis, iuratus et examinatus dicit that he harde dane John godwyn saye that he was ones a frear and nowe att libertie, and wolde speak att libertie sainge we haue flatered a greatte whyll, and all for money. We haue saide for gayne of money that a trentall wolde save a man or woman their soule, and that a masse of scala celi<sup>a</sup> wolde save a soule from hell, and all for money. And he asked of those thenne presente, howe many of you haue [seen] almighty god, and this deponent said I saw him this daye betwene the priestes handes, & he saide frior sainge naye Itt is nott the body of god butt a symylitude . . . . that if itt were not for the displeasur of their prynce he shuld nott haue goon oute of the house on live, and saith that sir Stephen did iustefye, ratefye, and fortifye all the premysses by the said soo spoken. . . .

Willelmus parker ville northampton etatis xxx<sup>ia</sup> annorum et vltra testis iuratus dicit that he hard S. Stephen wilson saye in the house of Richard morton that he wold sell xij. dosen of matens for thre farthinges, and asked S. Thomas lodbrok this question: You ar well att ease, you knowe where to haue your waare, and saide who was he that euer sawe the sacramento. And the saide Richard morton saide that he didd see itt that daye betwene the priestes handes, the said S. Stephen sainge naye, itt was butt a symylitude. Straungiours ther being present and hearinge these premysses saide that they wolde haue thruste their dagger into hym, if itt hadde not bene for their princes displeasour. . . .

Johannes barton de eadem villa, etatis lx<sup>ia</sup> annorum et vltra, testis juratus dicit that the said frior askede of those thenne beinge present, Masters which of you didd euer see Christe, and M. morton saide I trust I haue sene hym this daye betwene the pristes handes, and the saide frior said itt was butt a symylitude, and not the body of god. And William Walton, seruante to a knyght of Seinct Johns, a gest, beinge presente, saide in his chaumbre afterwarde, it had bene a good dede to haue thruste his dagger into hym. And saith moreouer that oon beinge presente askede of the said frior howe haue you thenne lyved all this whyle? He answered, we haue

<sup>a</sup> A mass of Scala Coeli we believe to have been one said at an altar which had received privileges like unto those of the Chapel of Scala Coeli in Rome.

“ In þat place a chapelle ys  
Scala cely called hit ys  
Laddere of heuen men clepeþ hit  
In honour of our lady be my wytte  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
Who-so syngeþ masse yn þat chappelle  
For any frend, he loseþ hym fro helle  
He may hym brynge þorow purgatory y-wys  
In to þe blys of paradys.”

—*Political Relig. and Love Poems* (E. E. T. S.) pp. 118, 119.

made you fooles. And this deponent asked Sir Stephen why he was nott att home in his house att matens, and he answered he wolde sell xv<sup>d</sup> of matens for thre farthings, for he coude be better occupyde, and thother frear affirmed al thinge spoken by the said Sir John godwin.

\* \* \* \* \*

Johannes grobbe de Carby xxx<sup>ia</sup> annorum libere condicione testis & dicit, that vpon Ash-wednesday last passed, Richard patryke of Carby goyng frome Carby towardes daventrie, told this deponent and his nighbours of dyuerse newes, and of preachinges and emonges other conuercation said that Christe never shedde his blodde and than Richard lee said vnto the said Richard patryke, yes I beleve that Christ shedde his blodde, or the bookes be false elles, for longius<sup>a</sup> (*sic*) toke his long spere and pryked hym to the herte and ther ronne out water and blode and ronne vpon the handes of the said longious (*sic*) wherewith he rubbed his eyes and rekevered his sight. And the said Richard patryke said noo to hym. Than this deponent said he maruailed that the said Richard patryke spake suche wordes and asked hym what he said by the blood of hayles,<sup>b</sup> is not that of christes blode? And Richard patryke called hym fole, saing he pratted he knew not what, for the bloode of hales was but a duckes blode, and that William belche, Saunder grobbe, thomas burton, Richard lee & Robert Southern were present and herd the same words.

\* \* \* \* \*

Robertus Southorn de eadem . . . . . audiuit Richardum patricke dicentem that christe neuer shedde bloode for man, and that the bloode of hayles was but a duckes bloode, and that he was looded and hadde a wake capel<sup>c</sup> an herd noo moo of his wordes.

1602.

An answer to a complaint which seems to have charged a clergyman with neglect of duty. The complaint is not forthcoming.

<sup>a</sup> Longinus, Longius or Longias is the name given in mediaeval mythology to the soldier who pierced our Lord's side. The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacob a Voragine says that "Longinus fuit quidam centurio, qui cum aliis militibus cruci domini adstans jussu Pylati latus domini lancea perforavit et videns signa, quae fiebant, solem scilicet obscuratum et terrae motum in Christum credidit. Maxime ex eo, ut quidam dicunt, quod cum ex infirmitate vel senectute oculi ejus caligassent, de sanguine Christi per lanceam decurrente fortuito oculos suos tetigit et protinus clare vidit."—Cap. xlvii. ed. Tho. Graesse, 1859, p. 202. The name has almost certainly been derived from λόγχη, a lance. There are many references to this story in Prof. Skeats's "Notes to Piers the Plowman" (E. E. T. S.), p. 403. See Prof. George Stephens's *Prof. S. Bugge's Studies in Northern Mythology Shortly examined*, p. 38. for the relation of the story of Longinus to the Balder myth.

<sup>b</sup> Hales Abbey, Gloucestershire, was a place of great resort for pilgrims on account of this reputed relic of the holy blood which was given to that church by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in 1272.—*Mon. Ang.* vol. v. p. 686.

<sup>c</sup> A horse—

"He also hath to don more than ynough  
To kepe him on his capel out of the slough."

—Chaucer, *Manciple's* Prologue, l. 17013.



Responsa personaliter Marci Somerscales clerici ad articulos . . . . He served the cure of Gosberton from the xiiij of June last, duringe the space of 15 or 16 weekes next following, having no licence but onlie by word of mouth from Mr. Randes & did diuers times preach there, not licenced during the time aforesaid, and once at Surfleete bicause the minister there was drunken & had ben beate & kept his bed. Et vltorius dicit that he did administer the communion in the said parish church of Gosberton about Lammas last, and wanteing wine at the latter end of the communion he mingled water with wine & did deliuer the same to the communicantes, for that otherwise he should haue sent away some of the communicantes without wine. Et alia negat.

The following is an examination of a person who was, or professed to be, a deacon in the English Church, who afterwards became a Roman Catholic, and then returned to the Church of England:—

Examinat dicit that he was made deacon by Bishop Bull[ingham]. But cannot shewe his letters of orders ffor that they were . . . . one Thomas Cley, his house at Tetney in the countie . . . . where they were lost & made away after this examinat . . . . serve Sir Robert Trwhitte of Kettleby, where in the time pat Mr. William Trw[hitte] . . . . he became a recusante, aboute some xviii yeare agoe, & therefore ma[de] no accompte of his letters of orders: to the which recusancie he was brought by one Mr. Gellibrand, an old Preist, who diuers times said masse at the said Mr. William Tirwhittes houses at Kettleby and Twigmore, at the which this examinat was manie times presente, & he continued his recusancie by the space of xv yeares, being indicted therefore & found giltie answered the penaltie of the lawe so far as his goodes would extend, which were seized vpon & caried away by Nicholas Sanderson of fillingham, in the countie of Lincoln, Esquier, & then Sheriffe of the same countie, & he was converted by Mr. Marmaduke Tirwhitte, of Scotter, in the countie of Lincoln, Esquier, & by Mr. Daubney, parson of Scotter aforesaid, and Mr. Turswell, parson of Waddingham Marie, & submitted himself before the Justices of Assize at Lincoln, & so was freed from the danger of the lawe & sett at libertie. Afterwardes he, this examinat, viz. anno 1599, taught a singing school at Kirton in Holland, by the space of a yeare and d, & after that taught a singing school at fframpton one yeare when he fell sick, & was sick for the spae of a yere, & afterwardes he wente to one Thomas Disneys howse, of Carleton in moreland, in the countie of Lincoln, Esquier, where he taught his children & 2 of his bretheren to sing in his oune howse by the spae of d a yere, & after that he taught children to sing at Ruskington in the church ther d a yeare, & from thence he came to by Mr. Williams, Curate at Asgarby, at Martinmas laste, beinge admitted therevnto by Mr. Randes, but knoweth no certaintie of his stipend savinge that he hath meat & drink with Mistress Williams at Asgarby, which benefie he kepeth in his oune handes, & he him self hath his dyett at Mr. Roberte Carre, Esquier, his house at Asgarby, & lodgeth at the parsonage howse ther, wher he keepeth a man, a maid & a boy, for the inning of his tithes & other profittes, which also [he] keepeth in his own hands, and saith further that when Mr. Williams cometh to Asgarby to preach there or administer the communion, then he, this examinat goeth to Aswarby and serveth there. And saith further that since he took orders he became the Quenes majesties bayliff of & in the wapentak of Manley, in the

Archdeaconrie of Stow, for the space of 4 or 5 yeare, & served at the Assizes and quarter sessions & summoned Juries, & being preferred to that office by Mr. William Tirwhitt, his maister, which office he left of himself & so lived as a private man on a farm, which he had at Twigmore 2 or 3 years, & then was converted as before. And saith that he onelie was at ffulbeck to seek servie there, where he stayed but one day, and afterwarde he came to Sleford & taught the singing school there from the feast of all Saintes, 1601, untill Candlemas after, in which time he heard Mr. Newton the vicar there preach 3 or 4 times, & did like well of his doctrine, but neuer went about to censure the same as naught, neither yet did he euer affirm or maintaine that yt was a verie dangerous matter for simple people to read the scriptures in English.

JOHN BURRELL.

Deinde dominus suspendet dictum Johannem Burrell ab execucione officii sui infra Dioc. Lincoln.

1603.

Somerby is a very small Lincolnshire village, rather more than three miles east of Brigg. The population in 1881 amounted but to eighty-seven souls. The present very small church shows but few traces of the beauty which a former fabric no doubt possessed. The chapel of the Holy Trinity attached to the church of Somerby received in 1440, by the bequest of Sir Thomas Cumberworth, many valuable ornaments, an inventory of which may be seen in the present writer's *English Church Furniture*, p. 180. Sir Thomas's will, which is a highly curious document, is printed in full in *The Academy*, vol. xvi. pp. 230, 284.

In all humble manner sheweth vnto your Lo. your petitioners the Inhabitanes of Somerbie in the Countie and Dioces of Lincoln whose names are vnderwritten, that whereas the parish church of Somerbie (beeing builded with the steple in the middle therof, of a huge quantetie hable to receave manie hundreths of people) is now in great & notorious ruine and decay, so as the now Inhabitants therer are not possible hable to reedifie and repair the same according to the former now needles bignes, the present Inhabitanes being only three besides the parson.<sup>a</sup> It may therefore please your Lpp. to give licence to the said Inhabitanes to take down the said steeple to the height of the roof of the body of the said church and to destroe the now needles chauncell above the same and to convert the said steeple into a comelic & convenient chauncell and to build a steeple at the west end of the church sufficient to contein their bells and to provide thre bells and hang them in the same, fitt to be vsed for the service of god in the same church which your said parishoners with the said parson are willing, desirous, and ready in all thinges decentlie to performe. And so the same shall bee more fitt in euerie respect for the said small congregacion, and the same congregacion shall be eased of the intollerable burden of so huge, vast, and needles

<sup>a</sup> This must, of course, be understood as three households.

great church, and therebie bound to pray vnto god for the increase of your Lpp. in all happines.  
Dated at Somerbie this viij<sup>th</sup> of June 1603.

Your Lo. most humble petitioners,

RICHARD ROSSETER,  
ROBERT FARLEY, Rector,  
WILLIAM MARRIS.

1627.

Broughton is a village two miles west of Brigg. The building mentioned in the following document was no doubt removed. It probably occupied the site of the present burial-place of the Anderson family.

After my humble dutye: may it please your Lordship to be informed that at our Church of Braughton, wherof Mr. Dalby is Parson, there is an old charnell house leaninge vppon the Church and Chauncell, and a great cause of decayes to them both. And therefore my selfe Mr. Dalbye and the parishioners do all pray your Lordships consent that since there is no vse, but much hurt, by the said howse, Mr. Dalbye may take it downe for the better repayringe, mayntenaunce & bewtifiseing of the Chauncell. So with my acknowledgment of your Lordships many favours towardes me, I rest

Your Lordships to be

Commanded,

WILLIAM ANDERSON.

ffrom my Chamber  
in the flect, June  
18, 1627.

To the right  
honourable the right reuerend  
ffather in God the Lord  
Bishop of Lincoln, one of  
his majesties most honourable  
privy counsell at  
Buxden, these.

XI.—*On the Mural Paintings in All Saints Church, Friskney, Lincolnshire.*  
*Communicated by the Rev. HENRY JOHN CHEALES, M.A., Vicar of Friskney.*

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Read May 12, 1881, and Jan. 18, 1883.

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THE Church of All Saints, Friskney (a village on the seacoast of Lincolnshire, four miles south of Wainfleet), is of early date, though the lower part of the tower is the only part of the original Norman church which has survived the many changes made in the fabric. The earliest historical record of it that I have been able to find is by Dugdale and by Tanner, who quote extracts from the Harleian Charters showing that in A.D. 1256, William de Kime made grant . . . . "cum omnibus terris in Friskenâ" (sometimes spelt Freschena), to endow the priory of Gilbertine monks at Bolynton (or Bullington), founded by Simon de Kime in Stephen's reign, and, together with the land, "omnes patronatus et advocaciones ecclesiarum . . . . de Bolynton et" (here follows a list of villages spread widely over Lincolnshire) "in medietate ecclesiæ de Friskenâ."

No mention is made as to who shared the patronage thus with Bullington priory; but, as Simon de Kime had given lands in Friskney to the abbey of Bardney, and from the charter-rolls of Bardney abbey we find the annual payments of salt from the salt-pans of Friskney by sextaries and bushels from many holders of the abbey-lands in Friskney (one item is "7 bushels of salt, 2 hens, and 1 capon"), it is not improbable that this abbey was the sharer of the patronage with Bullington priory.

Of the church, whose existence at the time of the endowment of Bullington priory is thus recorded, relics have recently come to light. Portions of Norman sculpture were found during the restoration of the church under Mr. Butterfield in 1879. Many fragments of stone coffins and coffin-lids of thirteenth century character were found built into the wall of the north aisle, and one entire lid, with a raised cross-calvary, was dug up three feet below the floor-level in

the north aisle. Remains of two beautiful arches with Norman mouldings were picked out of the rubble of the north aisle wall, and several Early Norman bases and capitals of pillars were found under the pillars of the arcade. An early English church succeeded or grew out of the original building; of this we have abundant evidence, notably in the tower, where the continuous weatherings above the lower (Early English) windows reveal the place from which sprung the spire, which was afterwards displaced for the present square battlemented tower. Early in the fifteenth century the church was much enlarged, a clerestory was added, supported by five lofty arches, together with north and south aisles in the Early Perpendicular style, and later in the century a very handsome chancel completed the church as it now stands.

This rebuilding of the nave gives us no doubt the date of its interior decorations. Colour was carried over the whole church; on the ceiled roof above the rood-loft (the stone staircase to which still exists) were stars, some of which now remain on the beams to which the ceiling was fitted: the monogram I. H. S. white letters on red ground, occurs in several places, and many oak-panels thus painted were found worked up among eighteenth-century pews. The spandrels of the (roof) "principals" were paneled above the rood-loft, and the paintings on them still remain, viz. Next to the chancel arch an angel with censer on each (north and south); on the next a priest kneeling before an altar in chasuble, a red cross on his breast (north side); on the south side a figure robed in white, holding a scroll in the right and a palm in the left hand.

The stone mouldings of the arcade and of the chancel arch were traced in light red, and the columns of the arcade were coloured (upon the stone itself) in a warm neutral (blue-grey) tint; the wall over the chancel arch was painted; and on the south side of the chancel arch was found at the church restoration a large figure which had evidently been painted at two successive periods, the latter painting being much more rich and positive in colour. The whole clerestory north and south was painted with figures and (as far as hitherto discovered) Scriptural scenes. In them the colouring itself seems to offer some clue to their date, for the use of broken tints in combination with white to give a soft effect points to a time when the windows were in "grisaille"; and before the period when, with rich coloured window glass (for which this church was, on the testimony of Gervase Hollis, afterwards famous), mural paintings were generally worked up to the same key of colour as the windows.

Be that as it may, the general effect of colour in the church must have been very charming, the soft tint of the ground on which the figures were drawn

harmonising beautifully with the tone of the sculptured stone of the whole interior.

We cannot see these vestiges of a loving and artistic treatment of decoration in God's House without being led to inquire—Whence was this art? What was the school in which those skilled workers for the Church learnt their craft? From what models and accepted methods of delineating sacred subjects in paintings which, spite of their quaint simplicity, show not only distinct devotional feeling, but considerable grace in artistic composition?

The question leads us far back into the past.

The art of mural-pictorial decoration existing in such perfection (witness Rome and Pompeii) in the earliest age of Christianity, was gradually, though very cautiously, adopted and Christianised. In the catacombs of Rome there are examples of its presence, although devotional feeling, which has ever sought the aid of art for its expression, then confined itself to a careful and restricted symbolism in such representations as the "good Shepherd," the dove, the ark, the fish, the lyre, and the anchor. But when Paganism was conquered,—and, under Constantine, temples became basilicas, and handsome churches for Christian worship were built,—art as well as architecture was accepted and consecrated to the uses of the purer faith. The chief room of Constantine's palace was adorned with representations of sacred subjects, including one of the Crucifixion. There is even earlier mention of the art, for in the Council of Eliberis (Elvira, near Granada) there is reference to paintings in churches, A.D. 305. (Hardouin, *Councils*, vol. i. p. 254; Neander's *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i. p. 405.) At the end of the fourth century the walls of many churches were painted with martyrdoms and scriptural scenes (J. C. Robertson's *History of the Christian Church*, 1867, vol. i. p. 359; Neander, vol. iii. p. 408); but it was not till the end of that century that single figures were thus painted, nor was the Saviour himself represented otherwise than in symbolical forms until the next century; and (to quote from a very interesting pamphlet by Mr. J. Fowler on the mural paintings of All Saints church, Wakefield) "from the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and even of Theodosius downwards, paintings covered the whole interior of churches in the greater part of Europe on subjects illustrative of Christian doctrine, such as those brought from Rome by St. Benedict Biscop in the seventh century for his church at Monk Wearmouth;"<sup>a</sup> and these paintings were either varnished, distemper, or encaustic." Gregory of Tours mentions a

<sup>a</sup> Vide life of St. Benedict-Biscop, in Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Jan. 12.

basilica in Paris of the sixth century with portico covered with figures of saints and other sacred subjects (*Ecclesiologist*, vol. xxiv. p. 353.) In the ninth century the Emperor Charlemagne laid down positive directions for ornamenting churches with paintings; and on the revival of learning in the ninth and tenth centuries abbeys and cathedral churches employed artists (Taylor's *Fresco and Encaustic*.) The discoveries in San Clemente at Rome prove the maintenance of decorative art there till the end of the eleventh century.

As to the church of Saxon England, I do not know what vestiges or record there may be of decorative treatment by colour; but if it be true, as appears from the testimony above given, that the custom prevailed gradually in the Church throughout Europe, we may assume that it prevailed here: it would be difficult, I think, to prove the contrary. Monasteries were the repositories and schools of art; and monasteries were, we may say, cosmopolitan. The Italian monks of St. Augustine, and the five Italian bishops who succeeded him at Canterbury, would consider what was right for a church in Italy to be also right for one built here. In the case of such men as Theodore of Tarsus, with his schools of learning at Canterbury and Oxford, and of Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, men instructed in the arts of Rome, years of study in France and Italy must have influenced them in the work of church-building and adornment to which they gave themselves in England.

Alcuin, one of the most distinguished of Saxon Churchmen, was minister of public instruction under Charlemagne. Apart, too, from the inferences which we may thus draw, we have also positive testimony (as in the case of Monk-Wearmouth, above mentioned), such as the record of Wiglaf, King of Mercia, giving to the monks of Crowland a splendid suit of embroidered hangings, representing the siege of Troy, to ornament their church.

After the Norman Conquest the foreign element in our monasteries would become still stronger; and we may safely say that whatever art was known by the monks of France and the Continent was known, too, in England.

In the thirteenth century we come to a record in writing of this special art, viz. treatises by Theophilus and Eraclius, who distinctly describe painting in distemper. The colours are to be first mixed with lime and then applied to the wall; the process is not that of the true fresco (*fresco-buono*), or painting upon plaster when freshly laid, so as to absorb the colour, but of *fresco-secco*, or painting in distemper upon a wall previously faced with plaster. This is the character of the paintings in Friskney church.

We find, then, that from historical record, and from the evidence supplied by

a multitude of English churches where traces of mural paintings remain, we are justified in saying that not only was colour a necessary adjunct to church architecture, but that mural decoration was considered as much a necessity to a completed church, even the simplest village church, as paint or paper to the walls of a modern dwelling-house. And the motive is plain—it was, next after the desire to beautify God's House, an intention to instruct and edify the people—"Picturæ Ecclesiarum," so said the Synod of Arras, "libri laicorum."

This art, retained in the monasteries, and, as we may affirm, never lost, seems to have been largely employed in decoration of churches in the fifteenth century; and we may conclude, I think, that to the abbey of Bardney or priory of Bullington the church of Friskney was indebted for its extensive paintings, a goodly number of which will, we trust, soon reappear to tell their own story.

These paintings cover the clerestory on either side at a height of 25 feet from the pavement. Each subject is contained in the space between the windows of the clerestory above and the upper part of the nave arches below, of the shape shown by the tracing and the copies in chromo-lithograph reduced from the tracings. They are not carried up to the roof but to a line level with the stone brackets supporting the principals. As exception to this, the easternmost paintings on either wall, north and south, viz., those close to the rood-loft, were carried up quite to the wall-plate.

As to the process, a coat of coarse plaster was first drawn over the rubble of the wall, and upon that a finer plaster or stucco to receive the colour. The second coat or facing varies in thickness from a quarter of an inch to that of good note-paper, and varies much in smoothness of surface. Where the surface is *good* the drab-wash subsequently smeared over the paintings (four or five coats in depth) scales off; but in many places, specially where there is a bulging or inequality in the wall, the surface is rough and gritty, and the removal of the drab-wash most difficult.<sup>a</sup>

After five years of labour in scraping off the covering of drab-wash, I have

<sup>a</sup> In some cases the second or surface-coat of plaster has separated from that behind it, and falls out unless great care be taken in touching it. The whole wall up to the roof-plate seems to have been painted with a ground of warm stone-colour (red and yellow ochre), and the subjects drawn upon it in the spaces above-mentioned in line-drawings of light red, black being sometimes used to strengthen the lines. Tints of yellow ochre with red generally for the head and beards; blue and occasionally brown in a few instances for the robes; a light and bright red for the angels' wings. In all the subjects up to this time discovered the figures stand out from a back-ground of dark crimson, a very effective means for making them discernible from the floor of the church below.



succeeded in bringing to light the four subjects which I will now endeavour to describe—two of which are represented in the Plates annexed.

“THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.”

This painting is on the north clerestory wall, next to the rood-loft. The Virgin crowned and in the “Vesica” is being borne upwards by the outstretched arms of four angels. A figure representing an aged person bends over her above, and a scroll with remains of black lettering seems to indicate words spoken by the Father in Heaven; another scroll with lettering better preserved is on the upper left side of the Vesica. The small pinions of the angels were of bright vermillion; the long wings, sweeping downwards, of dark red shaded with black lines. (The short sleeves on the angels’ arms are peculiar, and may be perhaps suggestive of a date to the painting.) This picture is full of graceful motion, and there is considerable sweetness in the faces. Under the Vesica the plaster has been greatly destroyed; there seem rays as from the sun, and still lower on each side are what may have been intended for the trees of the earth below.

“THE STABLE AT BETHLEHEM.”

The Virgin and Child under a thatched shed (the thatch in yellow ochre), the wattled fence, and the ox and ass. There seems to be represented a combination of three events. 1st. The Message to the Shepherds. 2nd. The Visit of the Shepherds to the Stable. 3rd. The Adoration of the Magi. As to the last it is very doubtful, for as yet only one figure on the right of the picture has been disclosed (and that but partially). It may be meant for St. Joseph, but the outstretched hand seems to be making an offering. The arm of the Virgin Mother passing under the child supports His right hand, which has the thumb and two fingers raised as in blessing. The shepherds on the left of the picture are very quaint. They stand looking upward as if startled at the message of the angel (with scroll above the roof on their right), and one of them clings with his arm to the prop of the shed. They wear curious gauntlets with only one division for the fingers. The shepherd on the left of his fellow has on his chin a swelling much like a goitre (was the artist perhaps some Italian monk whose ideas of shepherds or herdsmen were associated with Alpine pastures?), and on either side of his temples stands up a little sharp-pointed appendage which can scarcely

be accepted as a lock of hair, but bears more resemblance to a small horn, and which, together with something of a leer in his face, gives him much the appearance of a "prick-eared satyr." (Can it be that in a rude symbolism is here implied the subjugation of the heathen world with its pagan demi-gods, fauns, satyrs, &c. to Christ?) The lower part of this subject is still to be disclosed.

#### "THE LAST SUPPER."

In this we have a representation of "The Supper" *before the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, i.e., "as they were eating" (and drinking)*, a fact which is depicted with considerable force and quaintness. The incident portrayed is apparently the departure of Judas after having received "the sop."

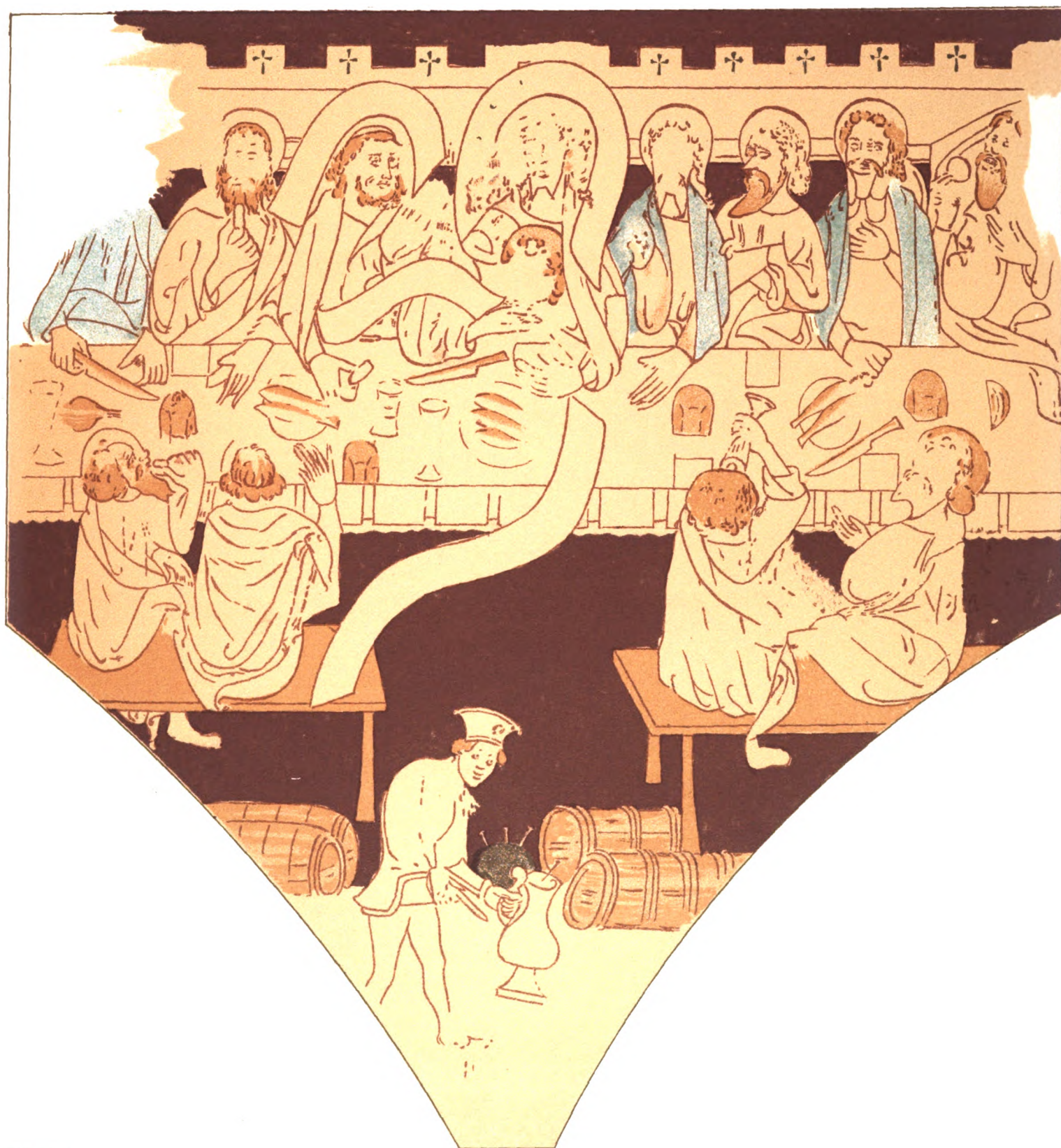
The left hand of Our Lord holds a bowl, not, I think, a cup or chalice, but the bowl from which the sop has been taken, and the right hand is over the bowl, the fingers extended. The figure next to Our Lord on the right is probably St. Peter; the "tonsure" seems to mark him. Next to him, and also the figure next to the Lord on the left, the "the Lord's brethren," St. John, the beloved disciple, leans on His breast. At the extreme left, Judas, a face with a large and hideous mouth, stands apparently in a doorway, holding in the fingers of his right hand what is, perhaps, a coin taken from the "bag" suspended from his neck, and which he holds up, as if to show that he was going out to "buy something against the Feast." \* On the scrolls or legends, which are added to the figures of Our Lord, St. Peter, and St. John, and on the other scroll, which is stretched across the centre of the table downwards, there is slight indication of lettering. We may suppose, I think, that they bore the Lord's words, "one of you shall betray me"; and the question by the disciples, "Is it I?"

Below this group a curious incident is introduced to suit the shape of the spandrel, representing a servitor drawing wine in a sort of cellar from one of four hooped barrels. His right hand holds the plug just removed from the barrel, which discharges a red stream of wine into a large flagon, grasped by a curved handle in the left hand. Just above the flagon is a curious sort of cushion, in which are stuck three pins, or pegs, perhaps on which to hang the flagons, perhaps plugs for the barrels. The square cap of the servitor, with rosette in front, seems to point to the costume of about Henry the Sixth's reign. Com-

\* Or "the sop," which he has just "received"—the circular object, which he holds in his fingers, seems too large for a coin.







CF Kell, lith.

THE LAST SUPPER; FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884*



paring this treatment of "The Supper" with other examples, we find a conventional method followed in several particulars—

- 1st, The position of St. John ;
- 2nd, The presence of the fish ;
- 3rd, Of the bee-hive-shaped loaves of bread, the small plates before each figure, and the portion of a melon, or some such fruit ;
- 4th, The absence of the nimbus on Judas ;
- 5th, The creases in the fringe of the table-cloth ;
- 6th, St. Peter on Our Lord's right, and with the tonsure ;
- 7th, The position of Our Lord in the centre on the further side of the table.

This is almost invariable from the earliest painting of the "Cæna" (that from the tomb of St. Calixtus in the catacombs of Rome). The only exception which I am aware of is in a mosaic of the twelfth century at Monreale, where the Lord sits at the right extremity of a crescent-shaped table, and is giving the sop to Judas, who kneels alone. On the other hand, the position of Judas here given is very rare ; he is usually painted as alone on the near side of the table, and no other instance have I found of his holding up a coin, or sop, as here.

The idea of Judas about to make exit by the door is also given in a painting by Marco Palmezzano da Forli, where he kneels by the door, and seems watching opportunity to steal away ; also by Nicolo Poussin—Judas is seen behind, stealing out of the room ; also by Fra Angelico—all kneel ; Judas kneels near an open door. For examples of incidents introduced, as here, which seem beneath the dignity of the subject :—In a window at Antwerp cathedral (sixteenth century), a figure on the near side of the table is drinking with uplifted hand, just as shown here ; and Albano represents one of the disciples as peeping into an empty wine-pitcher, with a disappointed look. Stradano introduces a kitchen, and cooking of supper in the background. The grouping of figures on the near side of the table is exceptional, but it is found—as in the window of Antwerp cathedral (above mentioned), and in a Flemish window, A.D. 1542, of which a copy is in the South Kensington Museum, in which also is the only instance (under my notice) of *square* plates or trenchers on the table, as here.

#### "THE MANNA."

We may safely, I think, pronounce the subject of this painting to be "The Descent of the Manna from Heaven," or "The Gathering of the Manna." The position of the picture, in immediate proximity to that of "The Lord's Supper"



(it occurs on the next spandrel), would naturally suggest that interpretation, affording another instance of the general custom to associate in the Church's illustrative teaching, the symbolism of an Old Testament type with its counterpart in the Gospel Revelation. In the position of these two pictures, side by side, we have what we may almost call a pictorial commentary on the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel; a comparison and harmony of type and anti-type sanctioned by the very words of Holy Writ: "He gave them bread out of heaven to eat." John vi. 31. "I am the bread of life. . . . This is the bread which cometh down out of heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die." ver. 48, 50 (*Rev. Vers.*)

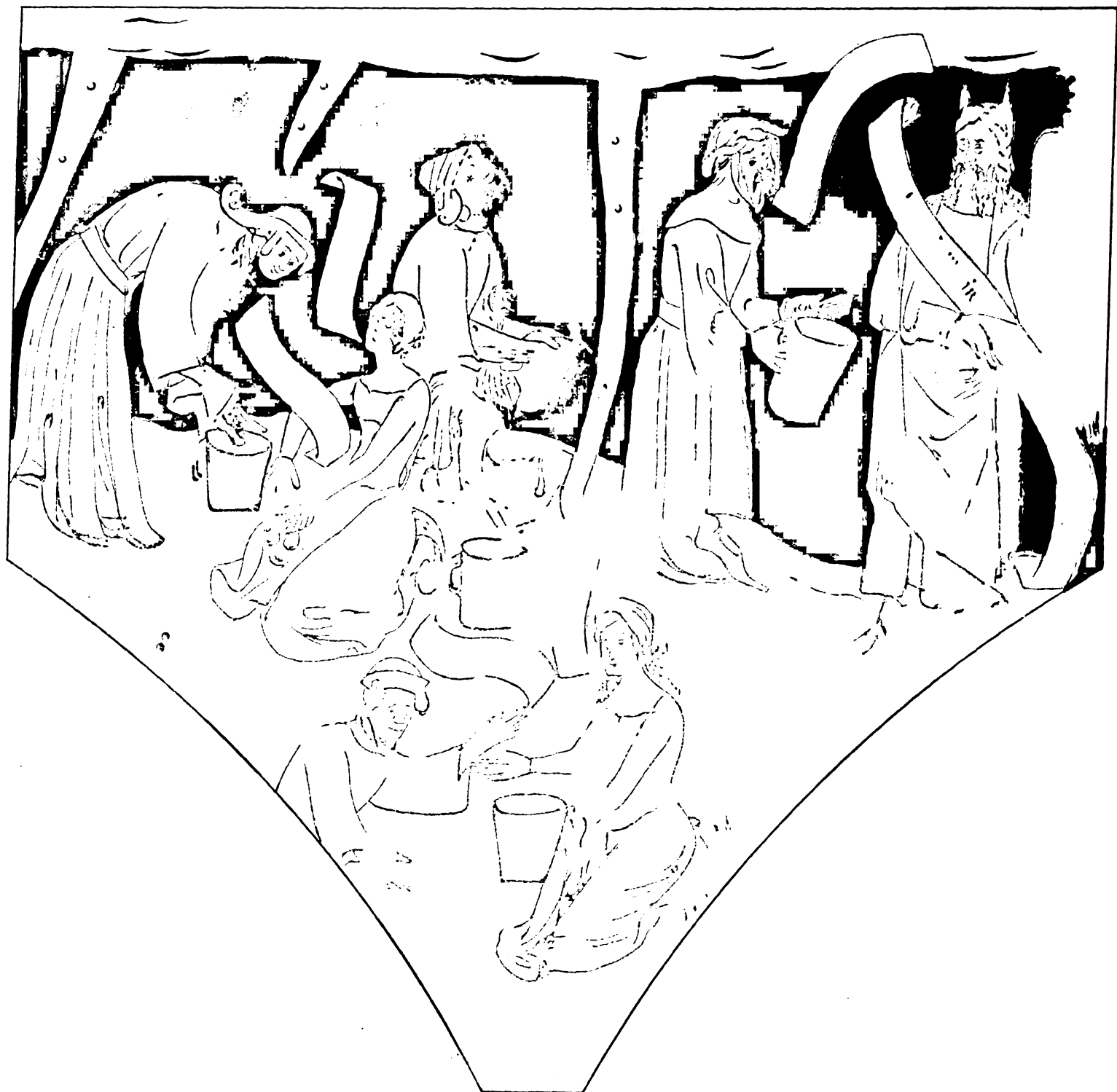
The scene is represented with a primitive simplicity and realism which we should expect in a delineation of anything like landscape at that period; but not without a certain grace of artistic composition. There is the heaven above (very closely above, certainly), denoted by a broad wash of some light tint, not with straight, regular edge, as in a mere border, but with lower edge undulating; and on it, here and there, black lines, which may be meant for lower edges of clouds. From this heaven are poured down streaks, three in number, two of them after the form of a water-spout, and reaching to the earth; the third and middle one much shorter, as only in the course of falling. On these light-coloured streaks small circular marks in black say, as it were, "This is the manna." The place on which it falls may be described as a hill-side, the slope of ground being from the right to left of the picture. Upon it, and in strong relief against the distance, which is represented by a dark crimson background, is a group engaged in gathering the manna. Prominent on the right is a tall and not ungraceful figure of a female bending over another female, who kneels to receive in her apron, held up by both hands, the manna, which the figure above is pouring out of her right hand from a vessel held in her left. The head-dress of this latter figure, also her sleeves, and the head-dress of the upright figure above left, may give some indication of the date of the painting, though it does not necessarily follow that the artist should have represented the costume of his own, rather than that of a previous period.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> What this upright figure holds in her hands it is difficult to say, as the wall here as also about her face is much injured. I first took it to be a vessel, similar to those in the hands of the other figures, but further examination, and the evident presence of blue colouring here, leads me to the conviction that this is not a vessel, but part of her dress which this figure is holding in both hands, probably an apron, from which she pours the manna into a vessel (of which there are faint indications) on the ground at her feet.









THE GATHERING OF THE MANNA: FRISKNEY CHURCH LINCOLNSHIRE.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884*



There are no indications of the manna lying in any quantity upon the ground ; but there is nothing strange in this if we bear in mind that, in a picture painted to be seen from a distance of some twenty-five feet below, such minute details could not have been visible.

There remain, however, upon the ground on the right of the picture, two small carefully-painted objects, about the size and shape of a walnut, and another such near the feet of one of the male figures, which we may fairly pronounce to be specimens of the fallen "manna."

Besides the group of females we see, divided from them by the longest streak descending from heaven, a group of two male figures erect, and, notably in the case of the figure on the extreme left, of a reverent and dignified mien.

The pose of this figure, specially in the easy, graceful carriage of the right arm and hand (which supports a scroll of equal length to his own stature), is really fine ; as also the bold outline of the head, with flowing locks and beard.

This, without doubt, represents Moses, for there are the typical horns rising from his forehead ; and by his left shoulder is a fragment of what was evidently the upper part of the Tables of the Law.

To him another figure advances, holding towards him in the palm of the left hand some pieces of the manna, while his right grasps a vessel, or "pot of manna," similar to those above mentioned.

In the costume of this figure we notice the head-dress with folds lined in dark red, and like those of a turban ; also, the cape on his shoulder, the curious sleeve, and the long pointed shoes. In the lower and narrow part of the spandrel are two figures of smaller stature, and (as in the case of the "Cæna") of more homely character. In the male figure the close-fitting round cap and loose sleeves may be noticed. The female kneels in the same attitude as that of her above (right) ; and the apron with folds, almost identical with that above, seems ready to receive the manna. The pot, or vessel, between the two is, apparently, grasped by the left hand of the female.

Scrolls, with faint vestiges of black lettering, are attached to all the figures except the upright female figure, and in the case of the small male figure the scroll proceeds, not from the lips as usual, but from the tip of the extended fingers of the left hand.

There is a special interest in the discovery of this painting, inasmuch as there is no other known instance, as far as I am aware, of this subject in fresco or mural painting. This is remarkable, when we know that the fellow picture, as we may call it, of "The Supper," is a subject of such frequent occurrence. One

only instance of a representation of the manna has come to my knowledge. It is mentioned by Mr. John Henry Middleton, Fellow of this Society, that some years ago he noticed a mural representation of this subject at the church of S. Agostino at Perugia—a painting which has since been destroyed. It was, however, a favourite subject in mediæval *glass*.

The process of removing the drab-wash which covers these paintings is exceedingly tedious and difficult, specially where the face of the wall is uneven, the inner surface of the rubble having been in some places barely covered by the facing of plaster upon which the subjects were painted. In depressions of the wall, the "wash" scales off tolerably well, usually showing the lines of colour clear and uninjured; but, on projections of the wall, the coating of plaster was very thin—in some places it has quite gone—in others, the brush carrying the subsequent drab-wash, having firmer pressure over the projecting part, has left streaks of that wash, which defy scraping. In parts, the "wash" seems to have been mixed with some tenacious and staining matter so strongly that the stains cannot be removed without going quite through to the rubble behind.

There are eight more spandrels on which I hope to work with more or less success—I am now engaged upon a very fairly preserved "Ascension" in the north clerestory.

The question of the preservation, or even partial restoration, of these paintings, is one of great interest. I am inclined to think that the lines might be very carefully and judiciously strengthened with colour, and the worst of the scars and deformities of the wall mended with plaster, tinted to the tone of the existing ground. The whole of the series might thus be in time recovered, and, if the walls of the clerestory above the paintings as well as the arches below were carefully treated in colour, some vestige of the original beauty of the church's interior decoration be retained.

XII.—*On some Accounts of the Royal Wardrobe in the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.* By HENRY SALUSBURY MILMAN, Esq., M.A., Director.

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Read January 27, 1881.

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At the meeting of the Society on this day, the Earl of Ashburnham exhibited the MS. Account of the Keeper of the Royal Wardrobe for 28 Edward I. 1299-1300, for comparison with that of the Controller of the Royal Wardrobe for the same year, which has long been in the Society's library, and was printed by them in 1787. The volume exhibited is described in the *Catalogue of the Ashburnham MSS.* Appendix, 1861, No. cxv. In connection with this exhibition the Director made the following remarks:—

“At the above period of history there were always, as I shall presently show, two concurrent Accounts of the Royal Wardrobe, the Keeper's Account and the Controller's Account, but in no instance but this, so far as I know, have both for the same period survived to our time.

The Keeper's Account before us was acquired by the late Earl of Ashburnham, and, through the courtesy of the present Earl, Fellow of our Society, has been left here for several weeks for our perusal.

The Controller's Account for the same year is the earliest of four like volumes which were presented to our Society by the Honourable Daines Barrington from Sir Ashton Lever, Knight, both then Fellows, on the 27th of January, 1780 (*Archæologia*, vii. 418), and are numbered 119-122 in our Catalogue of MSS.

This earliest Account now before us was printed in 1787 by our Society as *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ*, 28 Edward I. It had been mutilated before it came to us. At its beginning the first eight of the ten folios which showed the receipt through the Exchequer, at its end the nineteen folios which showed the Prestitæ, were missing. In printing, the remaining two of the ten receipt folios were purposely omitted, the sum of the receipt through the Exchequer only being given.

It might seem at first sight that the proper use to be made of the presence of the Ashburnham Account in our library would be, to transcribe therefrom the folios wanting in our Account, and print them as the complement to our print of 1787. On careful consideration I have formed a different opinion. The value of our print consists, not so much in showing with commercial accuracy how every item of receipt and expenditure in the Account for that year arose and contributed to the totals, as in exhibiting the manner of keeping such Accounts, and in illustrating by its details the history, language, art, and manners of the time. This is already done. The print has been for nearly a century useful to antiquaries in such researches, and may further be regarded as pointing to the value of like Accounts still remaining in MS. I believe that the printing powers of our Society may be exerted more profitably in other directions, but that I may do a slight service to antiquarian science by explaining how it came to pass that there were two original Accounts of the same transactions kept, and how those Accounts became identical.

It appears from the *Dialogus de Scaccario* (Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, 1711; Stubbs, *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English History*, 1870) that before the reign of Henry II. there was established in the Exchequer of the kingdom a system of double Accounts, that is to say, a *secondary* Account contemporary with and checking the *primary* Account. This *secondary* Account was kept with minute care, 'that its roll might answer to the other roll, that neither one iota might be wanting nor the order of writing be different.' Under this rule, every leaf and page of the *secondary* answered to a leaf and page of the *primary*; and so the audit at the end of the year was carried out with ease and accuracy.

The writer of the *primary* roll was the clerk of the Treasurer; the writer of the *secondary* roll was the clerk of the Chancellor. The audit consisted in the Treasurer and Chancellor each with his clerk meeting in conference, and the clerks going over their respective rolls and adding the note 'pb', probatum, to each item as finally settled. Thus the two rolls became in substance, and almost in form, identical.

It may be noted here, as a matter of curiosity, that the administrative genius of Henry II. provided in this very important office a *tertiary* Account as a check upon the other two, 'because it is written *Funiculus triplex difficile solvitur*.'

The two Accounts now before us show that the plan followed in the Exchequer of the Kingdom was also followed in the household or Wardrobe of the King.



The *Custos* or Keeper of the Wardrobe kept, by his clerk, the *primary* Account called the 'Compotus.' Another officer, the *Contrarotulator* or Controller, kept, by his clerk, the *secondary* Account called the 'Liber Cotidianus Contrarotulatoris,' or 'Contrarotulus Compoti.' As in the Exchequer, so in the Wardrobe, line almost answered to line, leaf and page quite answered to leaf and page, and the audit was carried out in like manner.

In the Exchequer the two rolls, after audit, were deposited each in its own series apart; but in the Wardrobe they were, after a time, deposited together in the treasury of the Wardrobe. Doubtless this ordinary arrangement was often disturbed by the troubles which fell upon the royal household and rapid changes in its officers; and hence most of the rolls of both series were dispersed and lost. But for the 28 Edward I. both rolls, as we see, survive. They correspond as required by the rule derived from the Exchequer, leaf to leaf, page to page, almost line to line. The 'probatum,' the mark of audit, has been affixed to the sum of every page, and to the sum of every leaf on its second page, and in some cases, where the sum has been apparently corrected by a second audit, a second mark is affixed to the finally stated sum. The rolls are neither a copy of the other, but separately kept Accounts for the year, brought on the expiration of the year into agreement in the manner described.

In a list of articles remaining in the Royal Wardrobe at the end of 27 Edward I. (see the printed Account, p. 349) are specified eight Wardrobe-Books, two for every year, of four, namely, 15, 16, 17, and 18 Edward I., and divers rolls (some in pockets of hemp) of Wardrobe Accounts of divers years, and of various accounts rendered in the Wardrobe. These entries show the regular course of preserving the two corresponding Accounts of every year together, and the partial disturbance of this regular course.

Of the four Wardrobe-books in our library three are in Latin and the fourth in French.

The three in Latin are Wardrobe Accounts of the 'Controller' series.

No. 119, the earliest (that printed), is called 'Liber Cotidianus Contrarotulatoris,' 28 Edward I.

No. 120, the second, is called 'Contrarotulus Compoti Custodis,' 10 Edward II.

No. 121, the third, is called 'Liber Cotidianus Contrarotulatoris,' 11 Edward II.

No. 122, the French book, is not strictly a Wardrobe Account, but rather a collection of notes of money transactions rendered in the Wardrobe in successive years, as materials for the Wardrobe Accounts of those years. It belongs to the Treasurer or Keeper series, and comprises notes for the 18th, 19th, and 20th, the three last years of Edward II. Many of the entries have been made hastily and informally. In reference to the change of language and looser arrangement, one must bear in mind the growing preference of the King, as his reign proceeded, for foreign officers and attendants, and the confusion of civil war during these latter years. These are probably the very documents which accompanied him in his later marches, voyages, and flights. The last ends in October, 20 Edward II. 1326, about the time when he endeavoured to cross from South Wales to Ireland, was driven back by adverse weather, and finally captured at Neath. Some of the notes of expenses bear the sign of audit or check, 'pb,' and in two places notice is taken of the commencement of the year in October, 'according to the rule of the Exchequer.'"

XIII.—*Account of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Wycombe.*

By JOHN PARKER, Esq., F.S.A.

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Read March 16, 1882.

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BISHOP TANNER informs us that the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Chepping Wycombe in Buckinghamshire was founded for a master, brethren, and sisters before 20 Hen. III.<sup>a</sup> As the remains of the buildings belonging to it are threatened with demolition in the carrying out of a scheme for erecting a new Grammar School, sanctioned by the Charity Commissioners on the application of the Governors of the Wycombe Grammar School and Almshouse Foundation, it will be interesting, in the first place, to give some notion of the original situation of the Hospital and its surroundings. The present street, called Easton Street, a portion of the road from London to Oxford, cuts through what must have been a part of the Hospital grounds, and renders it difficult to realise the appearance of the place in the twelfth century, the street having been formed close to the buildings and leaving them in an irregular position.

The situation of the Hospital, as regards the town of Wycombe, was eastward in a part called Estynton, or East Town, and this seems to indicate that it was outside the ancient *terræ dominicales*, constituting the small burg in Saxon times.<sup>b</sup> Estynton, or East Town, possibly a cluster of a few houses with the Hospital, and the ancient mill, known as Pann Mill, for its principal buildings, was so far a separate district that we find it had its own fair on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr. According to early records it was the aim of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Wycombe to make this fair as popular as could be; for by an order of the court, in 1527, the invitation to it is thus given: "For all manner of pepuls for cum to the forsayde fayer free w'oute any maner of staullayge payde that day to the bayllys." The fair, however, did not long exist,

<sup>a</sup> *Not. Mon.* 1744, Buckinghamshire, "Wycomb." See also Willis's *Not. Parl.* vol. ii. 1716. App. to vol. i. p. 7, and vol. i. 2nd ed. 1730, p. 113.

<sup>b</sup> See Parker's *Wycombe*, 1878, p. 34.

notwithstanding strenuous exertions, in the shape of severe enactments, on the part of the corporation to maintain it in perpetuity. Estynton has long been united to the town of Wycombe by the name of Easton Street.

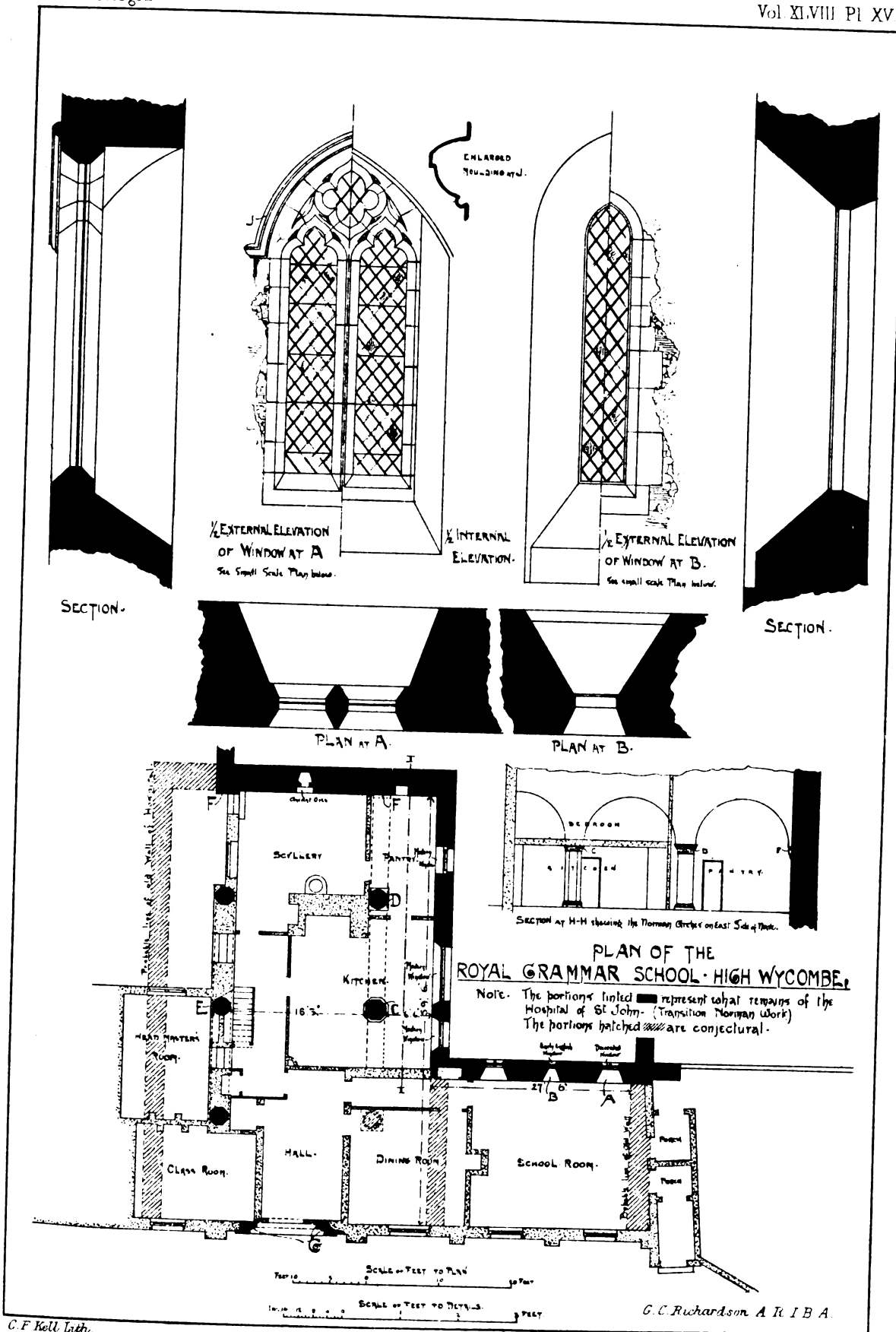
The buildings fronted the south, having the river Wick flowing by; a piece of land belonging to the foundation, called Naith's Mead, now partly sold away, and partly built over with Almshouses, stretched along between the buildings and the river; at the back of the buildings were grounds belonging to the foundation, now partly occupied by the orchard of the head-master of the Grammar School; on the other side of the river was the Rye Mead, then, as now, an appurtenant of the foundation.

A few words about this Mead may be interesting. It was a piece of commonable land of about thirty acres, and from very early times into the eighteenth century extended in a much more westwardly direction towards the town than it does at the present day. An exchange of lands between Lord Shelburne and the corporation of Wycombe was effected shortly after 1753. Though no records are extant of this exchange, the effect of it was that portions of the old Rye were taken into Lord Shelburne's park, and his lordship gave up certain lands to the corporation, which brought the Mead into a more uniform shape. The land, however, which Lord Shelburne added to his park was the portion of the original mead which lay in front of the Hospital. This exchange therefore severed, so far as situation was concerned, the association of the Rye Mead with the Hospital.

An author of a curious MS. descriptive of the borough of Wycombe in the beginning of the last century, says, "All the inhabitants of the borough have liberty at all times to walk and use sports and pastimes, such as running, leaping, wrestlings, riding, backwords, and other plays at their pleasure, without being trespassers." The inhabitants have also had by immemorial usage the privilege of depasturing certain cattle in the Mead. As early as the thirteenth century the Rye Mead is mentioned as a common meadow belonging to the corporation of Wycombe. We are told that "it was really the common pasture of the tenants of the ancient demesne of Wycombe prior to the incorporation of the borough, and on the incorporation the burgesses entered into the rights of the tenants."<sup>a</sup> It was in this Mead that, at the law days and views of frankpledge, all the leases were renewed, and fresh grants made in the presence of the inhabitants, a custom which had doubtless been handed down from Saxon times.

The Rye is at the present day the people's park for an increasing town,

<sup>a</sup> See *Wycombe*, pp. 26, 27.



C. F. Kell Lith.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, HIGH WYCOMBE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.



besides supplying a pasturage for the cattle of the burgesses; and the power conferred on the governors of the foundation under the Wycombe Borough Extension Act 1880, to frame bye-laws for its management, will be the means of making this ancient recreation ground a still greater boon to the townspeople.

No record exists, of which I am aware, of the origin of the foundation of the Hospital of St. John. The popular idea in the locality is, that, as it was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, it belonged first to the Templars and then to the Knights Hospitallers; such a theory is not without some justification, for we know that the Hospitallers "placed small societies of their brethren under the government of a commander. These were allowed proper maintenance out of the revenues under their care, and accounted for the remainder to the grand prior in London."<sup>a</sup>

That the Templars had extensive lands at Wycombe is clear,<sup>b</sup> for the most important manor at one time at Wycombe was the manor of Temple Wycombe, though at the present day there is scarcely any property held under its court-rolls. This manor is chiefly known now by a farm, once belonging to it, called Temple Farm, and by the road leading to the homestead called Temple End. We learn that King John granted this with other manors to Robert de Vipont. This Robert was a great friend and benefactor of the Knights Templars, and he granted these manors, bestowed on him by King John, to the Templars, who enjoyed them till the dissolution of their order by Edward II. in 1324, when it is supposed Temple Wycombe was granted—as was, it is needless to say, generally the case with the property of the Templars—to the Knights Hospitallers.<sup>c</sup> This supposition appears to be correct; for we find, from the report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for 1338, in the schedules of properties belonging to their chief house in London, the priory of Clerkenwell, that, amongst the "*bona quondam Templi*," the following entry occurs, "*et de firma de Wycomb*," let for 18 marks.<sup>d</sup>

It might be conjectured that on the suppression of the Templars, as great accession of property was made to the Hospitallers, the small societies of the former passed with their estates to the latter; and an inference might be drawn from this, that the foundation of St. John at Wycombe in a similar way possibly came into the possession of the Hospitallers; but all the facts relating to

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale's *Monast.* 1830, vol. vi. p. 786.

<sup>b</sup> "They had great property in this hundred": see Langley's *Desborough*, 1797, p. 298.

<sup>c</sup> *Wycombe*, p. 16.

<sup>d</sup> *Cand. Soc.* No. LXV. 1857, p. 59.

the Hospital and its properties are against this supposition. The true account seems to be, that this was one of the hospitals of the order of St. Augustine for the relief of poor and impotent persons, occupying the same place in the Middle Ages, though regarded as an institution of greater dignity, than the union workhouse now fills. I have said that this Hospital was of the order of St. Augustine. It is mentioned among the many other hospitals of that order enumerated by the subsequent editors of Dugdale's *Monasticon*; and their enumeration appears to be correct, judging from the authorities I am about to quote. The Austin Friars, or Eremites, founded by William Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Poitou about the year 1150,<sup>a</sup> were by Pope Alexander IV. gathered from their scattered communities into a single order under a prior-general, and removed by him into cities and towns. "They wore a black robe and girdle, and observed the so-called rule of St. Augustine, which was adopted by all other *Mendicant Orders*."<sup>b</sup>

The religious order of poor Catholics founded by Pierre Valdo about 1160, we are told, wore the habit of the Eremites of St. Augustine, and made profession of that order.<sup>c</sup> Thus we connect the mendicant orders and houses for the reception of the poor with the order of St. Augustine, as adopting the rule of that order.

Tanner says: "Besides the poor and impotent there generally were in these hospitals two or three religious; one to be master or prior, and one or two to be chaplains and confessors; and these observed the rule of St. Austin, and probably subjected the poor and impotent to some religious restraint, as well as to the local statutes."

In the case of the Wycombe Hospital the Master was also the chaplain of the community.

The valley in which the town of Wycombe lies has always been rich and fertile. The sokemen who owned the common fields on the slopes of this valley probably founded the Hospital at the first as a resting-place for pilgrims and travellers, and ultimately it became a refuge for the poor and aged of the locality.

"Hospitals were originally designed for relief and entertainment of travellers upon the road, particularly of pilgrims; and therefore were generally built on the road side. In later times they have always been founded for fixed in-

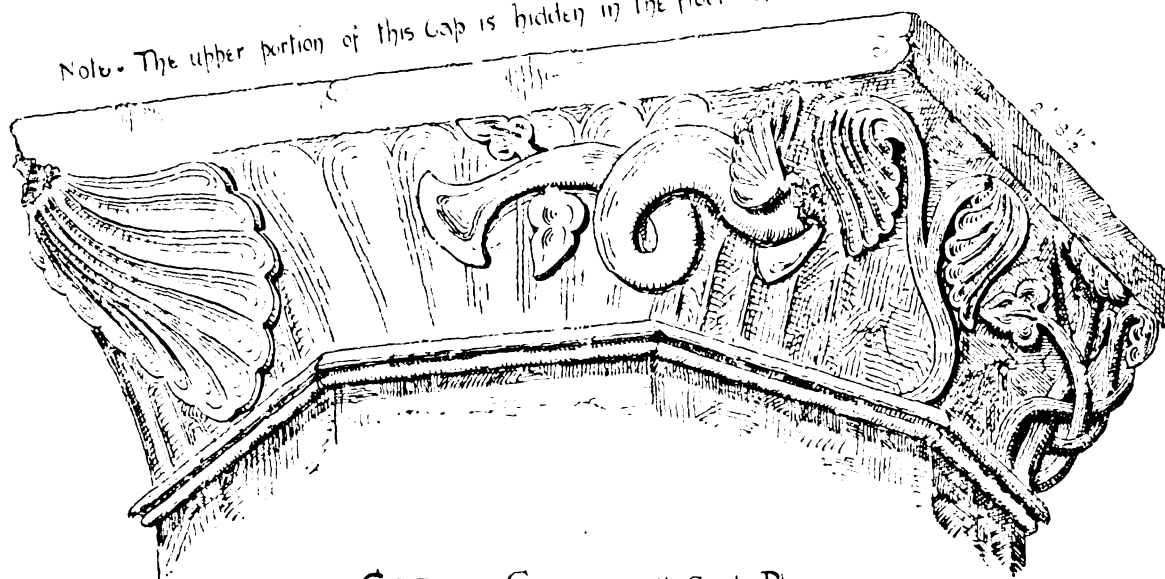
<sup>a</sup> Walcott's *Sacred Archaeology*, 1868, p. 51.

<sup>b</sup> Fosbroke's *British Monachism*, 1802, p. 22.

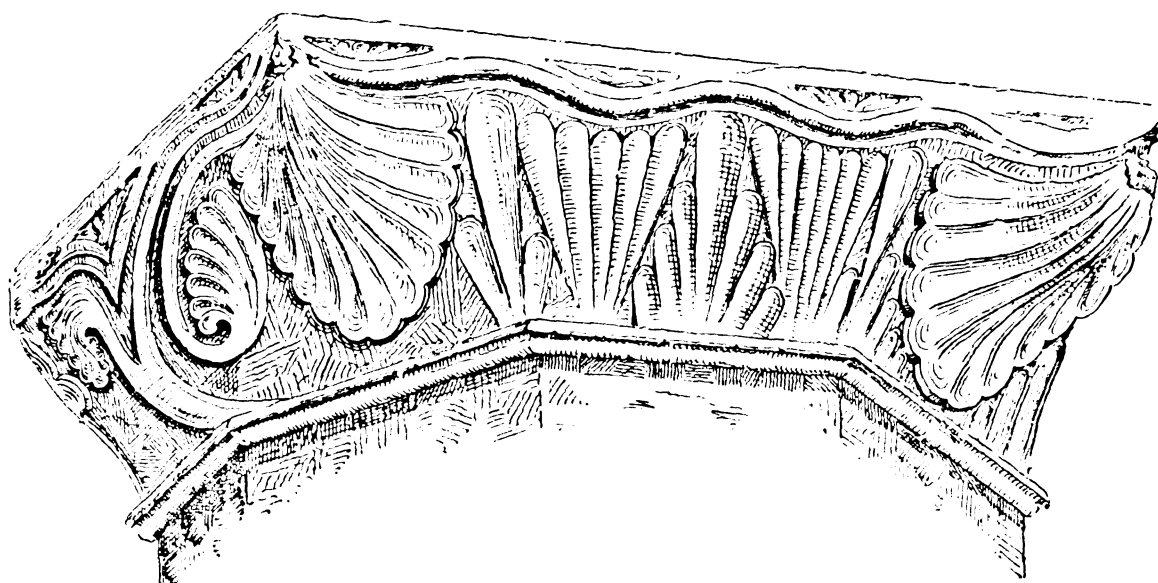
<sup>c</sup> Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques Religieux et Militaires et des Congrégations Séculières*, 1714-19, tom. iii.



Note. The upper portion of this Cap is hidden in the floor above.



CAP AT C. see Small Scale Plan.



CAP AT C. REVERSE SIDE. see Small Scale Plan.

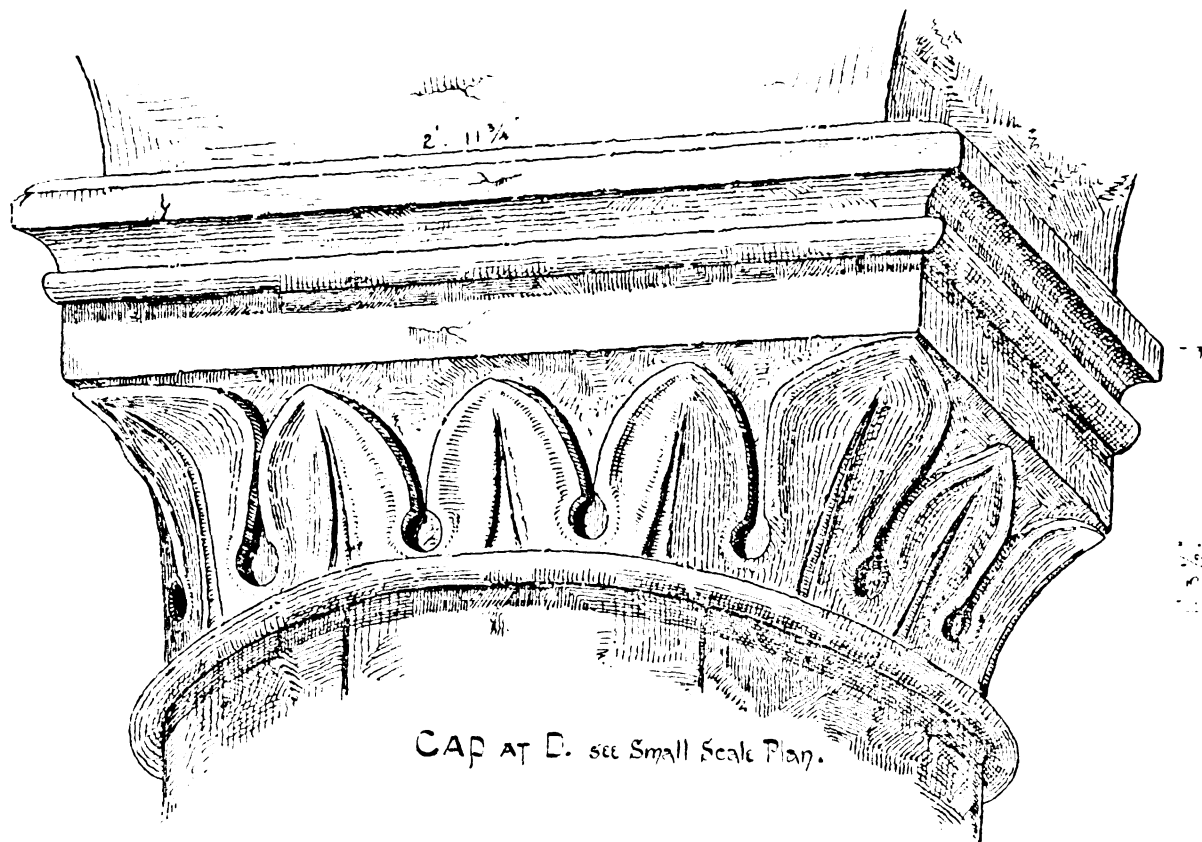
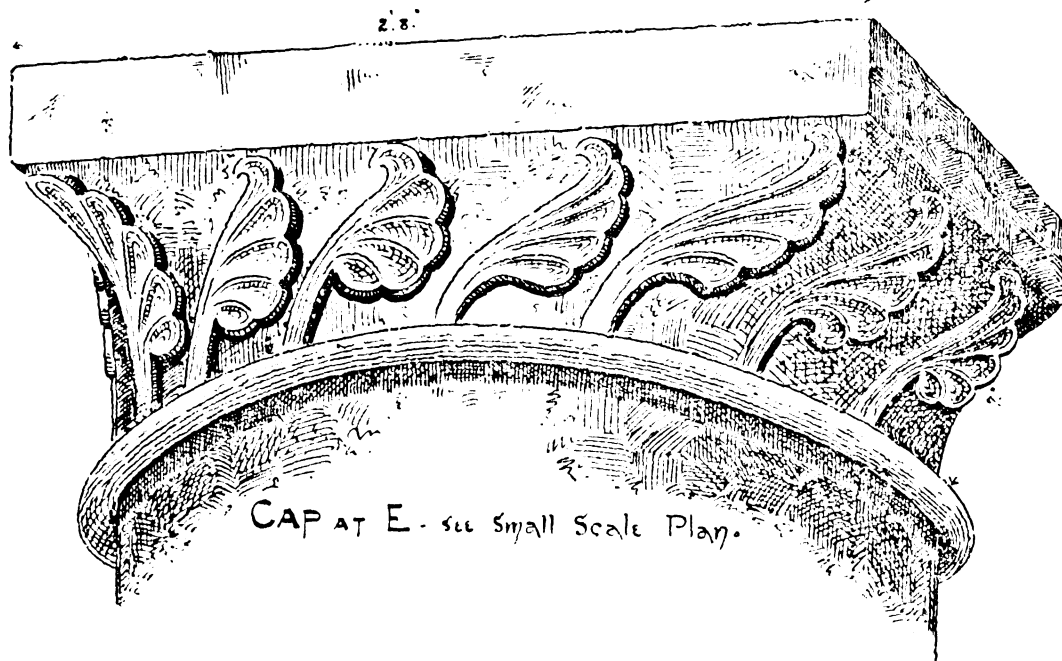
G. C. Richardson, A. R. I. B. A.

C. F. W. Lich.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, HIGH WYCOMBE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.





G. C. Richardson, A.R.I.B.A.

C.F. Hill, Lith.

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habitants. The Maison Dieu at Dover, St. John's Hospital at Warwick, and some others, were expressly founded for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims and travellers." <sup>a</sup>

The foundation of this Hospital must be left, to a certain extent, as we have seen, to conjecture, but we have the evidence of grants being from time to time made to it by pious benefactors which added to its income. Thus we find that Thomas Walder of Wycombe, by his will made in 1290, charged three houses with three shillings annually for the Hospital. William atte Combe in 1354 left the residue of his property to be distributed "for his soul's good, except one . . . which he leaves to the house of St. John the Baptist at Wycombe." <sup>b</sup>

In course of time the Hospital became one of the principal institutions of the borough of Wycombe; as early as 1344 it was in the patronage of the mayor and burgesses of the town.<sup>c</sup> Still earlier it might have been associated with the corporation, for it is worthy of remark that Wycombe is a town of great antiquity, its incorporation being ascribed with a degree of certainty to Henry I.

Everything points to the intimate association of the Hospital with the town. The Rye Mead, so important a spot, dedicated from the earliest times to the use of the townsfolk, became an appurtenant, as before mentioned, of the charity; and it is remarkable that one of the principal endowments of the foundation is still known as "the Town Farm."

As I have before said, the inmates of the Hospital were a master and poor brethren and sisters: these were appointed by the burgesses. "In the Master was vested the freehold as tenant for life, who was a clerk in holy orders, and who said daily prayer in the Hospital. The brethren and sisters were appointed on the ground of poverty and sickness, and took vows of chastity and obedience. By a deed dated in 1245 the brethren and sisters were bound to distribute annually at Lady-Day, to the poor asking alms at the Hospital, bread of two quarters of wheat, and to pray for the soul of Adam Walder, and this the burgesses bound themselves to see done." <sup>d</sup>

Among the curious documents relating to this foundation, on the back of a lease granted by Edward Wellesbourne, Master in 1515, has been discovered in much earlier handwriting a copy of a portion of a Bull of Pope Gregory IX. addressed to Grostête Bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of the diocese in which the

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale, vol. vi. p. 605.

<sup>b</sup> *Wycombe*, p. 140.

<sup>c</sup> Collect. cl. Matth. Hutton ex reg. Thomæ Beke Episc. Lincoln, cited by Tanner.

<sup>d</sup> *Wycombe*, p. 140.

Hospital was situate, in which the Pope speaks of his "Welbelovyd chyldren, ye master and ye brethren of the ospetaule of Saint John Baptist of Wycōbe," and as to their having made "supplication mekely." The object of the Bull is not, however, disclosed in the mutilated state of the copy.<sup>a</sup>

The early history of Wycombe gives a list of the Masters taken from the records, which furnish imperfect information. We have the names of twenty-one Masters, beginning with Robert +. 1265, and ending with Christopher Chalfont, who resigned in 1553.

On the dissolution of the monasteries, *temp.* Henry VIII., this foundation seems to have been extinguished, the Master having, as a matter of course, surrendered the lands of the Hospital to the Crown. In the subsequent reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary the foundation passed by grants and gifts of the Crown into private hands. It is not, however, my purpose to trace its history onwards, except to remark that it was in the reign of Elizabeth that the mayor and burgesses asserted their ancient rights as its patrons. They in the year 1562 granted the Hospital, with the lands belonging to it, to Queen Elizabeth for the purpose of converting it into a royal grammar school. The Queen immediately afterwards re-granted by her letters patent the Hospital, its lands and revenues, to the mayor and burgesses and their successors for ever, for the support and maintenance of the grammar school and four poor persons; in subsequent years the number of almspeople was increased.

Tanner says: "And though after the Dissolution Queen Mary granted it [the Hospital] to Sir Robert Throgmorton, Queen Elizabeth granted it, anno regni 4, to the corporation, and refounded the Hospital,<sup>b</sup> which is yet in being under the government of the mayor, aldermen, and bailiffs."

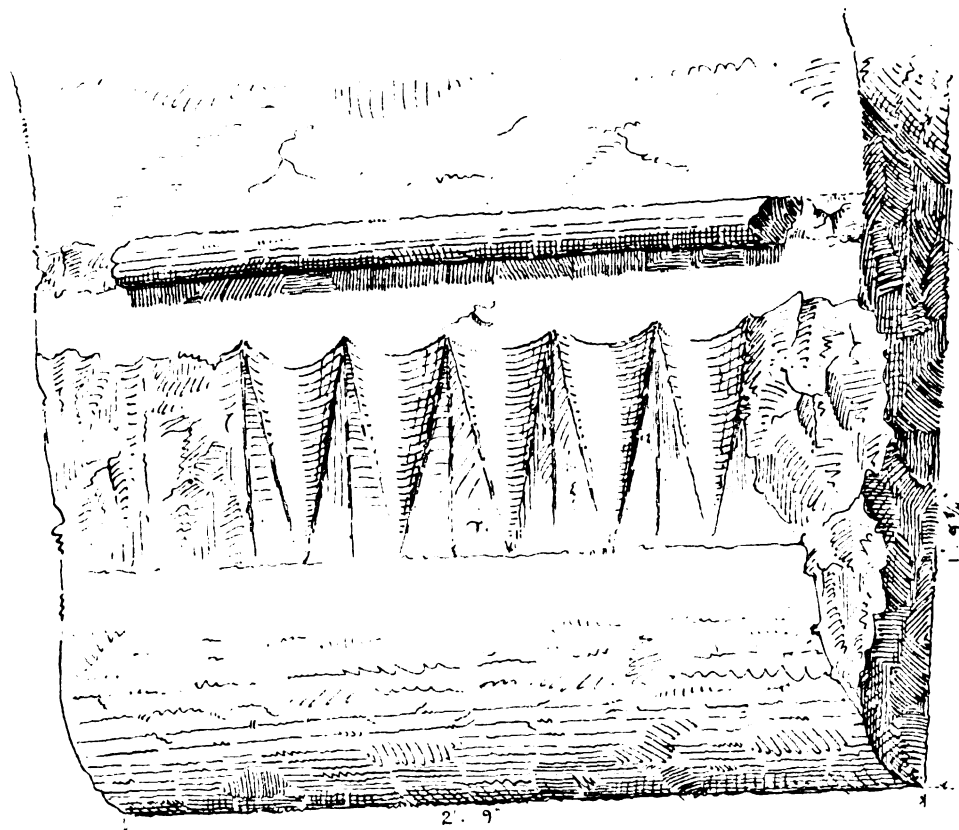
The charity is now under the management of the Governors of the Wycombe Grammar School and Almshouse Foundation, in pursuance of a scheme made by the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, which received the royal approval in 1878.

I now proceed to make a few remarks descriptive of the Hospital buildings as they still exist.

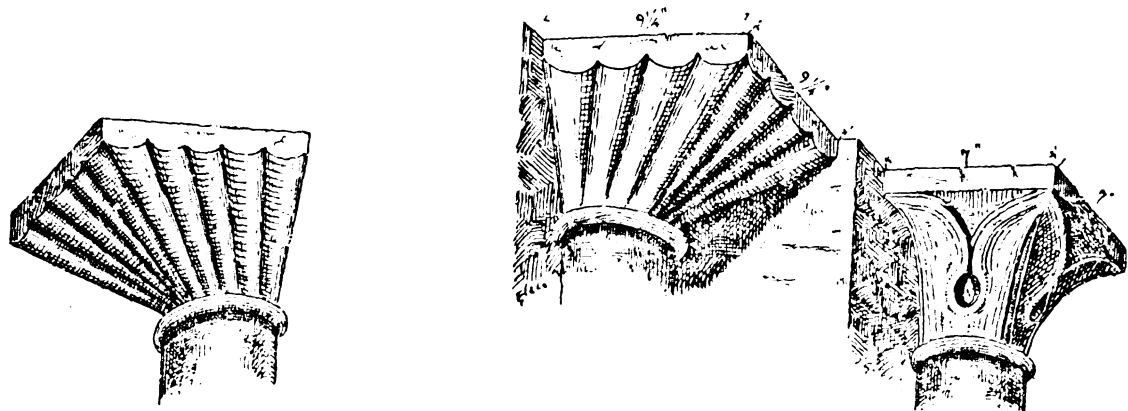
What remains are fragments, and important ones, of the hall and of the chapel. The hall is supposed to have been built in 1175; the Norman pillars and arches are for the most part preserved; the building stands almost north and south, the entrance being at the south. The doorway is still seen in Easton

<sup>a</sup> *Wycombe*, p. 141.

<sup>b</sup> See *Not. Parl.* above referred to.



CORBEL AT F. see Small Scale Plan.



CAPS AT ENTRANCE. G. see Small Scale Plan.

G. C. Richardson. A. R. I. B. A.

G. F. Hole. Lith.

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Street, the only remains of which are four small transitional Norman capitals, discovered some years since on the plaster being removed; the shafts to these capitals have been restored. The length of the hall by recent measurement is found to be 59 feet 6 inches, the nave from pillar to pillar is 18 feet 3 inches wide, and the aisles were 6 feet 6 inches in width.

There were originally three pillars on each side of the nave, alternately round and octagonal, supporting four plain semi-circular arches 13 feet in diameter, the two outer ones at each end resting upon brackets or capitals, built up in the north and south walls. Of the six pillars four remain; they are about 2 feet in diameter, 8½ feet high, including the capitals, which are ornamented with sculptured foliage and shells, and on one of them is a dragon, which has unfortunately lost its head.

It will perhaps make the description of the present condition of this hall simpler if I show what is its state, first on the east and then on the west side. Beginning from the south end of the east side of the building, the first arch and pillar are completely gone; three parts of the next arch and the next pillar, which is octagonal, are preserved; the next arch and a circular pillar remain; the remaining arch, from the circular pillar to the capital built in the wall, is also preserved. A portion of the east aisle exists, and of the original eastern outer wall. The outer north wall of the nave and of the east aisle remains. The west aisle has entirely disappeared.

I now describe the condition of the building from the west side, beginning, as before, from the south. The first arch has gone, the first pillar is concealed in a closet, the next arch and pillar are to be seen on ascending the modern staircase, the next pillar has been taken away, but the capital remains, supported by an outside wall. The two remaining arches have been bricked up, but they are traceable from the outside of the present building, and the capital built into the north wall is also visible. In the north wall of the nave is an oven, which has all the appearance, from its construction, of being coeval with the building. There is nothing left of the original windows of the hall, so far as one can at present discover.

Bearing in mind the interest which attaches to a building of so early a date as this Norman hall, used for secular purposes, still partially standing, I have given as complete an account as possible of the remains as they now appear. I have only to make a few remarks with reference to the chapel of the Hospital. It stood on the southern part of the east side of the hall, opening into the hall; the length of the chapel was 27 feet 6 inches. All that is left of this building is

the north wall, and possibly portions of the roof remain; the chapel is of later date than the hall; there is an Early English lancet window in the centre of the remaining wall, and a Decorated window to the east of it; to the west of it another Decorated window has, in recent years, been introduced, corresponding with the window of that style originally inserted, in the place of a door which formerly led into the Hospital grounds.

The accompanying illustrations, for which I am indebted to Mr. G. Canning Richardson, give the plan of the Hospital; a section showing the Norman arches at the east side of the nave; the capital to the pillar in the kitchen of the head-master, showing its entire design; the capital to the pillar in the pantry; the capitals to the arch over the entrance doorway; a corbel in the pantry; the capital in the wall by the staircase shown on the ground-plan; and the external and internal elevations of the Early-English and the Decorated windows in the chapel.

I think it right to explain that the original intention of the governors of the foundation was to restore the Norman hall as the school-room, and the chapel as a class-room, in connection with the grammar school, and plans for carrying out the restoration were prepared; the scheme however was abandoned on account of its not receiving the sanction of the Charity Commissioners, on financial grounds. The governors, after having had to abandon another proposal for erecting the school buildings on an entirely new position, eventually fell back upon the orchard at the back of the present building, on the site of which the schools are to be erected. They are anxious to preserve the Norman remains *in situ*, after pulling down the modern buildings which surround them.

[Soon after this communication was read, the modern buildings were removed, and the remains of the hall and chapel, carefully preserved, were thrown open to view from Easton Street.—J. P.]

XIV.—*On the Meaning and Origin of the Fylfot and Swastika.* By ROBERT  
PHILIPS GREG, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., &c.

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Read March 23rd, 1882.

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PART I.—THE WESTERN FYLFOT.

IN a Paper read before this Society, 15 May, 1879, printed in *Archæologia*, vol. XLVII. pp. 157—160, on “The Fret or Key Ornamentation in Mexico and Peru,” I showed that this form or symbol was there without doubt emblematic of *water*, and probably adopted independently of Western or Old World influence; and at the conclusion of the Paper I threw out a hint that the *fylfot* or *swastika* was an old Aryan symbol, connected with the older sky or air-gods, as represented by Indra and Jupiter *Tonans* and *Pluvius*, and not found in the New World. Since then I have gone very fully into a further investigation as to the general history and meaning of that ancient and mystic symbol; and believe I have arrived at a satisfactory solution of a question which has long been a puzzle to mythologists and antiquaries; but one which—in spite of the later labours and discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, Bernouf, Max Müller, of Ludvig Müller of Copenhagen, and most recently of Mr. Edward Thomas, the eminent numismatist—I believe, with Fergusson (*Tree and Serpent Worship*), has not yet been fully solved. The chief theories, or those most worthy of being considered respecting this peculiar kind of cross (*croix-gammée*), are the following:—

*First.*—That it was a purely *solar* device, indicative of *gyratory*, or whirling motion. This theory is based chiefly on the circumstance that it sometimes occurs on certain coins (found, however, on a very limited area) in connection either with the *solar* disc or with the three-legged and three-pronged, or three-footed, devices called the *triquetra* and *triskele*. (See figs. 4, Pl. XX. and 24, Pl. XIX.) Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller lay great stress on this. The former writer, who considers it as symbolizing the sun in motion, and as merely a cross with revolving feet, certainly goes too far, as I shall attempt to show further on,

in making it simply an emblem of the sun itself, or of Apollo, its Olympic representative. Ludvig Müller, while referring it very certainly as standing for an emblem of the "supreme Aryan god or divinity" (and so far I am in accordance with him), yet would explain the origin of the emblem as a mere figure or device also to the *triskele*, which he looks upon as an ancient Aryan and Asiatic device (though in this I do not agree with him), standing for the sun; and that the "supreme god," for which the emblem stood, though to a certain extent accepted by the Aryans in a spiritual sense, sometime or other must have been the sun itself, and have had attached to it *solar* attributes; and that the intended rotatory motion implied by the *triskele* (from which the *fylfot*) meant "the circular movement of the world," equivalent to the actual "course of the sun in the sky," rather than to the actual disc of the sun itself; at least this is the construction I put on Ludvig Müller's words.<sup>a</sup> (See note <sup>b</sup>, p. 303).

I hope to show that the "supreme deity" that Ludvig Müller refers to is no other than Dyaus, or Zeus and Jupiter, the great sky and air god, they, the Aryans, not being worshippers of the sun in the proper sense of the term; nor was there occasion to represent the emblem of this their great sky and air god as having a *rotatory* movement; they had the circle, to represent the disc of the sun, and to which they could attach as many rays, straight or curved, as their fancy dictated. The air or sky is *fixed* and does not move, but the sun's orb it is which traverses, or "courses with swift feet and revolving wheel." It is also a questionable matter whether the terminal spurs or feet of the *fylfot-cross* were ever intended to be curved, or to form part of the circumference of the wheel or circle indicative of the solar disc; and whether the *fylfot-cross*, as I shall try to show, may not have more probably naturally arisen from the resemblance to the forked-lightning exhibited by the two component **Z**, of which this cross is essentially composed.

*Secondly.*—That it was merely a variety of the ordinary cross or *tau*. This view has had an advocate in the writer of an interesting article in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1870, entitled "The Pre-Christian Cross." This writer appears rather to have confused the different kinds of crosses, and gives no very definite or satisfactory solution to the meaning and origin of the *fylfot* itself; the cross with this writer being sometimes a sign for water, or for the four rivers of Paradise, or for the four quarters of the earth; in Egypt the cross = Thoth, that

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix II. for a fuller account of Müller's paper.

smote the head of the great serpent; as the *cruz-ansata* <sup>a</sup> it was the original *tau*, or "hidden wisdom," and "life to come"; as the *swastika* it was an ancient Buddhist symbol; a symbol of rain with the South American Indians. The Maltese cross primarily signified the four great gods of Assyria—Ra, Ana, Belus, and Hea; the Samaritan letter *tau* was the battle-axe of the Scandinavian Thor, (the northern Hercules); in India and Egypt the cross was associated with the idea of the sacred water of the Ganges and Nile (Canopus?); and was likewise associated with trees and even with the human form, &c. &c.

For myself I much doubt, and most other authorities will agree with me, whether the *Semitic tau* had any connection whatever with the *fylfot* and *swastika*. At a later time the cross may have had occasional reference to the spokes of the solar wheel; or when drawn within the circle (as in fig. 13, Pl. XX.) it may have had a *phallic* significance.

The cross in its simplest form + must necessarily, from its very simplicity and antagonism to the simple circle O, have been not only a very ancient device but one capable of being used to express very various ideas; it would therefore be almost useless to guess at its earliest or special meaning.

*Thirdly.*—The *fylfot*, and especially the *swastika* of India, have (though doubtless they are identical) been frequently and popularly connected with the idea of *fire*, and as a symbol of the god Agni. Bernouf is quoted by Dr. Schliemann as the chief exponent of this theory, which, as far as the *swastika* is concerned, would make that symbol have its origin in the firechurn or chark, and to be identical in fact with the "mystic double Arani," mentioned in one of the Vedic hymns to the fire-god Agni.


I shall allude more particularly further on to this question, and also see foot-note.<sup>b</sup> Of the great importance of fire amongst the early Aryans there can be no question; it was even by them considered as of greater importance than

<sup>a</sup> The *cruz-ansata*, or *tau*, has never been satisfactorily explained; it is called *ankh* in Egyptian, and is generally supposed to mean "eternal life," and is often given as one of the chief symbols of royalty or divinity. There need be nothing *phallic* about it as far back as the third dynasty, nearly 4000 B.C., where it first appears. The loop or oval may have originally meant life or eternity; and the cross intended to mean extension in length and breadth, *i.e.*, infinity to space, or possibly the tree of life, or the sun rising above the horizon.

<sup>b</sup> For some observations on the *fylfot* and cross, and on the importance of the Aryan *hearth-fire*, see articles in *Frazer's Magazine*, January 1881, and June 1879, by Mr. A. J. Evans and Karl Blind; also an article by Steinthal, in *The Mythology of the Hebrew Nations*, by Goldziher, on the fire-chark and on fire-gods. Mr. Evans says, "In Caithness the need-fire is kindled by the ancient process of friction." . . . "The yule fire was connected also with the need-fire." . . . "In the Vedas, again, the *fire* appears as the

the sun itself. The old "Arani" of the Vedas, the soi-disant *swastika*, consisted, however, of only two pieces of wood, one the lower or flat piece, and the upper or upright piece or drill worked with a cord, or *pramantha*, as it was called, of a harder kind of wood, and by the Greeks called *σταυρός* (and whence the Christian cross!) The connection between the *swastika* and the fire-churn or arana appears to be a myth; and if any such double-cross fire-churns are to be found, as some assert, in existing temples in India, they must have been purposely made of that shape (*i.e.* consisting of two pieces below, and a *third* piece of wood or upright stick above), to imitate the sacred *swastika* itself as a holy Buddhist symbol. (See E. B. Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, on the fire-churn in India, p. 257.) Independently, however, of this matter of the arana and fire-churn, there are good reasons for supposing that both fire as well as water, as the two great purifying elements, have sometimes been associated with the *swastika*, if not with the *fylfot* also. I believe that this may best be explained when we consider this symbol as the emblem of Indra and Zeus, who as gods of the sky and air controlled the thunderbolt and the rain, and across whose expanse or vault the sun and stars, as fiery lights, were seen to move.

The four so-called *nail-heads* (fig. 26, Pl. XIX.), sometimes found with the *swastika* and *fylfot*, were no doubt intended for stars or little fires, and may sometimes lend more of a *solar* idea to that symbol than originally intended; for the sky and air or atmosphere, though containing the sun and stars in a manner,

first man, and forefather of the human race. The family-hearth or tombstone is connected with the ancestral fire and spirits of the fathers of the household." . . . "Not only our Aryan family alone, but many others, were intimately connected with the worship of the fire of the hearth." . . . "The descent of fire to earth from the thunder-cloud was dramatized by myth; as were also in the Vedas the sun and the storm." Karl Blind says, "The hammer of Thor (**T**) had the shape of one of the numerous forms of the Christian cross; early pre-Christian runic crosses are found. Thor was a storm-god who smote the giant Frost. In Iceland another form of Thor's hammer is found in the shape of , and till quite lately was used as a magic sign. In reality it is the old well-known Aryan symbol for need-fire, and fabled to have been made by Agni, the divine carpenter." . . . "It may also be considered as a tree-shaped cross: Odin hung on a tree-shaped cross, or perhaps on a tree only. This may have been connected with the Indian sacred tree (*soma*?) ; partly from the Pleiades, partly from the form of the *tau*, and possibly from the out-stretched human form." Mr. Walter Kelly, in his *European Folk-Lore*, has many interesting observations connected with fire, the fire-churn, and fire-gods. He considers the divining-rod (*ash*) as springing from the god of lightning, and that it became the *palasa* tree (p. 159). The ash-tree was sacred to Thor. The wish-rod is probably the equivalent of the divining-rod, and of the *caduceus* of Hermes, who is sometimes a fire-god or messenger. The Greeks used the thorn-tree for their frictional *στυπτήν*; and not unlikely the *pramantha* itself, or upright fire-stick used in drilling, was the ancestor of the *caduceus* and of the myth of Prometheus; some attach a *phallic* meaning to it.

did not control them, as Indra might be said to do, as regards the rain and clouds and lightning.<sup>a</sup> (See also figs. 12, 21, and 32, Pl. XIX.)

*Fourthly.*—Some have considered the *fylfot* as not unfrequently meant to symbolise water. (See Waring's *Ancient Ceramic Art*, pp. 16, 82, and 83.) Taken as I have just said in connection with the rain-god Indra, and with Jupiter *Pluvius* his western representative, this idea may have some value attached to it, as likewise with the sun and with fire, but does not offer a solution sufficiently wide to explain all the difficulties and bearings of the case. Water was one of the great *purifying* elements, and was by some of the ancients considered as the source or beginning of everything. The earlier forms of the Greek key-pattern were undoubtedly representative of the waves of rippling water, and was a water-symbol probably; and it is not a little curious and rather here to the point that the *fylfot* itself was not unfrequently found in actual combination with the key-pattern (see figs. 20, 26a, 29, 30, and 31, Pl. XX.), and as though the two more or less had the same significance. (See also Pl. XXI.)

*Fifthly.*—That it was the special emblem of the old sky- or air-god Dyaus, who became the Indra of the Indians in the Vedic time, and subsequently the Zeus of the Pelasgians and Greeks, the Jupiter *Tonans* and *Pluvius* of the Latins, and the Thor of the North Western Aryans, the Teutons and Scandinavians. This is the solution to which I myself hold, and consider to be as completely proved as the case will admit of. This idea is one among several others mentioned particularly by Waring, pp. 12, 15, 90, and 91, in his *Ancient Ceramic Art*. It is also powerfully advocated by Ludvig Müller, as I have already stated, who considers it to be emblematic of the *supreme god of the Aryans*, but does not specify the divinity or its connection with the air; and his further explanation of the symbol inclines to a solar interpretation.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It is curious that the *swastika* was not found as a symbol among the followers of Zoroaster, or on the coins of the Sassanian kings 300—500 A.D. on which the fire-altar is so conspicuous a feature. This is against the idea of the symbol having been used for a fire-emblem at an early period.

<sup>b</sup> Prof. Monier Williams in his *Indian Wisdom*, p. 12, says, in reference to the older Vedic conception of the idea of a self-existent, omnipresent supreme being, that it was very clearly defined in the time of Manu (700 B.C.), "Him some adore as transcendently present in fire; others in Manu, lord of creatures; some as more distinctly present in Indra, others in pure air, others as the most high eternal spirit." . . . "Subsequently this became Brahmā; which again when it manifested an actual existence was called Brahmā; developed in the world, it was called Vishnu; and when dissolved again into its simple being was called Siva." The older and simpler worship appears to have been better preserved by the Western Aryans, and among the Pelasgians, than among the Hindoos; where the original Dyaus was continued in Zeus; and before the Olympian system of divinities was fully established.

I shall now proceed to point out the bearings of the argument in favour of the derivation of this symbol rather from Dyaus, Zeus, and Indra than as from Surya or Helios as the sun-god, as well as to certain other points as to how, through the lightning or through its possible connections with Agni and fire, it may subsequently have sometimes received a *solar* significance.

I will commence with the western development of the symbol before entering on the *swastika* as its counterpart in the East; for it will more readily be admitted that the Scandinavian god Thor was the deity most nearly allied to the Greek Zeus, the Latin Jupiter being the god of thunder especially, and his usual emblem was the double-hammer and *crux-Gothica* or *fylfot*.<sup>a</sup> We constantly meet with this symbol on Scandinavian, Danish, and North-German pottery, gold and bronze work from five hundred to fifteen hundred years ago or more; and even on Anglo-Saxon antiquities. There is no valid reason for supposing this symbol to have here been obtained either through Roman or Christian sources; it came more probably either as the old hereditary emblem of the sky and lightning god, handed down by their earlier Aryan ancestors from the East; or it may have been brought or borrowed from the Greeks B.C. 400; at the time when, according to the Rev. Isaac Taylor, the *runic* alphabet may have been introduced from Thrace or from the Pelasgians. In any case we have here a very likely key to the original meaning and earlier use of the *fylfot* as representing the air- and thunder-god Thor as a direct descendant of the earlier Dyaus and Zeus.<sup>b</sup>

The usual emblems of Thor and Odin appear in fig. 33, Pl. XIX. along with other old Scandinavian devices, as shown in figs. 31 and 32. With fig. 32, according

<sup>a</sup> According to Ludvig Müller the *fylfot* was not identical with Thor's hammer, which was a **T**. But in any case the *fylfot* symbol was constantly used in North Germany in connection with Thor. The **T** is exceedingly rare, according to Waring, as a Scandinavian symbol. I myself have hardly ever come across it. It may, however, be sometimes figured as a **Y**, or *triskele*.

<sup>b</sup> According to Waring (*Ceramic Art*, p. 15), the best derivation of the word *fylfot* might be from "*fot*," an old Norse word = *viel* in German and *full* in English; and "*fot*," foot, or the many-footed, which is no inapt symbol for the sky-god Thor, the lord of thunder and lightning. Pindar, in his ode to Psaumis, a victor in the chariot-race of the Olympian games B.C. 452, addresses Zeus or Jupiter thus: "O thou mightiest hurler of the thunder, unwearied of *foot*." In some instances the cross terminates in a kind of foot, as in the three-legged and three-footed cognate symbols seen on Macedonian, Sicilian, and Lycian coins, and might belong almost as well to Zeus or Jupiter as to the sun, as solar-like devices. In Western Germany, Odin or Woden was held in more estimation than Thor. Odin and Thor have some attributes probably in common like Dyaus and Varuna; and Odin, besides being sometimes a storm-god, doubtless had solar attributes given to him.




to Waring, are symbols representative of the crescent-moon, the full-moon (or earth?), the air (*fylfot*), fire (a three-armed curved or whirling device similar to the *triquetra*), and the thunderbolt (possibly also intended for Odin or Thor). Fig. 30, Pl. XX. copied from an old Danish *bracteate* (with the head of a warrior with a raven not given in the fig.), shows the *fylfot* as the air-god just above a zig-zag line indicative of water, but there is no solar disc. Fig. 2, Pl. XX. on an urn from Cambridgeshire, shows also a number of devices, *e.g.* triangles, dots for stars, serpents, &c. with three suns below and a curved meander or water-fret above, whilst a single *fylfot* occupies the centre space, very suggestive of the intermediate air or ether, representing here a divinity or element, held in even greater estimation than the sun himself. Ether, air, and fire constituted the chief old-German or Norse *triad*. The group of small figs. No. 7, Pl. XX. shows a series of early and primitive Celtic devices and marks, chiefly from incised stones found in Scotland, and most of them also noticeable in Trojan whorls. They include the *fylfot*, simple cross, circular discs for suns, the ray-pattern, dots or stars, &c. Some antiquaries, however, consider most of the so-called Celtic crosses as connected with the Christian cross, and not pre-Christian. Fig. 27, Pl. XIX. consists of three concentric circles surrounded with dots and with a *fylfot* in the centre, which might well stand here for a solar symbol, but equally well either for the supreme god surrounded with solar glory, or for the sky in which the sun itself is placed. This figure occurs on the so-called Annam Stone in Scotland, and may be half Pagan and half Christian.

Coming now further East, and much earlier in time, say 1000—1500 B.C., let us next consider the *fylfot* as represented in the celebrated Trojan terra-cotta whorls and described by Dr. Schliemann in his *Troy* and *Ilium*. I have selected some fifteen or sixteen of these whorls and balls,\* as figured by him, and

\* It has been lately argued that these *whorls* from Hissarlik, of which Dr. Schliemann states he dug some 18,000 out of the *débris* of the five buried cities he describes, were *ex votos*, and not spinning-whorls, as elsewhere found and usually considered to be. This opinion is now shared in by Dr. Schliemann himself, I believe, as well by Mr. Edward Thomas, and it is chiefly based upon the excessive numbers of them found, as well as upon the fact that a certain number of them are not perforated at all, and would appear to have astronomical designs inscribed upon them. In the latter case, certainly, they could not have been used as spinning-whorls. But, as for the argument based on their great number, I do not see its force at all. Formed in the *débris* of no less than four or five successive cities, the third of which must have been destroyed not earlier than 1200 B.C. and covering in all a space of at least 1500 years, that would not give an average of more than ten or twelve *per annum*, distributable over not less at all events than several hundred houses, supposed by Dr. Schliemann to have consisted each of two or three or more stories or

first let us take fig. 1, Pl. XIX. Here we have a well-marked solar disc with rays at the top, with the *fylfot* again in the open space in the middle, very suggestive of the sky- or air-god, and having a horizontal and wavy line below, evidently intended for water, close above which again and nearly vertical to it are a number of parallel straight lines, which might well be taken to indicate rain, as they are not directed towards the solar disc at top; and there are likewise a few dots for stars, scattered about, as it might be in the vault of the sky on either side of the terra-cotta ball. In fig. 2 we see a number of *fylfots* above and contiguous to the two horizontal zig-zag lines representing water, along with some rude attempts at animals, possibly having a solar character on the other side of those lines. In fig. 8, likewise representing a solid terra-cotta ball divided into segments con-

households. To most archaeologists I believe the greater part of these objects would, found anywhere else, simply appear ordinary spindle-whorls, a little more ornamented possibly, and very little better made; certainly by no means so good as those from ancient Mexico and from the early Bolognese Etruscan tombs, both of which frequently have the key-pattern. As a rule *ex votos* in clay are rude representations of the gods, animals, men and women, or parts of the human body. The clay tablets mentioned by Mr. Edward Thomas (p. 42), I think from Northern India, and with prayers inscribed upon them, can hardly be classed with these Trojan, whorls or with the rude baked-clay idols found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ. Similar, though rather smaller, whorls are mentioned by Mr. George Dennis in his recent work on *The Buried Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. ii. p. 515. He says, "Many pear-shaped and ornamented clay-whorls, pierced vertically, were found in the early Etruscan tombs near Bologna. Count Gozzadini takes them to be little weights attached to the funeral garments to make them hang properly." Mr. A. J. Evans suggests, in a paper in *Frazer's Magazine*, p. 357 (1880), in connection with the old fire-drill or *pramantha*, that these spinning-whorls may have been used as fly-wheels fastened on to the wooden spindle itself, in order to insure greater efficiency in steadiness and velocity; as such it is still used by the Iroquois Indians and Polynesians. With this opinion of Mr. Evans I am quite inclined to agree to a certain extent; and it will help us to account for the number found at Troy, without going out of one's way to account for them as being *ex votos*, as well as for the tendency on them to exhibit solar and whirling devices. That the early Greeks and Aryans produced fire by the friction of two pieces of wood and worked by a drill, according to E. B. Tylor, is well known; and the myth of Prometheus is said to be connected with it. In reference to this part of the subject, reference may here be made to the curious leaden idol of a female figure with ram's-horns, found by Dr. Schliemann in the Trojan strata (see *Ilium*, p. 337). A rude triangle (fig. 37, Pl. XIX.), intended for the *vulva*, has depicted on it a single *fylfot*! Whether this was intended to represent the solar as a reproductive energy, or was here merely used as an auspicious sign, it is not easy now to determine. Might not, however, the  here used have some possible reference to the production of fire by friction? If the western *fylfot* ever did represent the element of fire, this would be a not unlikely solution in the present case. Nor would it even then be altogether inconsistent with the Zeus, or "supreme deity" theory, inasmuch as there is some connection between fire and lightning, as the favourite weapon of Zeus and Indra. (See Addendum, p. 326, on spindle-whorls.)

taining a number of dots or stars, on one hemisphere is given a single *fylfot*, very suggestive again of the sky- or air-god, or possibly of lightning; on the other side a rude *soma*- (or sacred ?) tree (fig. 8a), the juice of which was sacred to Indra, the correlative of Zeus and Jupiter. The Vedic hymn to Indra, as given by Monier Williams in his *Indian Wisdom*, says (p. 17) :

Indra, twin brother of the god of fire,  
When thou wast born, thy mother Adyti  
Gave thee, her lusty child, the thrilling draught  
Of mountain-growing *soma*, source of life, and——

Two other very interesting examples, as showing both the importance of the *fylfot* as a symbol in giving to it the chief or central place, as well as from its occupying a central or intermediate position as regards the sun and earth, are seen in figs. 18 and 18a, Pl. XX. and given by Ludvig Müller, representing the one a bronze *fibula* from Cœre in Etruria, and the latter, one from Bœotia; in fig. 18, two *fylfots* in the centre, with two squares for the earth below, and a large central solar disc above, curiously and almost uniquely armed with teeth or hooked-feet like those of the *fylfots* below. Surely every symbol that appears in connexion with the solar disc on these Trojan whorls and Etruscan and other ornaments need not necessarily have all a solar significance! But this is an argument or an idea much pressed by those who believe that the sun is at the bottom of every myth and of every doubtful symbol! Why should the sky- and air-god as the supreme Zeus or Dyaus and the rain-giving Indra have had no special symbol in ancient times as well as the sun? and what more likely one, as far as our argument thus far goes, than the *fylfot*?

Curved crosses, &c., like figs. 12 and 13, Pl. XIX. and figs. 4, 24, 33, 34, and 6a, Pl. XX. may or may not be connected with the true *fylfot*, though they would appear to have some reference to the sun or to solar revolution. The difficulty is to decide if the real *fylfot*, rectangularly drawn, was ever intended to indicate a whirling motion or not. That we should not unfrequently see the proper emblems of the two great nature-gods or divinities, viz., those standing for the sun and for the sky or air, and lightning together, is only natural; yet it must not be forgotten whilst investigating these questions that Zeus and Indra were quite distinct from Helios and Apollo.

In figs. 9, 14, 18, 21, and 36, Pl. XIX. we see more exactly the zig-zag signs no doubt intended for the lightning. The ray symbols, in figs. 16, 34, Pl. XIX. and 7, 26, 28, and 30, Pl. XX. are in general considered to be representative of fire.

In fig. 4, Pl. XIX. we see three flaming altars, as I believe Dr. Schliemann correctly calls them, along with three *fylfots*, suggestive either of two distinct varieties of fire, viz., the hearth (or perhaps the sacred fire) and the lightning, or of the sacred fire of the altar in connection with the *fylfot* as the emblem of the supreme god Zeus. In fig. 5 we see three solar discs, alternating with three *fylfots*, emblematic of or standing possibly for Zeus and Helios, the two as great sky-gods in juxta-position with each other.

In connection with these Trojan whorls, I may here refer to figs. 22, 23, and 25, Pl. XIX. Fig. 22, showing an old Indo-Scythic coin of about 200—300 B.C. on which the *swastika* is placed also intermediate as it were betwixt heaven and earth; Vishnu as the solar-rayed disc on the top left hand corner, and several animals, one a bull especially sacred to Indra beneath, with the *swastika* touching it, going far to prove the intimate connection probably existing between this symbol and Indra, as the air- and rain-god; on the right hand are two symbols appertaining to Siva and Brahma.<sup>a</sup> At that time the god Agni was rapidly declining in importance in India, and there is no reason for supposing that he was here intended to be represented by the *swastika*.

At that time Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva constituted the great Hindoo trinity, and Indra was still a god of national importance. Similar devices occur on many other Indian coins, as also on the so-called sacred feet of Buddha. (See Appendix I. on Indian mythology.)

Nearly contemporaneous with the Trojan whorls of the third city is the *fylfot* ornamentation found on the gold-coated and embossed wooden buttons, found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, and described in his book, p. 260 *et seq.* Fig. 24, Pl. XX. may be given as the earliest and simplest type, dating about 1200 B.C. It will here be noticed that the spurs or feet are curved, giving a rather wheel-like or solar character to the ornament. Too much stress need not however be

<sup>a</sup> Though the bull in ancient times was sometimes associated with solar attributes, and stands as one of the zodiacal signs or stations of the sun, yet in connection with Indra and Jupiter and the myth of Europe it is clearly closely connected with the sky-gods Zeus and Indra. The Rev. G. W. Cox, in his *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. i. p. 437, says: "The story of Europe brings before us the dawn, not as fleeing from the pursuit of the sun, but as borne across the heaven by the lord of the pure ether. Zeus here, like Indra himself, assumes the form of a bull." Under the name of "the Wanderer," Zeus and Indra as sky-gods have not unfrequently assumed a solar character. These myths, and the way in which the function or qualities of one god, or triad of gods, changes or tends to run into those of another, are very perplexing, and must, especially in reference to the sky- and sun-gods and elements, be carefully followed, as far as they have any possible reference to the history and origin of the *fylfot* and *swastika* emblems in connection with solar qualities or the fire-god Agni.

laid on this circumstance in proof of the solar origin of the *fylfot*, for in the case of embossed metal-work the artificers would very naturally have so made it, to say nothing of its being curved to fill in the small circuit of the space allowed by the dimensions of an object like a button; on some of these buttons the ornamentation shows serpents twisted together, and so contrived as best to fill in the space allowable. On the earliest Mycenæ pottery, however, about 650 B.C., and also discovered *in situ* by Dr. Schliemann, the usual square form of the *fylfot*, like that found also on the archaic pottery of Attica and of Rhodes, occurs, and in conjunction with the key- or water-pattern, and with the solar disc (see figs. 34, Pl. XIX. and 26, 26a, Pl. XX.), and in the latter case in the open space between the solar disc and the meander; as also more emphatically so in fig. 18a, Pl. XX. on the *fibula* from Bœotia before referred to, where a fish is supposed to furnish the water-symbol.

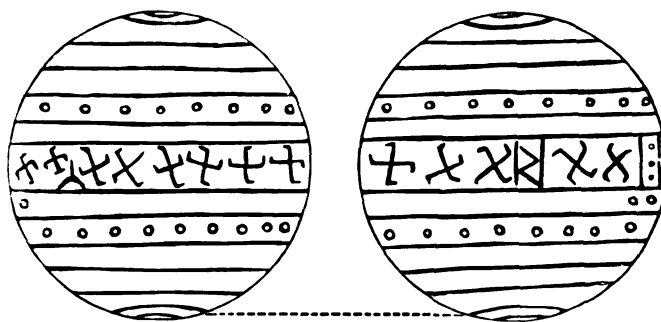
Figs. 19, 20, and 24, Pl. XIX. and 3, 4, 6, 6a, and 6b, Pl. XX. represent typical illustrations of designs on Lycian and Macedonian coins, some of which are fully and specially described by Mr. Edward Thomas and Mr. Percy Gardner in their papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Part I. 1880, on the *swastika*, and on solar symbols connected with Ares as a sun-god. These are shown by them to be in all probability *solar* or whirling devices; but I fail to see that many of them are necessarily derived from the *fylfot* or the *fylfot* from them.<sup>a</sup> The three-rayed or pronged device, usually called the *triquetra*, fig. 4, Pl. XX. occurs very similarly, also with two, four, and even with five arms, figs. 5, 6, 6a, 6b; whilst the true *fylfot* always has four, and the feet or spurs never curved, unless very roughly drawn or under special, perhaps fanciful, conditions. Sir Charles Fellowes considered the *triquetra* may have represented a grappling-iron, a pun on the personal name of Harpagon. Some of the wheel-shaped devices on certain of the early Macedonian coins, Mr. Percy Gardner would rather consider to represent ordinary chariot-wheels.<sup>b</sup>

Dr. Schliemann, at p. 188 in his *Troy*, gives a drawing of a very curious

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Edward Thomas states that a three-rayed device, or *triskele*, probably a solar or fire emblem, occurs on some of the Trojan whorls figured by Dr. Schliemann. I have carefully examined these figures, but fail to find one. There is among the Cypriote characters or syllables, in General Cesnola's work, however, a character similar to Y. The Scandinavian *triskele*, fig. 32, Pl. XIX. refers to fire.

<sup>b</sup> According to Mr. R. Brown, F.S.A. the *triquetra*, as shown in the Lycian coins, and in the three-legged devices referred to in the text, can clearly be referred to the crescent-moon of the Assyrian cult, thrice repeated. If so, the *triquetra* cannot possibly either be derived from the *fylfot* or the *fylfot* from the *triquetra*; neither could it even be a solar emblem (see Mr. Brown's very ingenious, learned, and curious dissertation on the "Unicorn," as having a lunar origin and character, published by Longman and Co. 1881). I had not seen this interesting paper until after my present paper had been concluded. The

*quasi* astronomical-looking terra-cotta ball, found at a depth of eight metres in the third or Trojan city. In all, there would appear to be thirteen rather roughly-drawn *fylfots*, surrounding the equatorial region or centre of the ball;



TERRA-COTTA BALL FOUND AT TROY.<sup>b</sup>

and these are drawn right or left-flanged, without any apparent reason or cause.<sup>a</sup> Dr. Schliemann suggests, very naturally, that the two rows of dots, parallel to the torrid zone, may represent the inhabited regions of the temperate zones according to the oriental theory of

Plato; whilst of course the central row of *fylfots* unmistakably signify symbols of fire, the torrid zone! Surely it would be most improbable that the rude potters, or even geographers of that early period, B.C. 1300, living in a small territory in north lat. 40°, knew of the existence of a torrid zone, or of equatorial regions; they did not then know the earth was even round (see Mr. Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*); and what could they know of the colures of latitude as drawn on our modern terrestrial globe? A more reasonable explanation would appear to be that the round vault of heaven was intended to be represented. The conventional rows of dots might indicate stars or planets, and the continuous row of *fylfots* to stand in honour of the sky-god Zeus himself as the supreme god. If the sun were however intended to have been symbolized by the *fylfots*, why should not a series of plain circles have been inscribed? or even if the sun revolving on its axis across the vault of the sky, why were not the *fylfots* in that case all spurred or flanged in one and the same direction instead of promiscuously so?

form of the moon repeated three times, Mr. Brown of course refers to the three phases of the moon. It also has reference to the three-legged lunar ass, with one horn, mentioned in the Pehlevi work called the *Bundahis*, of the times of the Sassanian dynasties. Some of the Lycian coins, described in Sir Charles Fellows's work, show the *triquetra* with arms, completely crescent in shape—in fact three semi-lunes, springing out of a small central disc. (See figs. 24 and 39, Pl. XIX., and fig. 4, Pl. XX.)

<sup>a</sup> The single zig-zag line in the centre of the medial zone may be intended to represent lightning (the thunder-bolt of Zeus), or, as Prof. Sayce thinks possible, it might stand for the letter *ki* in the Cypriote language (see *Ilium*, p. 349). But at p. 695 it is remarked by Prof. Sayce, in an article on the inscriptions found at Hissarlik by Dr. Schliemann, that an almost identical character is the Cypriote *re*, which appears (curiously) at Paphos as Z. According to Bernouf, the three dots vertically placed may represent "royal majesty," a *terna* here quite applicable if the *fylfots* are supposed to stand for Zeus.

<sup>b</sup> The Society is indebted for this figure to the courtesy of John Murray, Esq., F.S.A.



Very interesting examples of the *fylfot* in combination with other devices, often of a solar character, are seen to occur in the very archaic Greek pottery preceding the later and more Etruscan style of art; and of which excellent specimens from Camirus in Rhodes are to be seen in the British Museum, and of which I append a few examples as seen in figs. 1, 15, and 17, Pl. XX. Here the *fylfot* occurs associated with solar and also other emblems (one or two of which probably symbolize the earth); and it usually occurs in the open spaces between or above and below the solar discs, and here again this device may very fairly be taken as emblematic of the air or of the sky-god, or possibly of the lightning. Fig. 8, Pl. XX. represents a jug from Cyprus, with a *fylfot* also in the space above a goose (a solar bird), and a four-rayed cross denoting the sun or earth. Major di Cesnola, Prof. Sayce informs me, once drew his attention to the *swastikas* on some of the Cyprian pottery having the form of a bird in flight, thus corroborating the idea, that that symbol being an emblem of the sky- and air-god, it is possible that the "solar goose," so often found along with the *fylfot* and solar disc, may as an aquatic bird have sometimes been figured as much in honour of the air- and rain-god as of the sun. About 500—600 B.C. the *fylfot* curiously enough begins to disappear as a favourite device of early Greek art,<sup>a</sup> and is rarely if ever seen on the regular Etruscan vase; whilst the meander, or Greek-fret ornament, would seem to take its place, and may have suggested or been in some way connected with it.

This is suggestive of the *fylfot* being sometimes a rain or water-symbol, the meander or key-pattern having at first been connected with the idea of running or rippling water and waves. I believe Mr. Newton, of the British Museum, also takes this view.

That the key-pattern may have had some connection with the *fylfot* is not at all improbable; and it may not unfrequently be seen in combination, as it were, with that device, as in figs. 17, Pl. XIX. and 20, 26, 29, and 30, Pl. XX. Fig. 23, Pl. XX. from Mexico, shows likewise the *zigzag* standing for lightning in conjunction with the key- or water-symbol. These illustrations are far more favourable to the *fylfot* being emblematic of the air or sky or rain than of the sun. Fig. 34, Pl. XIX. shows very clearly the double conventional horizontal *zigzag* lines for water, *rays* or the herring-bone pattern for fire, and a cross and dots for the sun.

<sup>a</sup> Possibly owing to the diminished respect and veneration paid to Zeus, as the grand old Aryan bright air or sky-god Dyaus, and to the increased Apollo-worship in some parts of the Greek empire and Greek colonies, and extension of the numbers and importance of the other gods on Mount Olympus.

On the theory that the *fylfot* represented Zeus, as the air- and sky-god (the later Jupiter *Tonans* and Jupiter *Pluvius*), it is easy to see it might also have been employed by the Greeks as an emblem of their favourite and greatest god. Subsequently to B.C. 500—600, the worship of the elements as such declined, and the idea of more *personal deities* as Apollo, Vulcan, Neptune, with Jupiter (rather than Zeus as Dyaus), localized on an earthly Olympus, tended doubtless to abolish some of the older Aryan symbols and ideas.

Almost the only instance that I am aware of<sup>a</sup> of a precise meaning being found attached to the *fylfot*, has been lately mentioned by Mr. Percy Gardner in his paper on "Ares as a Sun-god" (*Num. Chron.* Part I. 1880), having reference to the ancient city of Mesembria in Thrace, where it is said traces of solar-worship have occurred. He states, "Mesembria, as it stands, is simply the Greek word for *noon*, or mid-day (*μεσημβρία*); and there can be no doubt that the Greek inhabitants would suppose their city to be the place of *noon*; and among the coins of Mesembria occurs ΜΕΣ ;" where evidently the  stands hieroglyphically as a kind of pun, explanatory of the name of the city. This certainly would appear to connect the *fylfot* with the idea of day-light, if not with solar light, but not necessarily with the actual sun itself, or be an argument in favour of the symbol being originally or altogether a solar one, for we must also remember that Dyaus = Zeus and Indra, where the air or sky are ideas consistent with light rather than darkness.<sup>b</sup> Prof. Monier Williams, in his translation of a Vedic hymn to Indra, says, "Immortal Indra, unrelenting foe of drought and darkness," &c. It should always be borne in mind that Dyaus, Zeus, and Indra, though probably having some attributes in common with the more solar Varuna, Surya, and Helios, and with Agni more or less common to them all, were at different periods essentially distinct ideas and deities among the early Aryans.

To the later uses and adaptations of the *fylfot* among the Christians, and in the West after the Christian era, there is no occasion for me here to refer, as I wish to trace out and explain rather its earliest and more general meaning and use. It was little used by the Romans and later Greeks,<sup>c</sup> but it has been found as a device of the earlier Etruscans in *Magna Græcia*, in Cyprus, and in

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Edward Thomas has, however, succeeded, I think, in proving that the *fylfot* or *swastika* decidedly occurs in a solar sense, if not as standing for the solar orb itself, on some coins from Ujjain and Andhra in Southern India.

<sup>b</sup> The *Day* itself being derived from the Sanskrit *Dyaus*, or *dyu*, as well as the bright sky.


<sup>c</sup> See figs. 28, Pl. XIX. and 16, 18, 18a, and 32, Pl. XX.



some of the older Mediterranean Greek colonies; in Thrace, as well as Europe generally. In India, after A.D. 400, when the worship and greatness of the god Indra began to decay; and in the West, after the Olympic Zeus had left the higher regions of ethereal space and became localized on Mount Olympus, the *fylfot* as a symbol of Zeus, the sky- and air-god, became neglected, and its precise and original meaning to a certain extent lost sight of, and thus it may have come to have been employed either as a solar or a water-symbol, as a fire-symbol, or as a form of the ordinary cross, or as a mystic charm.

In reference to the *fylfot*, then, as an ancient western symbol, I think it may very properly be taken as an ancient and special emblem of the supreme god of the early Aryans, whether as Dyaus, Zeus, Jupiter, or Thor, as sky- or air-god; collaterally or at a subsequent period it may come to have had other meanings attached to it; and more especially, when connected with stars or dots, have had some special reference to fire, in some form or other. As a device, in combination with the solar disc, earth, water, &c., it is frequently found occupying an intermediate position, suggestive of the sky or air; and this is an important point to notice, as a clue to the real interpretation of its meaning. It not unfrequently seems to indicate a more important element of worship or veneration than even the solar disc itself, as in figs. 1, 2, 18a, Pl. XX., and 1, 3, 8, 12, 22, 31, Pl. XIX. The old Aryans were by no means given to sun-worship; and their Dyaus (= Zeus, Jupiter, Thor, and Indra) was the first or supreme god in connection with nature.<sup>a</sup>

I might in this place offer a suggestion in reference to the Greek word *Zeus*, the sky-god, as to whether the commencing letter Z, *zeta*, might not itself have been derived from the *fylfot* as the special symbol of Zeus?<sup>b</sup> The thunder-bolt

<sup>a</sup> Mr. R. A. Proctor, F.R.S. the well-known astronomer, says in the *Cornhill Magazine* for December 1881, in reference to the subject of early nature-worship: "I am satisfied that the doctrine of a firmament is one which almost all primitive science recognises, and occupies an important position in the astrological beliefs with which we find it associated, and is in accordance with the minds of children, and with the cosmologies of the North American Indians and South Sea Islanders, who describe their flat earth as arched over by the solid vault of heaven. The Zulu idea is that the blue heaven is a rock encircling the earth, inside of which are the sun, moon and stars, and outside which dwell the people of heaven." The Vedic idea was somewhat similar; Varuna itself meaning originally the solid or covering firmament. It may here be noticed that Dr. Schliemann, in his "Troja," p. 122, states that the *fylfot* has been found in Yucatan and Pueblo in the New World; I should feel strongly inclined, however, to consider its appearance there as only a very possible variety of the *Kry-pattern* (see fig. 20 and 23, Pl. XX.), so common in Mexico and Peru. I have never so far been able to find a true example of the  in any work on Mexico, or in any museum; the nearest approach to it resembling fig. 13a, Pl. XIX.

<sup>b</sup> On some of the Trojan whorls we sometimes see a single Z, evidently standing for lightning (see fig. 9, Pl. XIX.)

was his favourite weapon, and the ideograph Z might well and naturally stand for the forked lightning. The letter Z first, I believe, appears as a letter of the Attic alphabet of the fifth century B.C.; before that time the sound of Z was usually expressed by *ds* or *ts*; and certainly the word Zeus must have been the most important frequently used word commencing with that particular sound. This is much more probable than that the Greek letter Γ, *gamma*, could have derived from this symbol as the *gammadion*. But I leave this to more experienced antiquaries and etymologists to decide. (See fig. 38, Pl. XIX.)

As regards the actual *fylfot* itself, as a mere sign or device expressing the idea of the supreme being among the early Aryan nations, and standing for their Dyaus or Zeus, there can, I think, be little doubt; the only question of interest left open is whether the device arose in the first instance, and as undoubtedly from the simple cross +, by addition of the terminal feet or spurs, representative of a revolving or advancing motion in connection with the solar idea,—or as a simple and natural mode of expressing figuratively the forked lightning as the principal weapon of the sky- or air-god himself. Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller are the most recent and ablest exponents and believers of the former hypothesis. For myself I am inclined to advocate the latter explanation; for I do not see that we need attach the idea of a whirling motion, or even of advancing movement, to the sky and air; nor are the *triquetra* and *triskele* such very ancient or widespread symbols, though probably employed to represent the lunar or the solar motion. I do not, however, see that those two devices are necessarily either the same as the *fylfot*, or that either the one or the other are mutually derivable. (See note <sup>b</sup>, page 11).

Zeus was especially the great and supreme god of the early Greeks, and in especial favour at Troy: only much later did the worship of Apollo, as in Novum Ilium, Lycia, and Thrace, succeed to his importance; and not until after Zeus had, as it were, left the sky and air, and became localized on earth on the summit of Mount Olympus. After that time the symbol gradually died out, and was only to a slight extent adopted in connection with the later Apollo worship.\*

\* So very similarly in India, Dyaus gave way to Indra, more especially the rain, lightning, and storm-god, and that again to Vishnu, the later solar representative of Varuna, "the investing sky and the bright firmament." Dyaus and Zeus, as the supreme god of the Aryans, may have subsequently, or by some minor branches of it (that came more under Semitic or Turanian influence), to some extent changed both in name and idea. Ludvig Müller states that among the Lithuanians it is called Perun or Perkun. In Germany, sometimes Thor and sometimes Odin. Among the Gauls, Grannus. In China *Ouan* or *Kuan*, the blue sky, and *tien*, the lord of heaven. Among the Persians, probably Ormuzd. Odin as *Woden* may have some reference to the "Wanderer" in connection with the solar myths.

Mr. Gladstone says in *Juventus Mundi* that "the Zeus of Homer is the Pelasgic Zeus, also worshipped by the Helloi." That he had special preference for Troy; that (p. 227) "he is governor of the air and all its phenomena, in relation to which he commands the thunder, the lightning, the years, and impels the falling star and the thunderbolt."<sup>a</sup>

Why, then, should we feel surprised that the *fylfot* is so common a device on the Trojan whorls, of which we have heard so much? or that, since the sun himself shines and moves across the sky, we should see this symbol so frequently inscribed in connection with the sun? or with flaming altars, as connected with the oblations offered to Zeus as the sky-god (not to the sun as Apollo), or with trees, the sacred tree in India, among the Southern Indians, being sacred to Indra, the child of Dyaus?

Looking, then, at the solid whorl, fig. 8, Pl. XIX. where a single *fylfot* stands alone in the centre segment of our hemisphere, surrounded with dots for stars, one can almost read, on its little imitative firmament, the very word Zeus itself!

## PART II.—THE SWASTIKA (OR EASTERN FYLFOT).

I SHALL now proceed to consider the *swastika* of India, in connection with its western counterpart, the *fylfot* or *gammadion*. It is derived, according to Prof. Max Müller, from the Sanskrit words *su*, well, and *as*, to be. I shall assume to begin with, what has hardly indeed been denied, that originally they both had a common origin and meaning among the earlier Aryans, before they separated in different directions, south and west; for it is neither found as a Semitic or Turanian symbol, nor in the New World. We cannot actually find it earlier than about 300 B.C., some time after the rise and spread of Buddhism; but as it is generally believed to have been a symbol adopted by the Buddhists, and was especially esteemed a holy symbol among the Jains, a large Buddhist sect, by them doubtless it spread over China and Japan, where it still remains a very favourite ornament and device,—we may fairly assume it

<sup>a</sup> It is now known that the Trojans were of Thrakian origin. The Hittites, who were not a Semitic race, also employed the *fylfot* symbol. (See Schliemann's *Troja*, pp. 125 and 262.)

existed in India amongst the Southern Aryan branch prior to the time of Buddha. Owing to the shifting and changeable nature of Hindoo mythology, both before and after Buddha's time, it is more difficult to trace the meaning of the symbol in India. It would appear at times to have been used as a sun, as a fire, and even as a water-symbol. This may, in part, be explained when we remember how Indra, the rain- and lightning-god, is called in the old Vedic hymns "twin-brother of the god of fire." . . . "In vain strive to deprive us of thy (Indra) watery treasures." . . . "Earth quakes beneath the crashing of thy bolts," &c. And, as also "the unrelenting foe of drought and darkness," Indra may have had certain qualities in common with Varuna, the "bright and investing firmament," and who, subsequently, developed into Mitra, Surya, Savitar, and Vishnu. Indra is the child or son of Dyaus, and gradually and early took his place, and became more especially the rain-god, where rain was of even more importance than the sun himself. There is no reason to suppose that so great and national a god as Indra had not some symbol or emblem; and there is much in favour to show that his emblem was the *swastika*, no doubt inherited from his father Dyaus, the western Zeus. But whether as the sky-god or as the air-god he would in either case possess and wield the thunderbolt.



In favour, then, of the *swastika* being the emblem of Indra, it may be mentioned that that sign was considered to be an "auspicious sign,"<sup>a</sup> as also the *fylfot* was sometimes in North Germany. Now, in a dry and hot climate like India, auspiciousness would surely more naturally refer to rain than to the sun! I am aware, however, that Max Müller thinks otherwise, and refers this "auspiciousness to the beneficent sun," which is a suggestion the advocates of the *solar* origin of the symbol do not lose sight of.

Dr. Schliemann mentions in his *Troy*, p. 102, that in the epic of the Ramayana, about B.C. 150, it is stated that the ships of King Rama, on their voyage to Ceylon, bore the *swastika* symbol on their prows—probably as being an "auspicious" sign in connection with, or in honour of, Indra the rain- and air-god.

Another argument in favour of this symbol being sacred to Indra, and which I have already referred to, is the evident connection between that device, as standing for the air or for Indra himself, well shown in figs. 22 and 23, Pl. XIX. where the *bull*, commonly held sacred to Indra, is in close proximity to and even touching the *swastika*; and where the symbol itself, as an air-symbol, is placed below the sun and above the animal!

<sup>a</sup> See Bernouf and Schliemann.

It is likewise mentioned that the *swastika*, even in modern times, is occasionally used by the natives in sealing up jars of holy water drawn from the Ganges, which is opposed to the solar hypothesis. The *swastika* is supposed to have been introduced into China by the early Buddhists about 200 B.C., and is still, as I have stated, much employed there as a favourite device and ornament.

Dr. Bushell, M.D. a good antiquary, and Chinese scholar on Her Majesty's legation at Peking, informs me that the old meaning of the sign is "thunder-scroll," called *lei wen*, and that it is found in the oldest Chinese bronzes (see fig. 36, Pl. XIX.) This I take it is also another indirect proof of the Indian *swastika* having at a very early time stood as an emblem of Indra as god of the air in connection with the lightning rather than with the sun. As a rule it may be here noticed the Indian *swastika* is almost invariably spurred or flanged to the right hand,  whilst in the more western *fylfot* it is ordinarily spurred to the left . In the West it would appear to be a matter of mere accident or fancy, though this distinction throws but little light on its origin or meaning. In India, however, we occasionally meet with the *swastika* flanged leftwise; and according to Prof. Max Müller it is then called the *sauvastika*. I do not see that this affects the main issue as to which way it is drawn, though the advocates for its being a solar emblem would suggest that those differences argue in favour of the alteration in position of the sun at the vernal and at the autumnal equinox, or may very possibly have had some reference to the rising and setting of the sun in its diurnal course. This appears to me to be somewhat fanciful, and in all probability the *swastika*, as being in India far more commonly found than the *sauvastika*, is the older sign of the two. It was a symbol in especial use amongst the Jains, a considerable Hindoo sect, and possibly with them it may have had a solar significance supposing they held Vishnu in greater veneration than the decaying Indra. There are a number of *swastikas* figured on the so-called sacred footprints of Buddha, found near sacred shrines (see fig. 30, Pl. XIX.) I believe here they properly refer to the god Indra, inasmuch as the other devices are pretty clearly referable to Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu (in the centre); these footsteps may belong to the age of the well-known caves of Ellora, about A.D. 400. At that time the worship or respect paid to Indra had not yet died out, as was the case with Agni the fire-god. As I understand Mr. Edward Thomas, the oriental numismatist, all the four symbols of fig. 30 either have some solar meaning or represent the sun itself. Siva was hardly a solar divinity however, and that the three principal *swastikas* indicate the morning, noon, and evening positions

of the sun would hardly in itself prove that the *swastika* itself was a solar symbol; but standing for Indra (not their supreme god as Dyaus once was) it might yet be used in a three-fold or complimentary sense in relation to Vishnu, then the most favoured god, and represented in the centre by the *charkra* or mystic rose.\*

It will here be necessary to add a few further observations on the often-supposed connection between the *swastika* and Agni as the old Indian fire-god beyond those alluded to at the commencement of this paper respecting the "Arani" mentioned in the old Vedic hymns respecting Agni. Professor Monier Williams in his translation (see *Indian Wisdom*) says, "Though thy origin be three-fold, now from air and now from water and now from the mystic double Arani." Again, "Displaying thine eternal triple form, as fire on earth, as lightning in the air, as sun in heaven"; and also Indra is called "twin-brother of Agni." There may therefore be some connection between Indra and fire, for Indra was also the lightning-god as well as the sky- and air-god; and the lightning and the sun are mere varieties of fire. The fire-churn or *chark*, though not the same as I have said as the Arana, which consisted of only a single piece of flat wood below, may yet possibly once have had the form shown in fig. 38, Pl. XIX. which might be an earlier form of the so-called Maltese cross; and frequently, according to Dr. Schliemann, found inscribed on the Trojan whorls, though I do not see any such given with the numerous figures of whorls in his *Troy* and *Ilium*.

Mr. A. J. Evans states "that the older *swastika* developed into the wheel, and that Agni was the older form of the Aryan hearth-fire, and took precedence of the heavenly luminous bodies, even before made a divinity"; but perhaps he goes too far in suggesting that the wheel of the sun itself is simply the old Vedic double Arani. Coulange, a French author, states that much of the worship and attributes of fire were afterwards given to Zeus and Brahma; and if that writer is correct it may help very materially my own theory in explaining

\* Some of the devices belonging to the Indian god Siva are given with fig. 19, Pl. XX. The Indian *cruz-ansata*, figs. 9 and 19a, is commonly depicted by a triangle, apex down, instead of by a loop or oval as in the Egyptian symbol. This symbol, supposed to indicate eternal life and royalty, may have come to India from Egypt by way of Persia, and been accepted as an appropriate emblem for the Indian god Brahma, expressive of eternal self-existence, and essence or cause of all things. The upper part, or triangle drawn apex downwards, with the Hindoos, might here however apply rather to the purifying element, water, which, according to Karl Blind, was anciently considered to be the origin of all created things. The *trisol* is generally considered to be the special emblem of Siva; but Fergusson sometimes applies it to Buddha. Furlong and Inman look upon the *trisol* as a purely *phallic* emblem.

how the element of fire and the god Agni in India were connected with Dyaus, Indra, and Zeus, and how there might have been some early connection between the *swastika* as connected with both fire and air. From the earliest time there was, as I have stated, a distinction between Indra, Dyaus, and Zeus, and Surya, Varuna, and Vishnu. Very remotely the oldest and simplest emblem for the sun must have been the plain circle **O**; and as early, but quite a different emblem, the simple **+**, was also a common and favourite device, having its own, though not always a constant, meaning.


For a full account of this supposed connection between the *swastika* and the solar orb I must refer to Mr. Thomas's interesting paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* before referred to, and of which I give a short account in a foot-note.\* But with his general conclusions and with some of his instances I cannot agree, as being based on a too narrow and somewhat fanciful interpretation; and especially so with reference to the devices seen on the foot-print of Buddha, already referred to (fig. 30, Pl. XIX.) But on some of the Ujjain and Andhra coins referred to in the foot-note I have admitted that in the *swastika* certainly is used to represent the solar orb itself.

Fig. 29, Pl. XIX. showing a cross with spurs or feet, consisting of a kind of

\* In a paper printed in the *Indian Antiquary*, Mr. Edward Thomas states with reference to certain Indian coins from Ujjain and Andhra, in the Deccan, "that the place of the more definite figure of the sun, in its rayed-like wheel-form, was taken by the emblematic cross of the *swastika*. The position so taken in opposition to or in natural balance of the coincident semi-lune, could leave no doubt that the aim and intention in this case was to represent symbolically the great luminary itself. In seeking for further confirmation of this inference I found that in one instance the *swastika* had been inserted within the rings or normal circles representing the four suns of the Ujjain pattern on coins, in which position it seemed equally to declare its own meaning, as indicating the onward movement and advancing rotation of the sun. I had already noticed that there was an unaccountable absence of the visible sun, or solar disc, in the long list of recognised devices of the twenty-four Jaina Tirthankaras. The sun, moreover, occupied a high place in their estimation." And again, "Under the advanced interpretation of the designs and purport of the *swastika*, from an Indian point of view, now put forward, perhaps few archaeologists will be disposed to dissent from the inference that in this case also its figure, as representing one of the received attributes of the sun, was used conventionally to typify the solar orb itself." I agree with Mr. Thomas that in this instance we have one of the few cases where the *swastika* may be used in a purely solar sense. The Indo-Scythic coins (figs. 22, 23, Pl. XIX.), which I have already referred to, do not further bear this out, however; here the *swastika* alludes evidently to Indra as the sky- or air-god. As Indra fell out of sight his original and proper emblem would be very likely used in other senses and in honour of other gods. Professor Monier Williams says, "Time with the Jainas proceeds in two eternally revolving cycles of immense duration; 1st, the Utsarpini or *ascending* cycle; 2nd, the Avatsarpini or *descending* cycle." Possibly the revolving or circular devices on the Ujjain coins may refer to those cycles, and not necessarily to the sun. Mr. Hyde Clarke, however, considers Siva = Saba = Sabazios = Sun.

double-tooth-fanged device, has certainly an appearance of circular or whirling motion being intended, possibly in relation to the later fire-chark, and in a way reminds one of the *swastika*. This device occurs, according to Mr. Edward Thomas, on a coin from Ujjain in the Deccan. The toothed device, however, probably belongs to the god Siva, who had not a solar origin. As I have said, if the *swastika* was an emblem of Indra as the air, rain, and lightning-god, there might not unfrequently be some kind of connection existing between it and other kinds of fire, whether of the altar or the solar fire.




It may be a question, after all, whether even the curved rays often seen attached to fires of the solar disc or circle, suggestive of rotatory motion, may not in part have had their origin in the idea of the whirling of the whorl on the spindle-drill, used in obtaining fire by friction, for the movement of the sun on its own axis could have hardly been known to the ancients. (See figs. 19, 29, 35, 14, Pl. XIX. and 3, 4, 5, 6, 24, 33, and 34, Pl. XX.)

I must refer to Dr. Schliemann's *Ilium*, pp. 346-353, for much interesting information appertaining to the *swastika* and *fylfot* symbol, and to what also is there quoted from Bernouf, Max Müller, and Mr. Edward Thomas respecting it.\* Prof. Max Müller, whilst inclined to see in the *swastika* an emblem of the vernal sun, and in the *sauvastika* of the autumnal sun, yet also thinks that "whilst we are justified in supposing that among the Aryan nations the *swastika* may have been an emblem of the sun, there are indications to show that in other parts of the world the same or a very similar emblem was used to represent the earth. Mr. Beal has shown that in Chinese  is the symbol for an inclosed space of land, and that the simple cross + (?or more properly ×) occurs as a sign for *earth* in certain ideographic groups. Here, however, the cross may have been intended to represent the four quarters of the sky—north, south, east, and west; or, more generally, extension in breadth and length." (See figs. 13, 13a, 14, 14a, b, c, 35, 36, Pl. XX.)

Here I can hardly think that this ideograph for earth would agree well with any mythological idea connected with the attributes or functions of Zeus, Indra,

\* One can hardly adopt as real argument all the fanciful solar notions given in the Vishnu Puranās and *Vishnu-pada*, as to the three steps or strides of Vishnu; and the rising meridian and setting sun and the feet of the revolving solar orb or wheel, as alluded to by Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller, as necessarily connected with the *triskele* and *swastika*. The Puranās were epic poems written hundreds of years after the oldest Rig Vedas. And the connection between the *swastika* and the *triskele* itself is at best somewhat doubtful; only in a very few cases do we find the *swastika* and *fylfot* having any really definite employment in a sense directly solar. R. Brown shows that the *triskele* was a *lunar* symbol.



and Thor, as air-gods, and whose emblem or device I think I have succeeded in showing was certainly the *fylfot* or *swastika*. However, it would be quite as easy to derive the latter, or , from the Chinese figure  for land, as from .

The old Chinese sign for the *swastika* (fig. 36, Pl. I.) resembles the letter Z, with a small circle inclosing a + at each end or angle, and called the *lei wen*, or "thunder-scroll," according to Dr. Bushell. <sup>b</sup> Figs. 14, 14c, and 14b, Pl. XX. probably represent some of the Aryan symbols for earth, the diagonals within the circle or square being drawn obliquely, instead of vertical and horizontally.

In conclusion, the best explanation of the *gammadion* (or *fylfot* and *swastika*) symbol would appear to be that it was a much-used and favourite religious symbol among the earlier Aryan races, and was intended by them, in the first instance, to represent in a cruciform form an ideograph or symbol suggested by the forked-lightning, and well shown by our letter Z, two of which crossing each other in the middle admirably represent the ordinary device known by the names of the *gammadion*, *croix-pattée*, *fylfot*, and *swastika*. The cross itself simply may here also have had reference to the four quarters of the earth or sky. Besides, the lightning, as the chief weapon of Zeus and Indra and the most striking of atmospheric phenomena, would necessarily have likewise been associated other meteoric phenomena, as the rain, wind, clouds, &c. (See Pl. XIX. figs. 1 and 38.)

In India these ideas were centred very naturally in Indra as the rain-giver and the son of Dyaus, who, there at a very early period, gradually appears to have dropped out of sight.

Among the more northern and western Aryan races, these ideas were similarly expressed by Zeus, the direct representative of, and the same with, Dyaus. Still later and further West, Zeus became Jupiter *Tonans* and *Pluvius* and Thor.

In the words of J. B. Waring (*Ancient Ceramic Art*, p. 116, published 1874), which I shall quote: "As regards the *fylfot* we consider its claim, as the emblem of the sky-god Zeus and Thor, to be pretty well established. But we admit that it may have been used as emblematic of the water-deity."

We have seen that Prof. Max Müller considers it may also have sometimes been used as emblematic of the earth, as well as had sometimes a *solar* connection.

<sup>a</sup> The ladder or step-like device shown in fig. 28, Pl. XIX. on pottery from *Magna Græcia*, is most probably an earth-symbol, and occurs here with the *fylfot*. Very similar figures occur also on the Trojan whorls, and which have not hitherto been explained. (See also fig. 16.)

<sup>b</sup> See also fig. 38, Pl. XIX. probably a Scandinavian emblem for the thunderbolt.

Mr. Edward Thomas (1880), also a great authority, considers it to be entirely a *solar* sign, and to stand not unfrequently for the solar orb itself. Ludvig Müller, of Copenhagen, who has written (1877) a most important treatise on the *gammadion*, does not doubt but that it originally stood as the emblem of the "supreme being" among the earliest Aryan nations (in which I agree with him); but he makes no express reference to Zeus or to Indra in connection with it, and considers that the feet or spurs of this cross were derived from the idea of *solar* movement through the sky or universe; and that it was through the *triskele*, *triquetra*, &c. (see figs. 4, 6, 6a, 33, 34, Pl. XX., and 19, 24, 35, Pl. XIX.), both, possibly, *solar* devices (though not so old or widespread as the *gammadion* or *fylfot* by any means), that the latter symbol was suggested and originated.\*

In Appendix II. I have given a short account of Ludvig Müller's theory and arguments; but, as I have already stated, I prefer explaining the actual origin and construction of this symbol, by its resemblance to the forked lightning. That, perhaps, is a matter only of detail, which may very likely never be thoroughly solved.

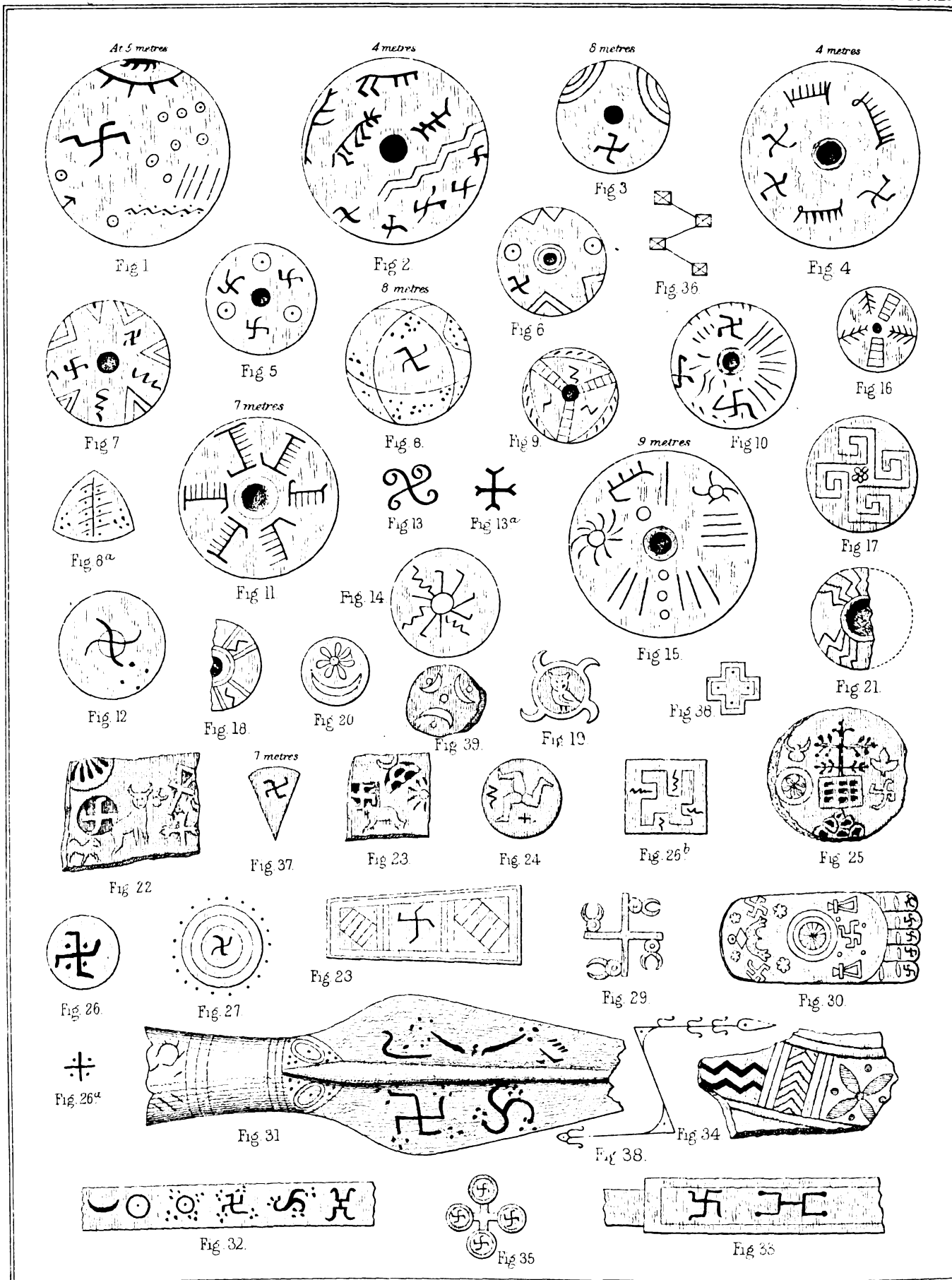
I have likewise given, in a convenient form, (Pl. XXI.) and in a somewhat novel way, an attempt in connection with this paper on its bearings with Indian and Aryan mythology to illustrate by a kind of genealogical table the ramifications of the older and chief Aryan divinities and nature elements associated with them, as connected with each other, and with the symbol we have been discussing. And in Appendix I. a fuller account of the Hindoo mythology, commencing with Dyaus, as the sky- and air-god on the one side, as distinct from Varuna, the bright firmament deity, and Surya the sun, on the other.

As I have before intimated, the old fire-god Agni may have held a somewhat intermediate position, as between the lightning of Indra and Zeus, and the sun as Surya and Mitra.

The argument derived from the intermediate position, in which the *fylfot* and *swastika* are often represented in combination with other symbols, especially those representing the solar orb, or the earth and water, as shown more especially in figs. 1, 2, 22, 23, Pl. XIX. and 1, 2, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 18a, Pl. XX. has never, that I am aware of, before been recognized. It is especially noticeable in figs. 18 and 18a, Pl. XX.

\* If R. Brown's *lunar* and Semitic or Asiatic origin of the *triquetra*, however, should be established, then the entire argument in favour of the *triquetra* being derived from the *fylfot*, or vice versa, falls to the ground.





FYLFOT SYMBOL.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884

If the symbol we have been investigating was at first really emblematic of, and the symbol of, Dyaus, Zeus, and Indra, then we may very fairly assume it primarily had not a solar significance; nay, even more, for just as Zeus was superior to Helios and Apollo, and to the Pelasgians and Greeks a distinct deity, so was the *fylfot* and *swastika*, among the early Aryans, evidently once held in the greatest estimation; and the only reasonable and fair inference we can draw is that this symbol was, from a very early time, with the Aryan race a symbol of the "supreme being,"\* as Ludvig Müller expresses it, and who among these Aryans was certainly not the sun or Apollo; but was to them better expressed or typified by the sky and air; the sky possibly as containing or sustaining the sun, moon, and stars themselves, the air as being the element productive of the rain, clouds, and thunder, and of which the forked lightning was not the least remarkable phenomenon.

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## REFERENCE TO PLATES.

### PLATE XIX.

- Figs. 1 to 8, and 8a, 10-12, 14-16, 18-21. Trojan terra-cotta balls and whorls. Schliemann, *Troy*.  
 12, 13, 13a. Modifications of the cross or *fylfot*. Schliemann, *Troy*.  
 9. Whorl from Cyprus. R. P. Greg.  
 17. Coin from Cnossus in Crete. Edward Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. pl. iii. fig. 6.  
 19. Coin from Lycia. Edward Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. pl. iii. fig. 6.  
 20. Coin from Macedonia (Uranopolis). Percy Gardner, vol. xx. pl. iv. fig. 17.

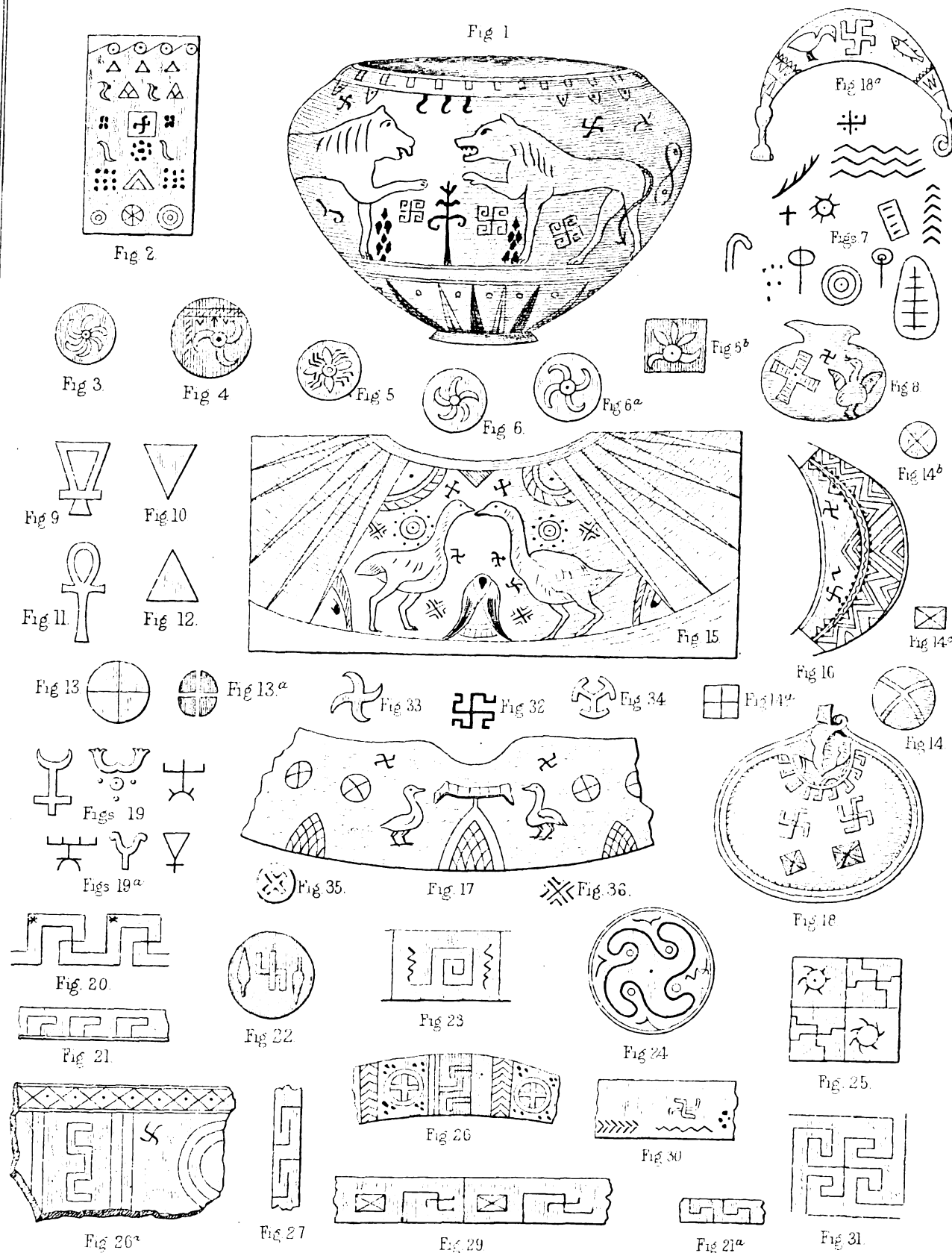
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\* Among the Hindoos Brahma may have for a time expressed to some extent this idea of a "supreme deity," and subsequently to a certain extent Vishnu possibly became among many Indian sects a kind of solar impersonification of supremacy. So also in certain of the old Greek colonies there was a later tendency to place Apollo in the first rank, or even before Zeus; we need not therefore be surprised, as I have already suggested in reference to certain coins described by Edwards, that the *fylfot* and *swastika* may have been occasionally borrowed as a symbol representing the greater sky-god of the earlier Pelasgians. We should therefore be on our guard against a too hasty inference as to the solar origin of the *fylfot*, or that its peculiar feet or terminal spurs were intended to express a revolving movement, whether axial or advancing.

- Fig. 22, 23. Coins from Indo-Scythia (B.C. 250 ?) Prinsep. See also Waring and Wilson.
24. Coin from Selge, Pamphylia. Waring's *Ceramic Art*, pl. xlii.
25. Ancient Hindoo Coin. Cunningham (Buddhist).
26. On archaic pottery, Santorin, Ægean Sea. Waring, pl. xlii.
- 26a. On archaic pottery, Camirus, Rhodes. British Museum.
27. On the Annam Stone, Scotland. (Celtic.)
28. On archaic pottery in Turin Museum (*Magna Græcia*). (The ladder-like sign standing perhaps for the earth also found at Troy.)
- 29 and 35. On coins from Ujjain in Southern India. Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. pl. ii.
30. Foot-print of Buddha (so-called). Amarāvati Tope, India. *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. pl. ii.
31. Iron spear-head, Brandenburg, North Germany. Waring's *Ceramic Art*, pl. xliv.
32. Ancient Scandinavian devices. Stephens (and Waring, pl. xliv.)
33. Devices on a bone arrow-head from a bog in Denmark. Waring, pl. xliv.
34. On archaic pottery (B.C. 650 ?), Mycenæ. Dr. Schliemann.
36. Ancient Chinese ideograph for the *svastika* or "thunder-scroll." Dr. Bushell.
37. On a leaden idol of a goddess from the third Trojan city. Schliemann's *Ilium*.
38. Conventional form of thunderbolt; incised stone, Forfarshire. Waring.
39. Coin of Metapontum, showing the lunar origin of the *triquetra*. R. Brown.

## PLATE XX.

- Figs. 1, 15, and 17. Archaic Greek pottery. British Museum. (B.C. 650 ?)
2. Devices on an old Anglo-Saxon vase or urn, Cambridgeshire. Waring, pl. xliv.
- 3, 4, 6, 6a, and 6b. Lycian coins and devices, showing *triquetra*, &c. (N.B.—According to R. Brown, Junr., the *triquetra* is a lunar emblem.) Fellows, Thomas, and Waring.
5. Ancient Assyrian symbol, of solar disc. (1200 B.C.) Rawlinson and Waring.
7. Twelve small purely Celtic devices and symbols, incised stones in Scotland and Ireland much resembling similar ones from Troy, &c.
8. Archaic jug from Cyprus. R. P. Greg.
9. The usual form of the Indian *crux-ansata*, with inverted triangle for loop.
10. Indian symbol for water, the triangle apex downwards.
12. Indian symbol for fire, apex upwards.
11. Usual Assyrian form of the *crux-ansata*; derived from Egypt.
- 13 and 13a. The simple cross and circle, a solar symbol of a mixed character.
- 14 and 14b. Cross and circle, the former oblique, supposed to symbolize the earth.
- 14c. Square, with diagonals to represent the earth.
- 14a. Hieroglyphic letter or ideograph, in Chinese, for inclosure of land, and probably also standing for earth.
- 16, 18. Etruscan gold and bronze *fibulæ*, found at Cære in Etruria, showing *fylfots* in open space for the air-god. Waring, pl. xli. and Ludvig Müller, fig. 16.



FYLFOT SYMBOL.

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Fig. 18a. Bronze *fibula* found in Bæotia, showing *fylfots* intermediate as between symbols for earth and sun. Ludvig Müller, fig. 8.

19. Five devices, probably belonging to the god Siva. Prinsep and Wilson.
- 20, 29. Greek key-pattern, doubled or interlocked, showing probable connection between the *fylfot* and meander ornamentation or border. Camirus.
- 21, 21a, 27. Simpler forms of the Greek key-fret (also in fig. 26).
22. Coin from Gaza, in Palestine, possibly of a solar character. Waring, pl. xlii.
23. On pottery. Museum of the Louvre, Mexico, typical of water (and fire?).
24. Curved or modified form of the *fylfot*, having possibly a solar character, on embossed gold buttons from Mycenæ. (B.C. 1200.) Schliemann.
25. Devices on modern Japan ware; solar and lightning symbols.
26. On archaic pottery (*circa* 650), Mycenæ. Schliemann.
28. Devices on an early diota or water-jar, representative of the sun, fire, and water. British Museum.
30. From a Danish *bracteate* with *fylfot*, or air-symbol, standing immediately over the symbol for water. Waring, pl. xlv.
31. Combination of *fylfot* and key-pattern, common on Chinese, Japanese, and old Roman ornamentation.
32. On a silver bowl, Etruria. Waring, pl. xli.; also in Chinese ware.
33. ? variety of the *swastika* on coins from Affghanistan. Wilson.
34. Three-armed and semi-circular device. Wilson.
35. Hieroglyph or sign for land, or inclosure. Egypt.
36. Cross, as in fig. 15, standing for earth.


## APPENDIX I.

In tracing out the history of the *swastika* it is well to bear in mind that the development of Siva and Vishnu worship is comparatively late. The worship of Dyaus, Varuna, and Agni, and to some extent also that of Indra, became forgotten or changed by the Buddhists. Some of the functions of the gods, whether single or as *triads*, varied from time to time, or was differently considered by different sects, or in different parts of India. Following the works of Max Müller, Monier Williams, Cox in his *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, and Kelly in his *Folk-Lore*, it may I think be gathered that Varuna, originally the investing sky or ether, became the bright and shining firmament, and still later became invested with solar ideas and properties, as in Surya, Savitar, Mitra, and Pushan, and to a large extent in Vishnu himself; at a still later period, some authorities make Varuna a god of the ocean and water. <sup>a</sup>

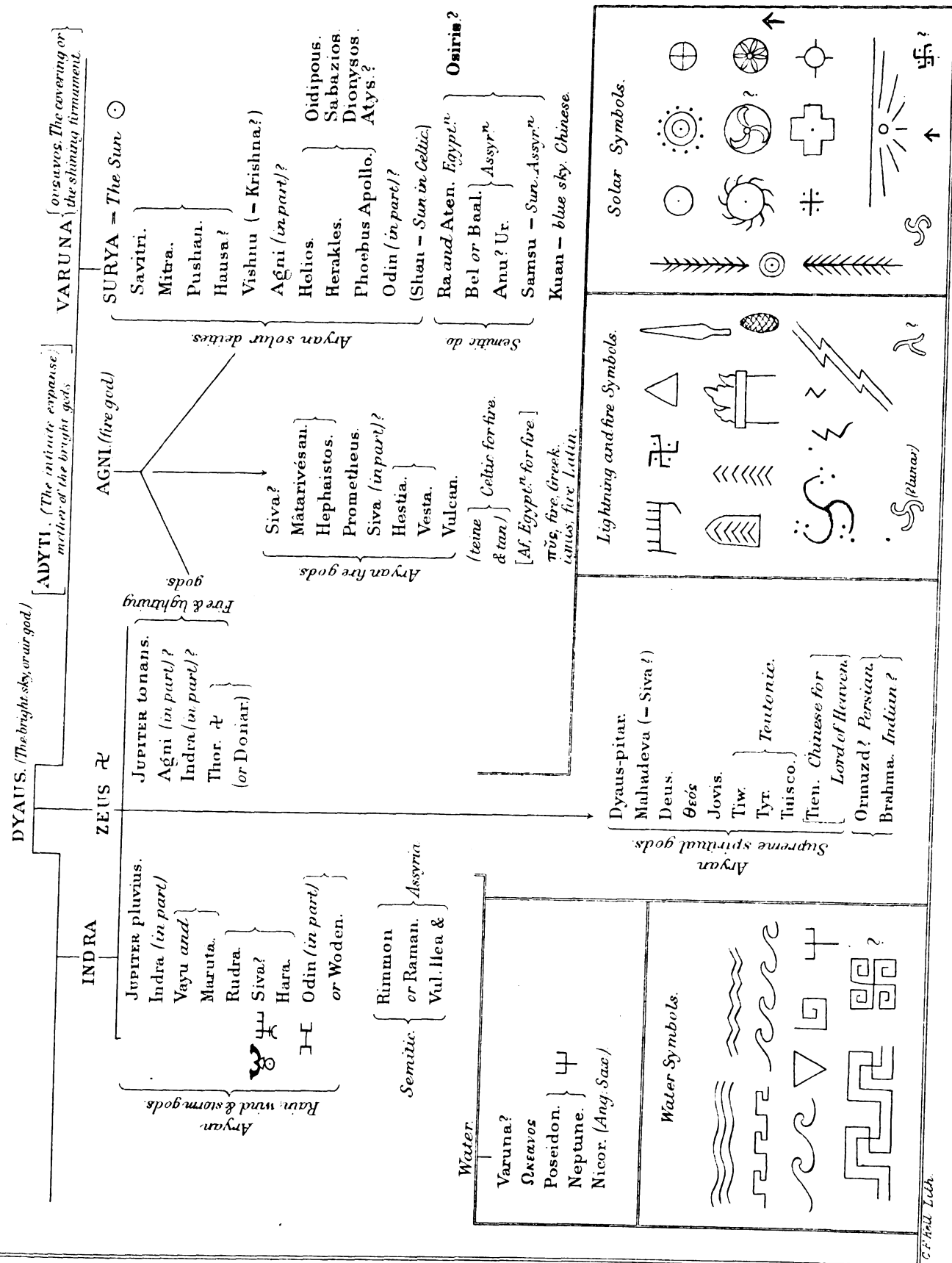
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<sup>a</sup> The goddess Adyti, meaning the Infinite Expanse, became the mother of the bright gods, and especially so of Surya and Mitra.

Brahma, the infinite and eternal essence and mysterious source of life, and even creator of all things, by some was considered = Dyaus + Varuna + Agni, and formed the first person of the great Hindoo trinity—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva—as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. By some, Brahma himself was even looked upon as all these three. I take it that the *crux-ansata* (see fig. 9, Pl. XX.) was at a later time intended to represent the god, or supreme idea, Brahma. The *trisul* and trident, the crescent-moon and the three-lobed *lotus*, were commonly employed as emblems of Siva, and the mystic rose, *charkra*, or many-rayed solar wheel-like disc, stood for Vishnu. With some, the lotus, trident, and *trisul* as well as *svastika* were *phallic*.

The *svastika*, as I have attempted to show, was in all probability the symbol or ordinary device of Indra as well as that of Zeus. Vishnu was sometimes = Indra + Surya or Savitar. Surya or Savitar was probably older than Vishnu, and was sometimes called the eye of Mitra and Agni. Agni must have occasionally been associated with solar attributes. Siva by some was once connected with Agni; but more certainly according to others, and earlier, with Rudra, a storm-god connected with India. Subsequently, and much later, Siva-worship to some extent even supplanted Vishnu, and in so doing possibly borrowed some of the generative and quickening influence attached to the solar power, and thus became more of a “beneficent god,” and his worship thoroughly imbued with *lingam*-worship. Siva is said indeed to have manifested himself under eight forms, viz., ether, air, fire, water, earth, sun, moon, and the sacrificing priest. Thus he may be said to have combined the qualities or powers of Indra, Dyaus, Varuna, and Surya; and should we find the *svastika* in connection with the symbols of Siva and Vishnu we should be careful in attaching a primitive solar significance to it. According to Kelly, Siva = Rudra + Agni, &c.; and the Scandinavian Odin was the successor of Rudra, Siva, and Indra. In some such way there was likewise a certain degree of connection between Thor and Odin, or Woden. I understand from Prof. Monier Williams that he considers the *trisul* of Siva to represent the two feet of Vishnu, with a small central star or boss between. Kelly in his *Folk-Lore*, p. 157, says: In the old sacred books of India the *palasa* is triple-leaved like clover or *trifolium*. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this form of leaf, it was meant to typify the *trident*; and a cross hammer with three points are among the oldest Indo-European symbols of forked-lightning, from which sprang the *palasa*, and which is called the *trisulcum*. Poseidon was the Zeus of the sea, and his trident equivalent to his father’s *trisulcum*, but there is no connection between Siva’s trident and *trisul* and Neptune’s.” If Kelly is right, Siva should first have been connected with Indra; but the trident has never been associated with Indra or with the sun. As to “the cross-hammer with three points,” spoken of here by Mr. Kelly, it is not quite easy to say if by it is meant the *svastika* and *fylfot*, or the three-armed device of fig. 31, Pl. XIX. or a **T**. There does not appear to be much connection however between the trident and the *svastika*, though the **T** may form a kind of link between the simple + and the . The letter **Z**, originally as I imagine the earliest ideograph for the forked lightning, may be said to be made up of three strokes, two to right and one to left.

There are many matters connected with these and other symbols on which the best authorities have agreed to differ, and which have not as yet been fully worked out. At the time of Manu, just before the rise of Buddha, about B.C. 500 or 600, Indra, Surya, Vayu (as Maruta), Jania, Varuna, Candra (the moon), Agni, and Prithivi (the earth), were the chief gods. Vishnu



A TABLE SHEWING THE OLDER ARYAN FIRE, WATER & SUN GODS &c.

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and Krishna (later on) were probably nearly identical. I am inclined to think that Vishnu, after 300 A.D. more or less assumed the honours or properties of Indra, Vaya, Surya, and Agni; and sometimes along with, and sometimes independently of, Siva, became nearly=all the gods. Indra, Varuna, Savitar (or Savitri), and Vishnu by turns were supposed "to support the universe." Agni was first born by the friction of two sticks, and carefully fostered by oblations of butter, or *Homa*. According to Cox, Agni and Vishnu were sometimes interchangeable, but this perhaps at a later time; and according to the same authority Indra himself gradually ceased to be god of the sky, but still long kept up his importance as national rain-giver to the thirsty earth. The root in Sanskrit, according to Max Müller, is *indu*, sap or drop, and is equivalent to the Jupiter *Pluvius* of the Latins. Indra is said to "shatter the clouds with his bolts." In one of his quasi-characters, however, as the "Wanderer," the Rev. G. W. Cox considers him "to have solar attributes (vol. i. p. 340), and is the same as the Teutonic Wegtan, and like Odysseus, Sigurd, Dionysos, Phoibos, Theseus, Oidipous, Herakles, and Savitar." But this might be also considered in reference to him as the sky-god; in the main he was essentially distinct from Surya, Helios, and Vishnu; and the air-god in a meteorological sense, rather than as having solar attributes, the *swastika* was the emblem of the first, and the circle or *chark* that of the sun.

Zaski, the oldest Vaidik and Sanskrit exegete of those whose sacred writings are preserved, wrote, "there are three *devatas*. Agni, who resides on the earth, Vayu or Indra, who resides in the intermediate space between heaven and earth, and Surya, who resides in heaven." Indra as dwelling intermediately may very possibly have participated in some of the honours or properties of either; and thus their respective symbols became more liable to be confused.<sup>a</sup>

H. R. Wilson in his *Rig Veda* gives a translation of the stanza known as the Hausavata Rich, as exhibiting the genus of more than one myth. "Indra is Hausa (the sun) dwelling in light; Vasu (the wind) dwelling in the firmament; the invoker of the gods (Agni) dwelling on the altar; the guest (of the worshipper) dwelling in the house; the dweller in the most excellent (orb the sun); the dweller in the sky (the air); born in the waters in the rays of light and in the (eastern) mountain of truth (itself)." This is mere rhapsody in praise of Indra. We have seen how pretty much the same ideas and honour were at a later time accorded to the god Siva in his eight manifestations; and this should induce us to being careful in tracing out the meaning of his symbols. It is only by going back to the older Vedas that we are enabled to see the real meaning of Dyaus, Indra, Agni, Surya, &c. and their connection with the western Zeus, Jupiter, and Thor with Helios and Apollo, &c. In the table I have added to this paper I have tried to show some of these relations more clearly. (See Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. ii. p. 425.)

Sometimes "Agni is said to be the cause of all things" (Cox, vol. ii. p. 193). Also, "they call him *The One*: viz. Indra, Mitra, Agni, Varuna, Yama and Mâtrivân." According to Karl Blind, Varuna was subsequently the god of the waters, or the ocean; and water was considered



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<sup>a</sup> I have particularly remarked in the earlier part of my Paper in reference to certain of the figs. given in the Plates on the importance of the position given for the *fylfot* in these figs. and have pointed out that very frequently the *fylfot* has assigned to it an intermediate or most open place between the sun and the earth.

sometimes the original element of all things. Fire and water were also looked upon as the two great purifying elements among the southern Aryans.<sup>a</sup> The worship of Vishnu began to prevail about B.C. 300. The age of the oldest Vedic hymns not earlier than 1300 B.C.

In the laws of Manu (B.C. 700 ?) it is stated that "Brahma milked out the triple Veda—Rik, Vajus and Samau—for fire, air, and the sun" (*i.e.* Agni, Indra and Surya, or Savitar).

*Homa* was the oblation of butter to Agni, and *soma-juice* to Indra, the rain- and air-god.

On one of the Trojan terra-cotta balls (figs. 8 and 8a, Pl. XIX.) we see on one hemisphere the  standing for Zeus (= Indra), the sky-god, and on the other side a rude representation of the sacred (*soma*) tree; a very interesting and curious western perpetuation of the same original idea, and a strong indirect proof of the  standing for the emblem of the sky-god.<sup>b</sup>

By the laws of Manu, ceremonies were enjoined to Agni, Varuna, Indra, Sama, and to heaven and earth.

The older Vedic hymns would be very nearly contemporaneous, curiously enough, with about the time of the Trojan war, and with many of the terra-cotta whorls discovered and described by Dr. Schliemann. As I have, however, already stated, the *swastika*, as a symbol, has not actually been found in India or China earlier than about 200 or 300 B.C., though it must have been adopted by or known to the Buddhists many years before that.


According to Mr. A. Evans, the older "*swastika* naturally develops into the wheel (? of the sun), and in early times the hearth-fire took precedence of the sun and luminous bodies before becoming a divinity." The virgin Maya (mother of Agni) is no other than the wheel or lower disc of the old fire-churn or *chark*; and Buddha himself was to some extent identified with Agni. The wheel of the sun itself is simply the old *arana*, just as in the Vedas Agni, the fire of the hearth, is used to typify the sun, or the fire of heaven, and is connected with the revolving augur of Ulysses as a fire-drill."<sup>c</sup>

The difficulty about the *swastika*, and its supposed connection with fire, appears to me to lie in the difficulty of knowing precisely what the old fire-drill and *chark* were like. The best

<sup>a</sup> See fig. 18a, Pl. XX. where the *fylfot* standing for the supreme god, or for Zeus, is centrally placed between the solar goose and a fish; in this case, possibly fire and water as the two purifying elements might be intended, in fig. 18 a middle station between the sun and earth, exactly suitable to the position of an air-god.

<sup>b</sup> How far the *soma*-tree was the same with the tree of life I am not prepared to say; but Indra was said to have been slayer of the dark serpent Vitra.

<sup>c</sup> E. B. Tylor, in his *Early History of Mankind*, p. 257, says: "The old fire-drill is still used in India for kindling the sacrificial fire. The process by which fire is obtained from wood is called churning, as it resembles that by which butter in India is separated from milk. It consists in drilling one piece of arani-wood into another by pulling a string tied to it with a jerk with the one hand, while the other is slackened, and so alternately till the wood takes fire. The fire is received on cotton or flax, held in the hand of an assistant Brahmin." The Esquimaux use similar means. The ancient Greeks likewise used the drill and cord. (See Kuhn and Stevenson.) There is nothing here, then, of the *swastika* and four nails in connection with the fire-churn.

authorities consider Bernouf is in error as to the earlier use of two lower cross-pieces of wood, and the four nails, said to have been used to fix or steady the frame-work. At first a single piece of flat wood must have been used, and the upright stick was the second piece of wood referred to in the Vedas. If Mr. Thomas is correct in his idea that the *swastika* was a solar symbol, presenting the idea of a rotatory motion, that should perhaps be rather referred to the wheel or whorl used in conjunction with the chark. But I much doubt whether the  had originally any connection either with the fire-chark or with the sun.

The question of the eastern *swastika* is, however, doubtless a more complicated one than that of the more western *fylfot*, its counterpart.

## APPENDIX II.

Ludvig Müller, in his important treatise on the *croix-gammée* or *fylfot*, published at Copenhagen in 1877, with fifty-two figures, bearing on this symbol, as found in different parts of the eastern and western world, considers it to have been used not only as an ornament (with various later geometric and fanciful additions and modifications) but likewise as a charm or amulet as well as a religious and personal emblem. The oldest known examples are those from Hissarlik, at Troy, and probably Pelasgian. Outside the Aryan race it was probably known only to the Phœnicians and Mongols, and it is not likely to have gone to India and Persia from the Pelasgians; but goes back to the time of the early Aryan dispersion. There are many different opinions as to its original meaning (many of which I have already referred to).

It has, according to Ludvig Müller, no connection with the *tau*, or with the *cruz-ansata*, or with the fire-chark, arana, or with Agni, or with certain mystic or alphabetic letters, nor with the so-called spokes even of the *solar* wheel, or with the forked-lightning, nor even with the hammer of Thor, which was sometimes represented by the simpler **T**. Ludvig Müller considers there are certain Asiatic symbols which may throw light on its origin, *e.g.*, the *triquetra* and *triskele* (and which I have already referred to); see figs. 4, 6a, Pl. XX. and 24 and 31, Pl. XIX. where the three-legged and three-footed device or *triskele* (like that known as the arms of the Isle of Man!) evidently indicate "perpetual whirling or circular movement," and which was in Southern Asia Minor, Lycia, &c. (possibly in connection with Phœnicia?), the emblem of "Zeus assimilé a Baal," an inference chiefly to be drawn from certain Asiatic coins (B.C. 400) having a Perso-Lycian character; a few of the Sicilian coins also have similar devices. That the *triskele* is the same as the *tetraskēle*, or four-legged and four-footed symbol, and equally expressive of the "gyratory movement of the sun through the sky" (not axial?); and that the *fylfot* may be considered also four-footed and similarly expressive. That it was a "symbol of divinity before becoming a mere solar ornament," . . . "and should be referred to the circular movement of the world, or to the course of the sun in the sky, and may then well be the emblem of the divinity from whom emanates the movement of the universe, as the supreme being, whether of mono-

theism or of pantheism. As the first of the gods in polytheism, it would more especially and naturally be the sun-god." Looking at it, then, from this point of view, and at the religious belief of the ancient Aryans as a kind of mixture of naturalism and pantheism, that more nearly approached, however, to the idea of a single supreme being and creator of all things, one need not be surprised that the sun-god should have been the principal object of early worship, and that among the early Asiatic Aryans this symbol was in all probability at first the emblem of that principal divinity, supposed by them to include all the gods, and which, by natural preference, would be the sun-god, and that it was so considered by the Celts and Scandinavians.<sup>a</sup> That it was a symbol adopted by the Buddhists expressive of supreme divinity, but was used before that by the Mongols of Thibet, who had probably borrowed it much earlier from the Aryans themselves. In China it is called *ouan*, meaning "everything divinely good." It has been found on Persian coins, and may have been intended as an emblem of their Ormuzd. It was a very old symbol among the Pelasgians; it often occurs on vases, perhaps used for libations to the gods, and on burial-urns, and probably used by them to represent the supreme being as well as the sun, not unfrequently found also on Greek coins connected with the worship of Apollo, though not always four-legged or four-spoked. The head of Zeus sometimes occurs on Greek coins. Possibly it may sometimes have been the equivalent of the *cruz-ansata* of the Semitic nations as in Cyprus, where Phœnician and Egyptian influence existed from an early period. But among the Greeks there is reason for supposing that the symbol also may have stood for *θεος* = *deva*, as among the older and more eastern Aryans; or for the supreme being, higher even than the gods of Olympus. Among the Germanic nations it may have been more used as an ornament or charm, possibly sometimes for their god Woden or Odin. Among the more Northern Germans and Scandinavians the symbol is found, and also in the *triskele* form, standing for the sun (and fire?). Thor's hammer was in a ruder form, sometimes a **T** simply. The *fylfot* here probably may have stood for Odin or Freia, and is often found on *bracteates* in conjunction with the head of a warrior and sometimes that of a woman. The symbol, Snorro thinks anciently came direct from Asia, across the Don and Southern Russia. In the North of Europe, however, Thor was more considered than Odin, and was the supreme god, and as such may have in the bronze age had the *fylfot* assigned to him, before even the simple **T** sign, as in the iron age. In Northern Scandinavia the *fylfot* was not employed as a Christian symbol.

I have thus shortly endeavoured to give an *epitomé* of Ludvig Müller's treatise on this symbol, and which in the original embraces some one hundred pages. With reference to his opinions and


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<sup>a</sup> I cannot help thinking that Ludvig Müller attaches too much importance to the sun in connection with the early Aryans. In the Vedas the sun at first occupied the second place, and the sky and air-god along with Indra and Agni the first. Zeus or Jupiter, or their representatives, also generally held the place as the supreme god of the Western Aryans, and as we have seen that referred to the sky and air rather than to the sun, and that the *fylfot* emblem belonged to Zeus. It is surely going back too far to decide whether among the Aryans 3000 to 5000 years ago they may have first worshipped the sun as a simple element.



statements in connection with the views I have given in the body of this Paper, I may observe that he fails to state that the supreme god of the Vedas and of the Pelasgians was certainly Zeus (= Dyaus), who was the sky and air-god, *not* the sun-god. Whether Dyaus or Zeus was ever the equivalent of the sun, or sun-god, in pre-Aryan times, is going back too far! In considering the *fylfot* as the emblem of Zeus and Jupiter, merely as the "supreme god," Ludvig Müller and myself are agreed; but in referring the *fylfot* as a device to have originated in a reference to the movement of the sun through the heavens I am very doubtful, and prefer the explanation given in the body of this Paper, that it was a device directly suggested by the forked-lightning, as the chief weapon of the air-god. The Aryans were by no means a race given to sun-worship; fire, rain, wind and lightning were quite as much thought of, or even more so than the sun, and they even had an idea of a supreme god or creator, in a higher or more spiritual sense, than the other nations at that early time.

That the *fylfot* and *swastika* occasionally did service as a solar emblem, I have admitted and endeavoured to explain.



That the device arose out of the *triskele* and *triquetra*, I do not think can be proved; it is clear the  was a far older and wider-spread symbol than the *triskele* as well as a more purely Aryan one. (See note <sup>b</sup>, page 303.)

No doubt these three-legged devices may have been derived from four or from even seven-legged or spoked ones, and probably have some direct reference to solar or lunar revolution; but the *fylfot* 1500 B.C. as first seen on the Trojan whorls, was a square cross, with spurs or feet drawn at right angles, and not curved, save in a few cases where either carelessly drawn or as having some evident reference, negative or positive, to the sun or the round-shape of the whorls. (See figs. 8, 10, 12 and 13, Pl. XIX.) Even in fig. 12, where the curved cross on the circle of the solar orb has a most decided solar appearance, the sun-god and the sky-god both distinct, are doubtless intended to be represented in a close and natural alliance. In reference to fig. 24, Pl. XX. represented on a gold button from Mycenæ (B.C. 1200), I have already explained why the *fylfot* would naturally be given with curved terminations; for the artists working in metal embossment, and with a small round object such as a button, would almost be necessitated giving it a rounded shape.<sup>a</sup>

I have dwelt thus on the matter of the curved feet or spurs of the *fylfot* and *triskele* because it is connected with one of the strongest arguments in favour of the solar origin and meaning of the symbol we have been discussing at so much length; and one on which Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller have touched on very largely in favour of that theory; but which may mislead from its very plausibility, if not at all events very fully considered.

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<sup>a</sup> Fig. 18a, Pl. XX. represents a portion of a *fibula* from Bœotia, figured by Ludvig Müller, which at first suggests the idea of the *fylfot* having a solar connection. The hooked rays to the solar disc at the top are evidently copied from the spurs or feet of the *fylfot*; but this is almost a unique instance. The two small lower squares with inscribed diagonals most probably stand for the earth, and, if so, the two *fylfots* will not be out of place in the intermediate space as representing the air-god, and need no more have any solar reference than that the two squares standing for the earth have any solar character about them.

Considered finally, it may be asked, if the *fylfot* or *gammadion*, was an early symbol of the sun, or if only an emblem of the solar revolutions or movement across the heavens, why was it drawn square rather than curved? The , even if used in a solar sense, must have implied something more than, or something distinct from, the sun, whose proper and almost universal symbol was the circle. It was evidently more connected with the cross + than with the circle , or solar disc.

Whether it had a resemblance, as far as idea or meaning went, with the Semitic *crux-ansata* is just possible, though there is no reason for supposing that even that emblem had a solar origin.

### ADDENDUM.

In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlix. No. 235, see a valuable paper on Indian spindle-whorls, discs, and seals found near Buddhist ruins, in N.W. India, by H. Rivett-Carnac, F.S.A. These are of clay, some solid, some perforated, and somewhat resembling those from Troy. Mr. Carnac thinks many of these may have been *ex votos*, especially those not perforated. Spindle-whorls however, ornamented with circles, rays, &c., are not uncommon among the remains of the Swiss Lake Dwellings, and in many other parts. When however, found near temples or sacred sites, the *perforated* ones may have not unlikely been used as *momenta* or fly-wheels for the sacred fire-drill. (See note on page 300.)

Mr. M. J. Walhouse, M.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary* (see *Trans. Royal Inst. of British Architects*, 1880-81, p. 159), has some important observations on the *swastika* and *fylfot*, and in which he also refers to Mr. Hodder Westropp's opinion on that symbol. N.B.—Mr. Walhouse considers that the emblem must have been associated with the sky-god Zeus, Thor, &c. A character nearly represented by the Runic G, occurs in a Pâli inscription (see *Royal Asiatic Soc. Trans.* vol. xx. p. 250). Prof. Stephens, of Copenhagen, remarks that in the earliest *runes* the letter G is drawn . Mr. Westropp draws a distinction between the Eastern *swastika* and the Western *fylfot*, which Mr. Walhouse (doubtless correctly so) considers to be untenable. Mr. Westropp also, rather fancifully, connects the archaic Greek *fylfot* with the four small incised squares on certain of the earliest Greek coins; and that in India it is probably connected with the two Pâli characters signifying, as General Cunningham has remarked, "it is well," and considers it has nothing to do with Bernouf's theory of the fire-drill and chark.

In the *Archaeological Report on the Buddhist caves of Elura and their inscriptions*, by James Burgess (2 vols. Trübner), some reference is made to the *trisula* of Siva (see page 320), which is considered to be the symbolical Buddhist *vajra*, and the *dorjé* of the Tibetan Lamas. In Tibet the *trisula* has four prongs. The *vajra* is said to be the thunderbolt of Indra, but at all events it is a very old symbol. On coins of Elis of the fourth century B.C. the thunderbolt of Zeus is somewhat like the old Buddhist *trisula* or *vajra*, or *dorjé* of the Lamas of the present day. So far Mr. Burgess. It may be remarked that the *trisula* is probably represented as four pronged on many of the Bactrian coins; as the *trisula* was certainly the symbol of Siva, it can hardly have also been the equivalent of the thunderbolt of Indra, a totally distinct and earlier divinity.

XV.—*Excavation of an Ancient Burial Ground at Marston St. Lawrence,  
co. Northampton. By SIR HENRY DRYDEN, Bart.<sup>a</sup>*

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Read February 16, 1882.

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THIS Burial Ground is five-and-a-half miles east-north-east of Banbury, a little more than a quarter of a mile north of Marston Hill farm, in the parish of Marston St. Lawrence, and 200 or 300 yards west of the Moreton road. The field was formerly called Bar-furlong, which name may be derived either from Barrow or from Barr, the summit of a hill, as Bardon Hill (Barrdun), the top of the hill, in Leicestershire.

It is on a high ridge of land, running west-north-west and east-north-east, overlooking the vale of the Cherwell to the south, and only one-and-a-quarter mile east of Arbury Camp, on Thenford Hill, which is the west extremity of the same ridge. The ground at the place falls gently to the south. The field has been ploughed for many years. The soil is from 1 ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. deep, on the top of a limestone rock, averaging about 1 ft. 6 in. in thickness, under which is sand.

The first skeleton was discovered in November 1842, in digging for stone for draining, and the excavation was carried on until the end of April 1843, when, having arrived at the limits of the unsown ground, further operations were deferred. There was no appearance of any earthwork, the bodies being placed in graves under small hillocks, as ours are now, or the surplus earth may have been spread around. The excavated space was about 150 ft. by 100 ft., but trenches were cut further out than this. There were found in all the skeleton

<sup>a</sup> A part of the following Paper and the first three Plates (from engravings on copper) were published in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 329-334.

of a horse, and thirty-two human skeletons, all of which lay in nearly the same direction, varying from  $20^{\circ}$  to  $40^{\circ}$  east-of-north, with the feet to the north-east. They were from 1 ft. 3 in. to 1 ft. 6 in. under the surface, and were stretched out with the faces upwards, except four, one of which had the legs doubled back from the knees (as the workman said); two were laid on their left sides and one on the right. In this number I do not include a skeleton, or part of one (No. 9 in Plan), found broken up in a hole. Some of the bodies had a few stones taken from under them, but most were laid on the top of the rock. The graves in which they were laid were in great part filled with fine mould, probably sifted, and some of it appeared to have undergone fire. This fine earth is usually found in interments of this nature, and the common Roman monumental inscription **S. T. T. L.** *Sit tibi terra levis*, illustrates the reason of it.

In the reference to the Plan (Pl. XXII.), I have allotted certain relics to particular skeletons; but sixteen of the skeletons were taken up before I saw the place, and therefore the appropriation of remains to these sixteen is done on the authority of the workman. The others I believe to be quite correct.

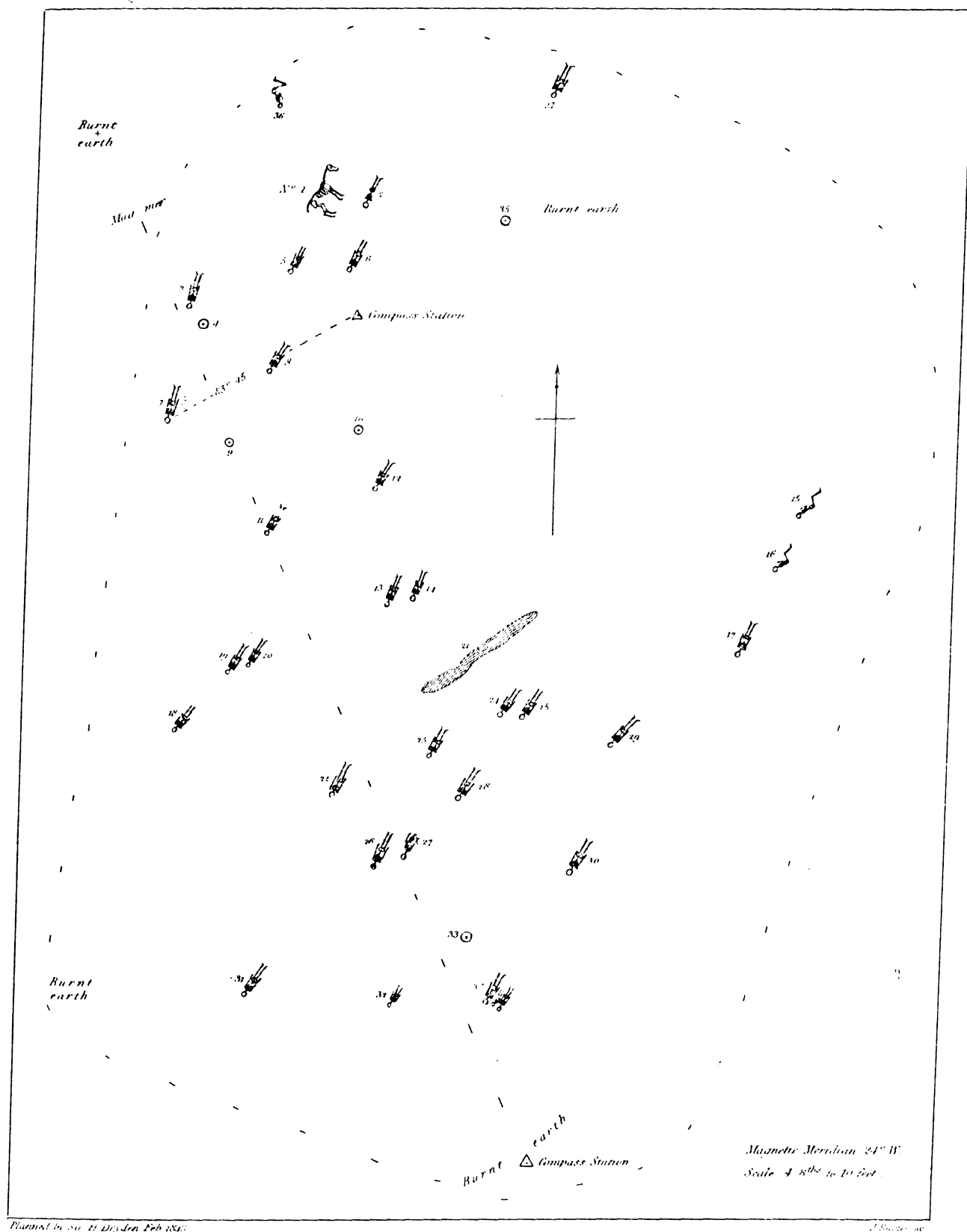
The workman marked with sticks the situation of the sixteen first skeletons when I began my Plan, and, as he was an intelligent man, I believe them to be pretty correct. The situation of the others were accurately taken with compass and tape, as they were discovered.

As is shown in the Plan, many of the skeletons lay in pairs, and most of the brooches and buckles were also in pairs, one for each shoulder, as sometimes seen in designs on ancient vases, marbles, &c. The figures on Plates XXIII. XXIV. and XXV. refer to the Plan. The articles without numbers were not appropriated.

#### REFERENCES TO PLAN.

No.

1. Horse lying on its near side, with bit in mouth, iron articles about the jaws, buckle on rump, and I believe the brass article near its mouth. It lay 3 or 4 feet deep. Judging by some bones it was about 14 hands high.
2. Skeleton with two circular brooches and twenty-six beads, and what appears to be a necklace-catch, being too weak for tweezers, which are often found in Roman interments.
3. Skeleton of small and young female with two coins, having holes in them for suspension, brass square ornament, two circular and open brass buckles, one



Burial Ground near Marston St Lawrence, Northamptonshire.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London - 1864.



No.

iron buckle, and about sixteen beads (some long ones) of amber, a few of the triplet beads round her neck, and a bracelet on each arm. She lay about 3 ft. 6 in. or 4 ft. deep, and had a few stones laid over her, some edgeways.

4. Fragments of urn of red pottery.
5. Skeleton measuring 5 ft. 3 in. to lower extremity of *tibia*. Spear-head 10 in. long, pointing upwards, level with head, on left side. Buckle in middle. Face up, and hands by sides.
6. Skeleton only 4 feet long altogether. Hands by side. Knife by right side, and buckle in middle.
7. Skeleton measuring 4 ft. 3 in. to lower extremity of *tibia*. Hands between legs, but elbows outside body. The stone was hollowed out 5 or 6 inches deep so that the back of the body, from neck to top of thighs, rested in the hollow. There was also a stone placed under the knees, to raise them a little, and they had slipped outwards from it. A knife with point down was by the right elbow.
8. Skeleton with one cruciform and one spade-brooch by neck, and about eight beads.
9. Broken bones in a hole. They were human bones, so perhaps a skeleton had been disturbed before.
10. Urn with Vandyke pattern on it. Pottery coarse, of a dark brown inside, and nearly black outside. It had the comb at the bottom of it, and was full of burnt bones.
11. Skeleton with beads.
12. Skeleton.
13. Skeleton with spear-head, boss of shield, ring, and two circular concave brooches.
14. Skeleton with large brooch, and about six beads.
15. Skeleton with two spade-shaped brooches, and brass buckle.
16. Skeleton with large spear-head, large knife, small knife, and buckle.
17. Skeleton with small spear and boss.
18. Skeleton with six large beads.
19. Skeleton with buckle.
20. Skeleton with buckle.
21. Train of burnt seed about 5 yards long on the top of the rock.

No.

22. Skeleton.

23. Skeleton with knife and pin.

24. Skeleton with two cruciform brooches, knife, and no beads.

25. Skeleton with cruciform brooch, knife, and no beads.

26. Skeleton.

27. Skeleton, asserted by the workman to have the legs doubled back.

28. Skeleton with beads about neck, and large bone bead alongside the arm.

29. Skeleton lying  $41^{\circ}$  east-of-north from feet to head. The shield of this man was placed flat on the bottom of the grave, and the body stretched out on it in such a manner that part of the remnants of the handle of the shield was found under the hip bones, and the boss with its point upwards was just between the thighs. The face of the skeleton was upwards. Two spear-heads were found close together, and close to the right side of the head parallel to the body. An arrow-head was at the feet. The boss was half-full of burnt vegetable matter, which looks like heath or fern-stems, the diameter being about one-tenth or one-eighth of an inch.

30. Skeleton with longest spear-head, boss of shield, knife under it, and iron handle of shield. The boss contains burnt matter as the other, and all the things were deposited as the last. Direction  $31^{\circ}$  east-of-north.

31. Skeleton with about twenty-four beads.

32. Skeleton of infant with knife.

33. Urn broken to pieces, with burnt bones in it.

34. Skeletons (3); first, supposed woman, with eight small beads of amber round her neck, buckle, two pins like those in Pl. XXIII. but rather smaller, a kind of pin, knife, iron article, and piece of brass wire round her neck. The two small skeletons were on the east side of her, smallest nearest.

35. Fragment of urn, of middling degree of texture. Less fine than urn with Vandyke pattern, and finer than No. 33, and about same texture as urn No. 4. Only about half of the lower half was found, but, as it is a different pattern from the others, it is a distinct urn. Some burnt bones were with it.

36. Skeleton doubled up, lying on its right side, with knees bent. They only found a knife with this one.

37. Skeleton lying on its back, with no head and only one arm, as workman said (do not know which arm). They found with it two spear-heads of different sizes, and a knife. Perhaps the bones in No. 9 (amongst which were parts of a skull) were the missing parts of this skeleton.



N.B.—This was the last body discovered this season, and this was about the second week in April.

TOTAL	-	-	-	1 Horse.
				4 Urns.
				7 Skeletons, with weapons.
				25 Skeletons, without weapons.

### LIST OF RELICS.

*Arrow-head of Iron* - - - - - 1

*Beads.*—Most of the skeletons had beads about the neck, varying in number from four to twenty-six. About one hundred and eighty beads were found in all. Of amber about one hundred and twenty, varying from three-sixteenths to thirteen-sixteenths, and in colour from pink-yellow to intense ruby; of which most are rudely made. Of glass twenty-six, varying from five-sixteenths to thirteen-sixteenths. Most are bright blue, but one is black, one green, and two have light blue pattern on a brown ground. Of jet one. Of green stone or clay two. There are also fragments of twelve or fifteen more. There are also about thirty small beads made in triplets of some greenish transparent substance with a visible fibre, and wherever found are in triplets. Total, without fragments - - - 180

The large bead appears to be cut by a transverse section from some large bone as the thigh, and has been turned in a lathe. It was found alongside the arm of a skeleton (according to the workman), about whose neck there were other beads. In the Chinese collection in London, in 1843, was a Chinaman with an ivory ring somewhat resembling this, used to fasten his cloak at the left breast by the rings being looped to one part of the cloak, and one of two strings fastened at the other corner of the cloak being passed through the ring and tied to the other string. It appears probable that this bone bead may have been used instead of a brooch, and no brooch was found with this skeleton as far as the workman remembered.

*Bit for a horse.*—This was found in the jaws of the horse. It resembles our present bridoons, but ours are always used with curbs. Our snaffle-bits always have cheek-pieces or very large rings. The reins and headstall

were fastened to this bit permanently, being riveted to small rings with flat shanks, which were linked on the large cheek-rings. The cavesson part of the head-stall was attached to the large rings by the other two smaller ones with flat shanks. I think the other rings and riveting-pieces attached to them, which were also by the jaws of the horse, belong to the cavesson part of the head-harness, to the largest of which perhaps was attached a strap for tying the horse up. The brass article was probably the strap of a buckle. In Douglas's *Nenia Britannica* is a bit like this. - 1

*Bosses.* (See *Shields*.)

*Bracelets.*—The only bracelets found were with the supposed lady, No. 3 in plan, one on each arm. They are of brass, clasped together like some of ours, and were sewn on to the strap by two holes in each piece. - - - 2

*Brooches.*—There were found in all ten pairs and a single one. The single one is a very beautiful specimen of copper partially gilt. The relieved parts are not gilt, the hollows are as bright as when new. The pin is lost, as well as the hinge-pin, and the catch has been filed off. It is singular that no one of the brooches had the pin in it or with it; three have the catches apparently filed off, and only three or four have the hinge-pin remaining. In all the brooches, except the large one, the hinge is a single piece of metal with a hole through it, so that the pin was forked at the end, and the hinge-pin passed through the three together. In some of the brooches there is a lump of rust about the hinge, by which it appears that the pins and hinge-pins were of iron, and probably so thin that corrosion has destroyed them. The iron tongue of one buckle was found with the buckle, which makes it more probable that the pins of the brooches were also iron. The brooches themselves appear to vary between tin, copper, and pale brass. Total - - - - - 21

*Buckles.*—There are two pairs and one of brass buckles, of which the two pairs are large circular open buckles, and the single one is small and of common shape. There are five iron buckles, of which one was found on the rump of the horse, and was doubtless connected with a crupper. One iron buckle has a brass strap, and there is a similar one engraved in Douglas.

*Coins.*—Only two coins were found in the part opened. One is decidedly of Carausius, and the other, though much corroded, appears to be of Salonina, the wife of Gallienus. Both coins have holes drilled through them for suspending them, and they formed part of the neck ornaments of No. 3.

In *Nenia Britannica* we are told that the custom of using coins for ornaments prevails in Sicily, and in a book called *The Nestorians*, by Asahel Grant, M.D., Murray, Albemarle Street, 1843, chap. 9, p. 90, he slept at the house of a Koordish bey; and in the morning, at his departure, amongst other presents, the mother of the bey suspended a small gold coin with some beads to his son's neck, as a memento of her affection. 2

*Comb.*—This was found in the bottom of the urn No. 10, and was covered with the burnt bones. The rivets are of iron, and the pattern the same on both sides. The material is bone. The bones were carefully washed and sifted, but no more teeth than those could be found, and therefore it is probable that it was in that state when put into the urn. We may suppose it was the most precious article of the lady's toilet, whose bones are contained in the urn. - - - - - 1

*Handles of Shields.* (See *Shields*.)

*Knives.*—These vary in length of blade from  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. to  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. and in breadth from  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. and vary but little in shape. All seem to have been fastened into handles of wood by a sort of spike at the bottom of the blade, and probably had wooden sheaths for the blades, which would account for our not finding any rivets, &c. with them. Total - - - - - 12

*Pins for the Hair.*—There are five of them, of brass, of which one has a ring of brass wire attached to it, and probably all have had, for there are holes for that purpose in them. They vary from  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length. 5

There is one bone pin, or rather part of it, with a brass wire ring in the head of it. It must have been about the same length as the others. 1

*Rings.*—There is only one ornamental ring, which is of silver wire, and was found on the finger of the skeleton. It is now broken in two places, but there is little doubt that it was as seen in the restored drawing. - - - 1

The two iron rings have been described with the horse. - - - 2

*Shields.*—The shields themselves must have been of wood or other perishable material, but we have one handle perfect, and a remnant of another, and four bosses of shields. The bosses of shields are all the same shape, but vary in size a little. From their being more numerous than the handles we may suppose that some handles were made of perishable materials. In the boss found with No. 30 we see the rivets which fastened it to the shield. The boss allotted to 13 is much broken, but those with 17, 29, and 30 are pretty perfect. - - - - - 4

The handle of shield found with No. 30 is perfect as far as the parts of it, but it is broken in two places. A piece of wood has been riveted on to the curved part in the middle of it. The object of having it so long was perhaps to brace the shield together, and strengthen it, though it does not appear that it was fastened to the shield, except at the two ends. From the distance of the burr of the rivet at one end from the handle we may conclude that the shield was five-sixteenths of an inch in thickness. The hand of the person using this shield would be immediately under the boss, as is shown by the handles being straight, for of course there would be no room for the hand between this handle and a flat surface. I imagine that those shields which had not iron handles, viz., with Nos. 13 and 17, had two leather loops, one which came across the arm below the elbow and the other held by the hand. - - - - - 4

*Spears.*—These vary in length, from  $6\frac{3}{8}$  in. to 1 ft.  $4\frac{1}{4}$  in. and in breadth from  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in. to  $1\frac{7}{8}$  in. They vary but little in shape, the only peculiar one being that found with No. 16, which is twisted to give rotatory motion. It can only be explained by the drawing of the section (Plate XXV. No. 16).

The spears were all found in the same position, *i. e.*, close to the head and pointing upwards, which circumstance makes it probable that the staves of the spears were of the height of the man, or they must have been cut short. Two skeletons, Nos. 29 and 37, had two spears each. The other five had only one each. - - - - - 9

*Urns.*—It is singular that although the workmen were careful to look for all the pieces of the several urns as they came to them, yet they did not find all the parts of any one of them. Only a few fragments of No. 4 were found, and I did not learn that any bones were found with it. No. 10 is the urn which contained the comb. About a quarter of this urn is gone from bottom to top, and all the lip, which may have been ploughed off, but enough is left to ascertain its size, &c. It is of a rich brown colour, and the same density through. It was full of burnt bones. No. 32 is in very small fragments, in different people's possession. Burnt bones were also found with this. This is of a coarser pottery than the others. No. 35 was the last found, and, although the workmen looked carefully for the pieces, they only obtained about half the lower part of the urn, and two or three scraps. They found a few burnt bones about it. It appears to have been the largest of the four, and is of about the same texture of pottery as Nos. 4 and 10. Total - - - - - 4

Of the articles found some are now in my possession by the gift of the late Rev. E. Walford, of Chipping Warden, and others are in the possession of Mrs. Severne, of Thenford. To Mr. Walford, and to the late J. M. Severne, Esq. of Thenford, I am indebted for much of the information herein detailed. The horse's bit passed into the possession of the late Rev. R. Gordon, of Elsfield.

The line of the Port Way in this part of its course is not accurately known, but it must have been within one-and-a-quarter mile of this place, and probably much nearer. The course is this: Dorchester, Oxford, Kirtlington (near which it crosses the Akeman Street), Rainsborough Camp, near Marston, Eydon, Preston, Newnham, Borough Hill near Daventry, &c.<sup>a</sup>

Arbury Camp on Thenford Hill, as before stated, is within one-and-a-quarter mile of this spot, and numerous Roman and other remains have been found hereabouts.

Having described as far as possible the articles themselves, and the circumstances attending the discovery, it remains to attempt an appropriation of them to some particular class of people.

If we compare them with the Keltic remains found in the Channel Islands we see in these an indication of improvement in the arts.<sup>b</sup> The absence of metal in the Keltic sepulchres, and the rudeness of their slightly-baked pottery, at once separate the two. Nor do they resemble either the supposed Phœnician or the Keltic remains in Ireland, nor the interments in Wilts, which Sir R. C. Hoare has, I think, properly determined to be British, except in a few cases.

On the other hand, the various collections of pure Roman remains found in England or in Italy show a much higher state of art in the manufacture of the pottery, though brooches and pins of this kind are found even with the Samian ware. See for example the collection of Mr. C. Roach Smith, of London; Pottery, &c., from Chipping Warden, co. Northampton, five miles from Marston, and from Borough Hill, co. Northampton, twelve miles from Marston, in my collection; Remains found at Castor, illustrated in Artis's *Castor*.

Moreover, where undoubted Roman remains are discovered in places of sepulture, we find a different system of interment. Cremation, it is true, is common to such burial-grounds as Marston Hill, and such as the Roman burial-ground near

<sup>a</sup> Baker's *Northamptonshire*, vol. i. pp. 340, 431. Beesley's *Banbury*, p. 37.

<sup>b</sup> See short account, by Rev. W. C. Lukis, in Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, Introd. p. v.

Royston, of which the remains are at Clare Hall, Cambridge, but cremation is the rule in the Roman, and the exception in the other. The Romans, when they buried their dead, deposited by the body, and sometimes by the urn, cups, platters, and bowls of pottery, of bronze or of tin, lamps also and incense-cups, and occasionally bottles of glass; and we remark the *absence* of weapons and ornaments of dress. See the model of a tomb from Italy in the Fitzwilliam Museum (the pottery in this bears an Etruscan character, but the disposition of the articles is much the same as with the Roman), the remains in Clare Hall; and for specimens of Roman pottery see the collection of Mr. C. Roach Smith. The great feature in the class of interments to which the one under consideration belongs is the presence of personal decorations and of weapons,—especially of iron weapons—a metal which is on all sides agreed to have been but little used before the Roman invasion.

Having shown, then, that these remains are not Keltic or British, and that they are not pure Roman, there remain two classes of people to which they may be attributed—the Britons, after their subjugation by the Romans, when their arts would have been improved by their more polished conquerors, and the Saxons; and many have decided them to be Saxon from the similitude of the comb and circular brooches to those found in illuminated Saxon MSS. I may here remark that interments of this kind are more common in England generally than any other kind; *at all events*, more common than any, except undoubted Roman remains.

I shall now proceed to compare the Marston discoveries with others of a similar character.

At Newnham, only about twelve miles from Marston Hill, is a burial-place of precisely similar character. About twenty bodies have been found there; and all the articles which were preserved are in my possession. The bodies lay in the same direction as at Marston, with faces upwards, and like them also interred in small graves. The workman did not take the trouble to collect the beads, and consequently only two necklaces are preserved out of the scores of beads which he told me he saw there. Many of the beads exactly resemble the triplet beads of glass in Plate XXIII. and others the beads with blue pattern in Plate XXIII. A large brooch from Newnham exactly resembles one found at Castor with pure Roman remains, but also the Marston one in Plate XXIV. in having a number of faces in the ornamentation. The bosses of shields and the spears resemble those with skeletons Nos. 30 and 37. A part of a large brooch from Newnham more closely resembles that in Plate XXIV. and a hollow brooch bears a strong resemblance to

the Marston one in Pl. XXIII. The space dug over at Newnham is about 53 yards by 46, so that the bodies were distributed in about the same proportion to the ground as at Marston Hill. I have no pottery from Newnham, but there may have been some, as the man took no trouble to collect anything. The number without weapons bears a large proportion to those with, as in the case before us. Probably many were women and children.

At Northampton, in digging for the foundation of the Lunatic Asylum in 1836, they found several skeletons lying. Brooches accompanied them like those in Plates XXIII. and XXIV. and the circular one in Plate XXIII. On comparing the large brooch found at Northampton with the one from Marston Hill, a striking resemblance shews itself both in shape and pattern, and in having the hollows gilt. The skulls from Northampton are not so good phrenologically as the one of Skeleton 29, showing less of the intellectual qualities, but rather more of the animal propensities. I have three urns from Northampton much like No. 32 in Plate XXV. but one is much larger. With these were one or two small brass coins of the Lower Empire, not perforated.

At Welton, about fourteen miles north-by-east of Marston Hill, and four-and-a-half north-by-east from Newnham, were found in 1778 two skeletons with two brass brooches, like the cruciform brooch in Plate XXIV.; beads about their necks and wrists, like those with pattern in Plate XXIII. some like the jet and green beads in Plate XXIII. others like the amber beads in several graves. A small urn accompanied them, of same material and pattern as Plate XXV. No. 10 in plan, and perforated coins of Constantine and Flavia his empress. The field was then called "Stone-pit Close," but is now planted and called "Long-ground Spinney." Probably many skeletons were found there. It is half-a-mile from the church.

At Cestersover, in Warwickshire, on the Foss Way, a number of bodies were discovered with beads, in the same direction as those at Marston, viz., south-west. The remains found with them were of exactly the same description, and found in the same positions. The only difference between the two burial-places is that one sword was found at Cestersover. One urn strongly resembles No. 10, Plate XXV. The bosses of shields, spear-heads, knives, beads, &c., all have their counterparts in this collection. At Cestersover was found one large brass of Vespasian, not perforated.\*

In Douglas's *Nenia Britannica* is an accurate description of a large discovery

\* See *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 40.

of this nature on Chatham Downs, with some of which were found coins of Valentinian and Constantine.

About eighty tumuli have been opened within a few years on Breach Downs, near Canterbury. Many contained remains like these. In one tumulus was found a coin of Victorinus, not perforated, or placed with the body, but apparently dropped among the earth. One tumulus, however, contained remains of a different character, especially in a piece of pottery which is glazed, and striped yellow and brown on the inside. Here are *two* wide differences, the glazing and colouring. In this tumulus were four Saxon sceattas, not perforated, but in good condition, and deposited in what appeared to be the remains of a purse.

Mr. Jeffs, of Marston Hill, told me (1843) that in digging for a barn bearing about north-west-by-north of the burial-place at Marston Hill they found two skeletons, with a sword through the ribs of one. I doubt not that the top of this hill is full of interments.

At Newnham and at Marston the number of skeletons found with weapons was small in proportion to those without; and, as at Marston, those with weapons were of larger stature than those without. We may conclude that the former were men and the latter women and young persons.

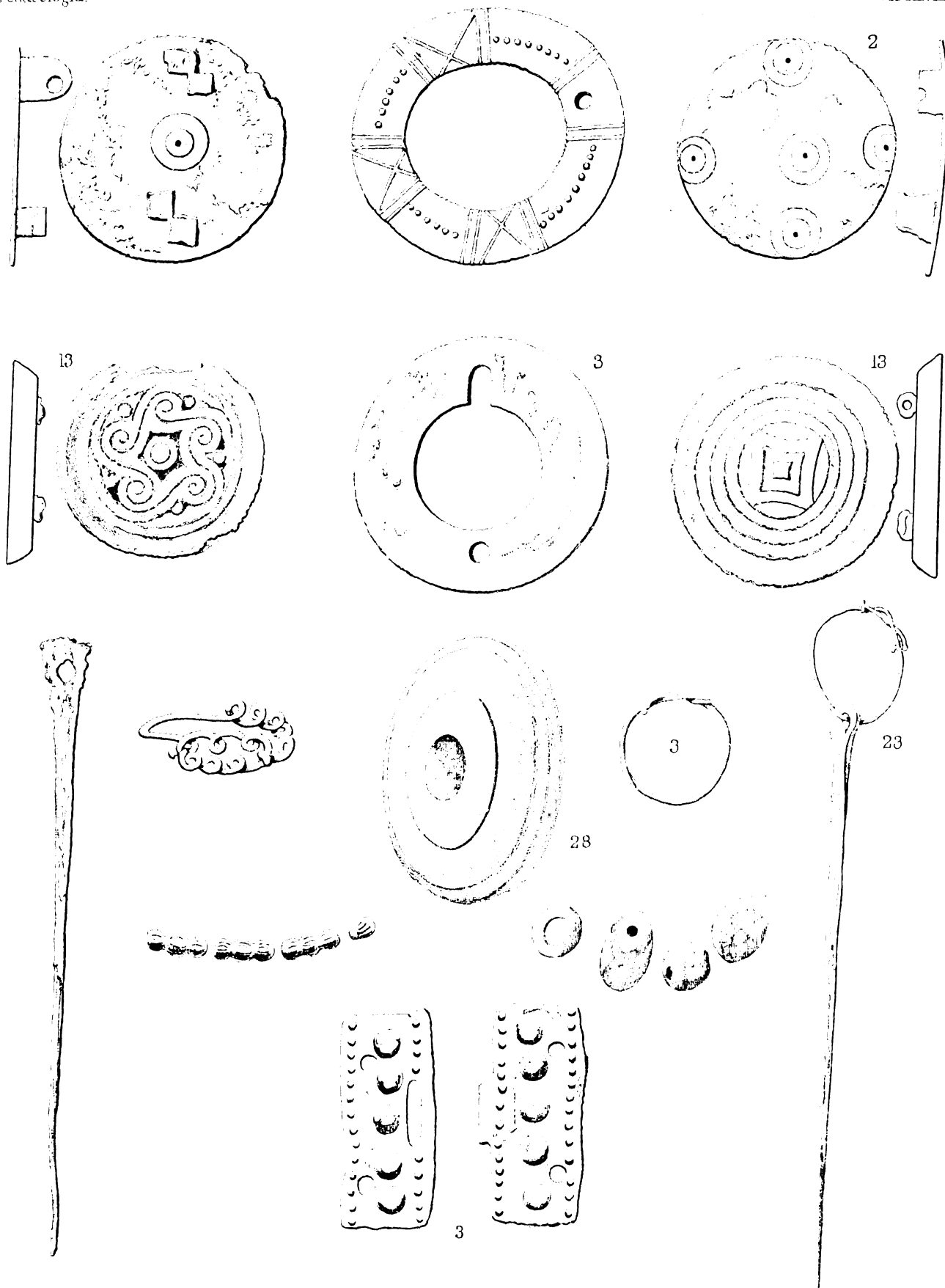
I have before mentioned that two brass coins of Carausius and Salonina were found at Marston Hill with No. 3, but that they were perforated. Of course a perforated coin does not afford a date, but I am told by a scientific coin collector that coins of Carausius are of such very soft brass that they could not last, even as neck ornaments, more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty years without being entirely obliterated. It is possible that coins in currency at the time may have been suspended to the necks of the dead after death as a tribute to the infernal deities, though this respect for Pluto does not appear to have obtained frequently among the Britons, since the most costly articles of dress are frequently found with bodies which have not a single obolus with them.

The evidence of the Roman authors who touch on Britain goes to prove that the common weapon of the Britons was a short spear or dart,<sup>a</sup> and their defence a small shield, which they may have continued to use under the Romans, and after A.D. 410, under their own governments.

When sepulchral remains of the same character as these are discovered, it

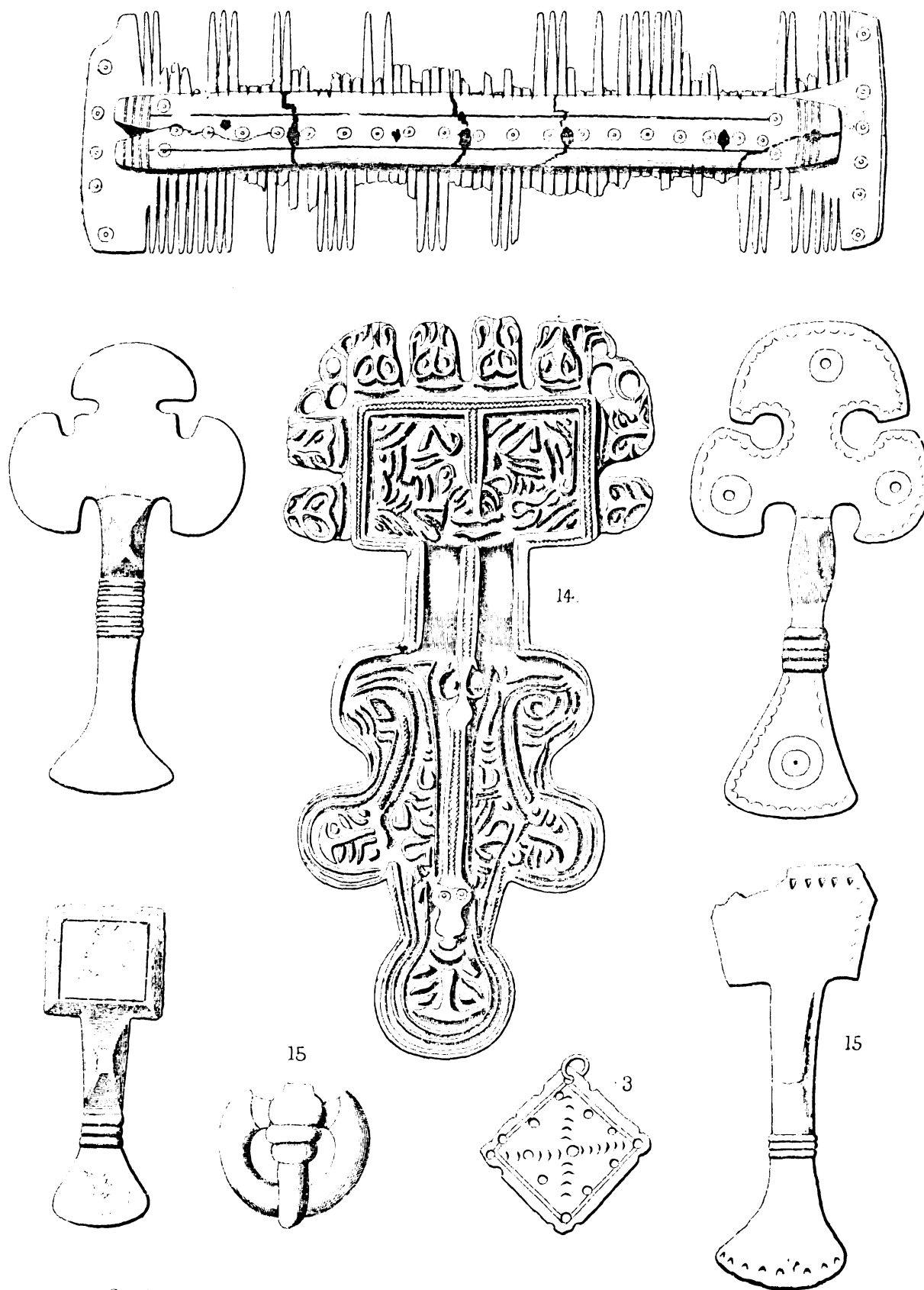
<sup>a</sup> This probably had a strap attached to recover it by, as many used by the tribes of Africa, Asia, and America. The description of the Gaulish arms in Diodorus does not agree with this. *Cæsar's Commentaries*, iv. 22, i. 24 and 29.





*Personal Ornaments found at Marston St Lawrence, Northamptonshire.*



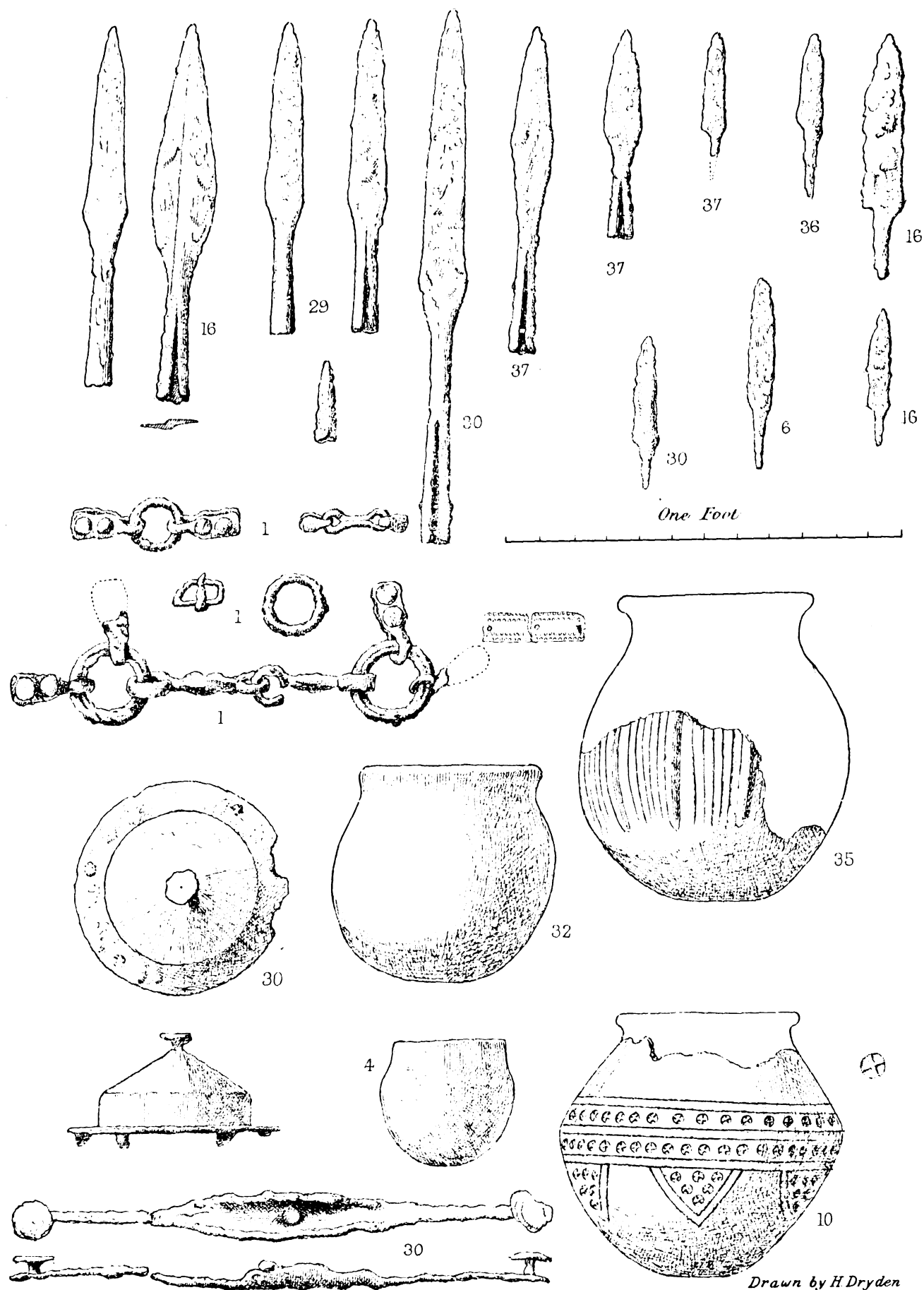


*Comb, Fibulae, etc. found at Marston St Lawrence, Northamptonshire.*

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1894.*

*J. B. 1894.*





OBJECTS FOUND AT MARSTON ST LAWRENCE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1834.*



almost invariably happens that the weapons found are spear-heads, and the bosses of shields are also very frequent. The weapons which the Saxons commonly used has been decided by antiquaries to be a long broad-bladed sword with an obtuse point, specimens of which may be seen in Mr. C. Roach Smith's collection, in Mr. Rolfe's, Sir S. Meyrick's, and in some others. Tacitus, in speaking of the Caledonians (whom he says were of German origin) at the battle with Agricola, states that they used long unwieldy swords blunt at the point. This kind of sword is not often found in barrows.

By about A.D. 100 it is probable that the Britons had somewhat assimilated themselves to the Romans in dress and in their habits of life, and their arts would, of course, be improved by imitation of the Roman manufactures. They continued under the Romans till 410, and under governments of their own full one hundred and forty years longer; for, though the Saxons were invited to assist them in 449, yet they did not reach the centre of England till 556, and were not established there till 586. It appears that in 660 this part of England had become Christian, and I find no evidence to prove that the Saxons burnt their dead after their conversion to Christianity. In the eighth century they began to bury in churchyards and churches. We have therefore at least a period of 480 years for interments by Romanized Britons and only eighty for those of the Pagan Saxons.

I shall now briefly recapitulate the evidence adduced. These remains taken collectively resemble neither those of the Celts, Britons, or Romans; but in some points they agree with the British and in others with the Roman. The system of interments is opposite to that of the Romans, but wherever remains of this class are discovered the coins (if any are found) are Roman and commonly of the Lower Empire. On the other hand I have shown that these remains differ essentially from those found in a barrow which contained Saxon coins, not perforated, and in good condition, that they are more frequent than any except undoubted Roman, and that the time during which Roman-British interments took place was 480 years; whilst the Saxons existed in a Pagan state only eighty years in the Midland counties. If these burials are of Pagan Saxons there remains the interesting question,—What has become of the remains of the British population in the Midland counties during about 480 years?

XVI.—*On the Carved Bench Ends in All Saints Church, Trull, near Taunton, Somerset. Communicated by JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B., F.S.A.; with Remarks, in a Letter from JOHN THOMAS MICKLETHWAITE, Esq., F.S.A., to HENRY SALUSBURY MILMAN, Esq., M.A., Director, and an Historical Note by the Director.*

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Read June 29, 1882.

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THE Church of All Saints, at Trull, near Taunton, in Somersetshire, consists of a chancel with chapels on either side, a nave with aisles, a south porch, and a tower at the west end of the nave; and the present building, although probably begun in the days of Henry VI., or even earlier, seems not to have been finished before 1560, which date occurs on some of the woodwork of the church. In consequence, if one excepts the tower, the whole building is, in style, Perpendicular. There is no chancel-arch, but a wooden rood-screen with a richly-vaulted overhanging canopy divides the chancel from the nave.

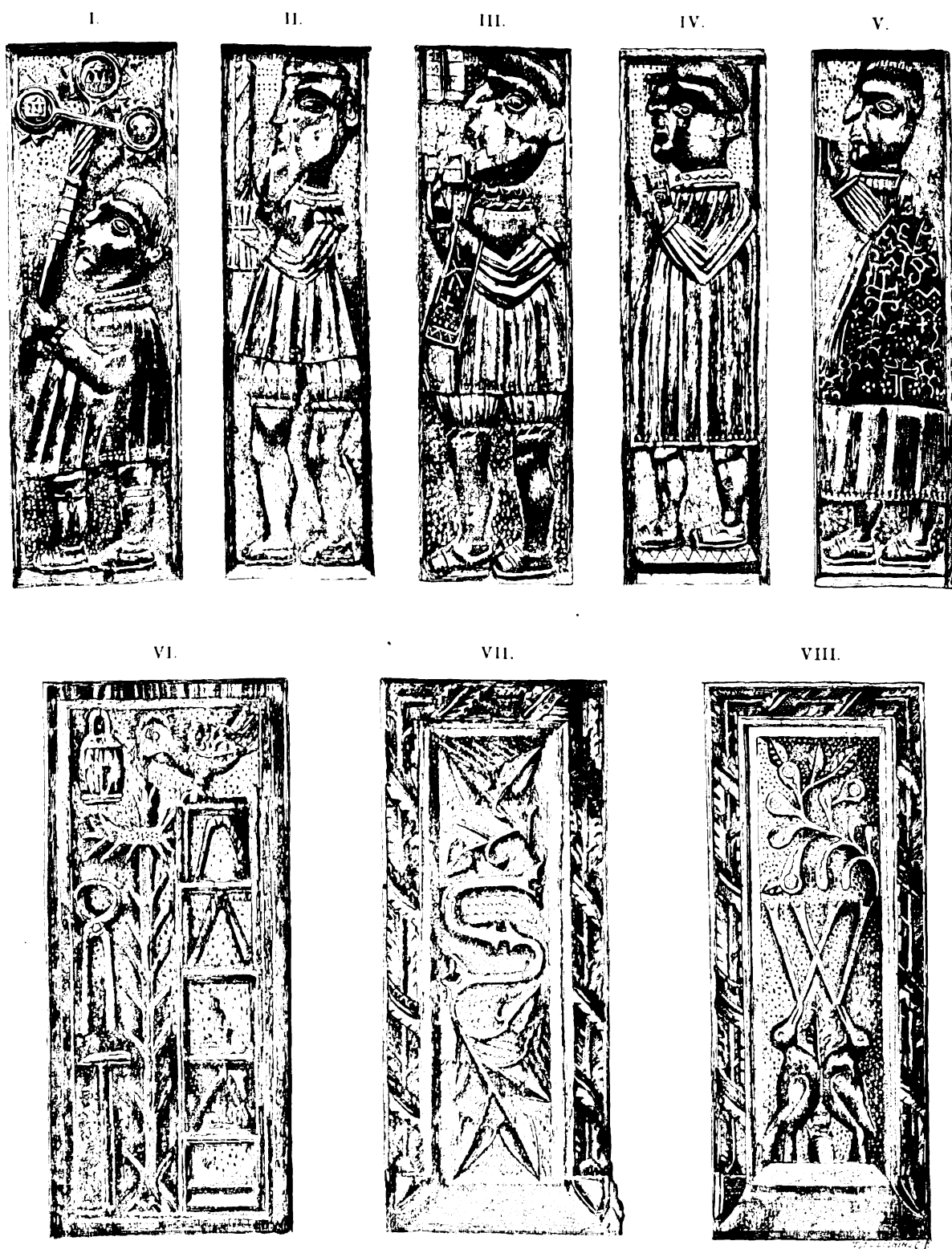
The east window of the chancel is of three lights, with ordinary Perpendicular tracery, and is still in happy possession of most of its old stained glass. In the centre light the Crucifixion, and in the side lights the Blessed Virgin and S. John are figured on a background of quarry glass in grisaille.

The wooden pulpit is apparently of the same date as the screen, and under five richly carved canopies upheld by angels, the following five saints stand in shallow niches, viz. S. John the Evangelist, and S. Gregory the Great, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and S. Augustin—the four great doctors of the Latin Church.

The Bench Ends, however, of the nave seats are the great curiosity of the church, as on five of them is a series of figures which undoubtedly form a procession. Some of these bench ends were found under the pulpit in 1862, and when replaced their proper sequence may not have been followed, and perchance some are lost.







BENCH ENDS IN TRULL CHURCH, CO. SOMERSET





*Description of the Bench Ends.*

No. I. The first figure represents a boy bearing a processional cross of ordinary fifteenth-century form, having three circles at the extremities,—and the stem for a short distance is of the “screw” pattern. The cross appears to be of metal, excepting the portion which the bearer holds in his hand, which would probably be wood. The boy has on a very short alb or cotta, and the stockings on his legs are shown with garters tied below the knee.

No. II. The second figure is that of a man with a beard; he bears a large candle in his hand, his costume is characteristic of the period and scarcely seems ecclesiastical, the breeches are striped, fastened up well above the knee, and what looks more like an ordinary coat of the period over it than any ecclesiastical dress. There is a little frillwork visible round the neck.

No. III. The third figure (a deacon) carries a reliquary; over his arm hangs a stole or possibly a maniple; it is richly ornamented. His costume again appears to be secular, as he has on striped or perhaps slashed breeches, fastened by garters above the knees; and a coat with a handsome collar to it, which does not appear to be an ecclesiastical garment.

No. IV. Then comes the priest bearing the gospels. He has on an alb larger than the deacon's.

No. V. The next is a priest in a cope carrying a book. The cope is richly embroidered and does not descend so low as the knees; below it is seen the alb with a fringe descending nearly to the ankles.

All the figures wear shoes, and are enclosed in plain moulded frames.

No. VI. On the next bench end, within a plain moulded border, are some of the Instruments of the Crucifixion. The cross is made like a tree, with projecting branches up each side, and also projections from the ends of the cross-piece; on the left above the cross-piece, the lantern suspended by a handle, below it successively the pincers and the hammer, all characteristically carved. On the right is the ladder having six rungs, surmounted by the cock. In three stages of the ladder is repeated an object not clear, but looking like a scourge.

No. VII. A carved border with Henry VIII. scroll-work, having the letter “S” in the centre, and arrowhead leaves as ornamentation above and below it.

No. VIII. A similar border, but having the letter “W” in the centre, held up by two birds, their long beaks forming the two inner lines of the “W.”

At the back of the furthest seat is a series of eight ornamented panels with the pattern usually called the linen pattern, and considered characteristic of the time of Henry VIII. Above these are two lines of inscriptions—the upper one: “JOHN WAYE CLARKE HERE”—the other “SIMON WARMAN MAKER OF THIS WORKE ANO DNI 1560”: and on one of the bench ends not figured here is the sacred monogram of the Holy Name with the usual contraction, under which is conventional foliage and fruit somewhat in the form of a fleur-de-lis.

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*While the above description was being prepared for the press the Director received the following valuable remarks on the subject:—*

DEAR MR. DIRECTOR,

I have read over Mr. Parker's description of the carvings at Trull which you have sent me; and, as I do not altogether agree with his interpretation of the figures on the pews, I venture to send you my own account of them.

The great interest of the carvings is the light they throw on the ritual usages of a small parish church in the middle of the sixteenth century. We know pretty well what the services in cathedral collegiate and abbey churches were like, and we also know something of the usages in large parish churches, to which many priests were attached, and in which the chief services were performed, if not with the solemn state which surrounded them in the abbeys and colleges, at least with a great deal of magnificence. But things must have been very different in humble parish churches served only by the parson and one clerk. In days when men travelled little, and the interest of their lives was at home, the parish church was to them far more than it can be now. It was the centre of all their common life, social as well as religious; and, as we know that they did their utmost, according to their means, to adorn its fabric, so we may be sure that they also did what they could for the services. Now, with our English service, and every child taught to read, such a work is comparatively easy, but in the Middle Ages there could be no volunteer choir of laymen in village churches. But what men could do then they did, and here in these carvings we have a most quaint record of what was itself, without doubt, a most quaint function, to wit, the ordinary Sunday procession of a small parish church.

It is unfortunate that the pews have been moved, so that we cannot be

certain in what order the figures stood. I should also like to know whether all the ends are accounted for, because, if none are missing, there is at least one remarkable omission in the procession, to be mentioned soon.

The order for the carvings which has been suggested is a probable one, so I keep to it in the following description of them :—

No. 1 represents a boy carrying a cross. The cross is conventionally represented, and shows only three roundels, whilst the original probably had four. It seems to have been of the same type as that in the possession of the Society, and described in *Proceedings*, 2d S. vol. viii. p. 541. The roundels bear devices which might possibly be made out from the carving, but I cannot do so from the photograph. The boy wears a short, close-sleeved surplice, of a form which seems to have been much used by clerks in parish churches, and which we find called sometimes a surplice and sometimes a rochet. It was more convenient for those who had to use their arms than the full-sleeved surplice and less expensive both in first cost and in use than the albe, which was used by clerks when ministering in collegiate and monastic services. The surplice reaches to the knees, and there is some sort of ornament, either lace or embroidery, shown round the bottom and at the wrist. There is also a frill at the wrist, and a small ruff round the neck. All the other surplices to be described have the ruff showing above. The use of the ruff by surpliced choirs seems to have been common at a date somewhat later than these carvings, and it is even now kept up in some cathedral churches. I have seen it at Ripon, and, I think, at York. Below our cross-bearer's surplice appear a pair of sturdy gartered legs and square-toed shoes.

No. 2 is the torch-bearer. He is bearded and wears slashed trunk-hose and shoes, and a surplice of the same form as that worn by the boy, and also of the same size as his, so that it only reaches to the man's hips. But it clearly is a surplice, and not a coat or doublet as some have thought. The torch is not a candle, but is twisted, and carried in a short torch-holder.

No. 3 is dressed exactly like the last except that his trunk-hose are not slashed, and he has a maniple on his left wrist. I think that the maniple would not be used without the surplice or some such vestment, and that its presence confirms that of the other. I am not quite certain whether this or No. 4 should come first. No. 3 is probably intended to represent a man in orders, but can scarcely be a deacon, or I think that, even in this collection, he would have had a cassock or gown to cover his trunk-hose. He carries what may either be a reliquary or

a chrismatory, probably the former, unless the procession is intended to be that to the font at Eastertide.

No. 4 is a man in a surplice of the same general form as the others, but longer and reaching to the knees. He holds an open book, from which he appears to be singing. This might be a deacon or a second priest.

No. 5 is the parson himself. He wears a short albe or long sleeved surplice reaching to the calf of the leg, and over it a singularly short cope. No hood or orphrey appears, but the material is plainly shown to be figured velvet, and on looking at it one feels almost convinced that the original must have been red. The arms are thrust out in a strange and almost impossible way above the front band of the cope, and they hold up an open book as in No. 4.

All the figures except No. 2 are beardless, and none has any cap or other covering for the head. It will be noticed that neither holy water nor incense is shown. The omission of the latter need not much surprise us, though it might have been expected to be used where so much was spent on the furniture of the church as was here, but that of the former is curious, seeing that the sprinkling was the first purpose of the procession. If we have all the ends one might be tempted to believe that the carvings are of Elizabeth's time, after the use of holy water had been given up; the costumes may well be as late as this, and the only date about is 1560.

There need not be much said about the other carvings. The five figures in the pulpit are certainly St. John the Evangelist and the four Latin doctors, and St. Gregory is lucky in not having had his head knocked off. I think the slender cross on the pew-end with the Instruments of the Passion is intended for the reed. Even if there were not another end with more of the instruments the absence of the cross need not surprise us. The crown of thorns is also wanting. The "W" on another pew is not made by the prolongation of the beaks of the birds, but is held up by the birds with their beaks.

Altogether this is one of the most curious collections of old church furniture I have met with, and it is to be hoped that it will be properly taken care of, and above all things not "restored."

I remain, dear Mr. Director,

Yours very truly,

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE.

15, Dean's Yard, June 13, 1884.



*History of Trull.*

Mr. J. H. Parker, after the reading of his Paper, favoured the Society with a set of references to books and MSS. bearing upon the history of Trull, and so enabled the Director to add the following note:—

Trull is one of a class of benefices, the history of which is such that their names do not appear in early ecclesiastical records.

A group of obscure vills or townships became, under the comprehensive name of the manor which overshadowed them, parts of the endowment of a religious house. When one of these had grown sufficiently in population and importance, the religious corporation built a chapel therein, and appointed a chaplain to perform the divine offices for the inhabitants, and in course of time made the appointment perpetual, and annexed thereto a fixed stipend. Then came, by the dissolution of the monasteries, the release of vills or chapelries from superior ecclesiastical corporations and their annexation to the Crown. Thenceforward the Crown granted out the tithes of every vill by its name. According to the nature of the grant or subsequent arrangements the vill or chapelry became a parish, which, in respect of tithes, was a wholly ecclesiastical rectory, or a lay rectory and ecclesiastical vicarage combined.

The earliest known notices of Trull are of the year 27 Hen. VIII. 153 $\frac{5}{8}$ , in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. i. p. 170.

The possessions of Taunton Priory are found to include—

Exitus decimarum garbarum de Corffe Pitmyster et *Trull* cum oblacionibus et aliis casualibus ibidem, xij<sup>li</sup> iij<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup>.

Exitus decimarum garbarum de *Trulle* cum oblacionibus et aliis casualibus ibidem, vj<sup>li</sup> ix<sup>d</sup>.

The allowances from the Priory for stipends of chaplains comprise—

Johanni Sabbyn capellano de *Trull*, vi<sup>li</sup> xij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

In 30 Hen. VIII. 153 $\frac{5}{8}$ , the possessions of the Priory passed to the Crown.

In the account given (31 Hen. VIII. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$  $\frac{9}{10}$ ) by the king's officers of the estates then lately belonging to the Priory of Taunton, which account is printed by the editors of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1830, vol. vi. p. 167, occurs this entry:—

*Trull*. Firma rectorie, xv<sup>li</sup>.

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The Crown by lease, under seal of the Court of Augmentations, dated 21 Dec. 31 Hen. VIII. 1539, demised to James Dyer, gentleman, the "rectory" of Trull with its rights, &c. and all tithes and profits belonging to the same "rectory" and chapel (except those tithes of sheaves of Ham Wood and Cerne Haye, parcels of the said "rectory" of Trull, which were then in lease under the same court to John Smythe), to hold from Michaelmas then last past for 21 years, at a rent of 8*l*.

The history of Trull, in its new character as a lay rectory with a chapel, may be traced further down by means of the following Letters Patent :—

34 Hen. VIII. Pt. 11, m. 13 (20) [in which the above-mentioned lease is recited], 36 Hen. VIII. Pt. 21, and 2 Ed. VI. Pt. 4.

Mr. J. H. Parker caused searches to be made in the parish registers, in the episcopal registers at Wells from 1523 to 1581, and in the duplicates of these Wells registers at Lambeth Palace, hoping to find mention of Trull and the names of vicars during that period, but without success. It was said at Trull that in the time of Cromwell the bench ends were buried under the pulpit lest they should be destroyed, and that they were found only a few years ago and replaced.

XVII.—*On Ibberton Church, Dorsetshire, and the Painted Glass remaining there. Communicated by FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT, Esq., in Two Letters to EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., V.P.S.A.*

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Read February 2, 1882.

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Winchester, January 17, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. FRESHFIELD,

In directing your attention to the accompanying<sup>a</sup> drawing I am not unmindful of the enthusiasm with which the late Mr. Charles Winston devoted himself to the study of ancient painted glass, nor the accuracy with which he transferred upon paper the beautiful colouring, character, and artistic merit of innumerable examples. I had the honour of being one of his correspondents, and he not only gave me whatever information I desired but often urged me to give attention to every example of ancient glass-painting I might come across, and to copy as much of it as was practicable. "Every little fragment of painted glass," he was wont to say, "had its value in the eyes of the student, however insignificant in itself."

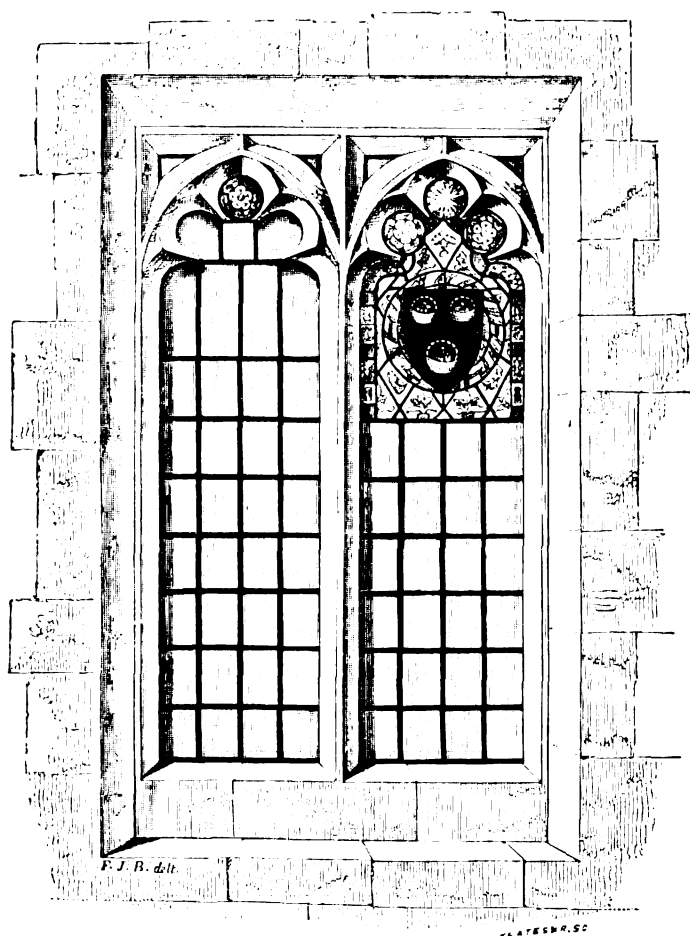
There is scarcely an example of heraldic glass, executed anterior to the dissolution of the monasteries, which is not deserving of attention; and such examples are valuable as memorials of the earlier forms and treatment of various heraldic charges, and as authentic instances of figuring, and as such they ought to be accurately copied in fac-simile. No remains of antiquity are more exposed to ruthless destruction than the fragments of painted glass in the windows of our parish churches. Of late years innumerable specimens have disappeared, in the restoration of our churches and the process of filling the windows with modern painted glass. For the preservation of the example to which I am now calling your attention we are indebted to the circumstance that Ibberton church has not yet gone through the ordeal of restoration.

The piece of painted glass represented by the accompanying Plate remains *in situ*, and forms the glazing of the upper portion and cusped heading of the western compartment of a squareheaded Perpendicular window of two lights,

<sup>a</sup> Represented by the Plate.

the western window, in the south wall of the chancel of Ibberton church in Dorsetshire. (See fig. below.)

The glass occupies about one-third of the light in length. The armorial shield



is charged with the arms of Milton Abbey. Compare this example of the arms with the representations of them given in Glover's *Ordinary of Arms* (Cott. MS. Tib. D. x; Harl. MSS. 1392, 1459) and in Reyner's *Apostol. Benedict. in Anglia*, 1626, p. 216 (the latter being the original of that given in Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, 1744, p. xlv. No. xxxvii.) The blazon is almost invariably written or figured wrongly,—for instance, in the recent restoration of the Abbey arms in the Abbot's Hall the baskets are gilt as well as the loaves; and in Burke's *General Armory* the baskets and loaves are given as *argent*; and it is the

PAINTED GLASS. REPRODUCED FROM THE  
ORIGINAL IN THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

• *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1990; 263: 1001-1002.

where  $\mathbf{A} = \mathbf{A}(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{v}, t)$  is the acceleration vector,  $\mathbf{v}$  is the velocity vector,  $\mathbf{r}$  is the position vector,  $\mathbf{r}_0$  is the initial position vector,  $\mathbf{v}_0$  is the initial velocity vector,  $t_0$  is the initial time, and  $\mathbf{r}_0$  is the initial position vector.

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1990; 263: 2761-2765.



*F.J. Baggett, del. 1882.*

*One third of the size of the original glass.*

**PAINTED GLASS. IBBERTON CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE.**

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.*

*C.F. Keil, lith.*





same in Papworth's *Ordinary of Arms*. The well-known Abbey church of Milton Abbas lies about five miles south-east of Ibberton. The monks of Milton Abbey were owners of the adjoining manor and chapelry of Wollard, but in the parish of Ibberton they held no property or rights of any kind: therefore, we must attribute the delineation of this coat of arms in this window to the probable circumstance that the Abbey gave some assistance towards the rebuilding of the church, and that the glass commemorates them as benefactors to the fabric.

The window containing this glass is one of a series of five windows of a similar pattern, design, and proportion. Two of these windows are in the south wall of the chancel, and two in the south wall of the nave, and the remaining one in the north wall of the nave. They were all filled originally with painted glass of the same date, style, and workmanship as regards the cusplings, borders, and quarry patterns. This is evident from the slight fragments of the original glazing remaining in them.

Having said this much, by way of introduction, I now proceed to give a descriptive account of the drawing or fac-simile of the painted glass.

The upper cusping or circle represents a well-drawn star of twelve points, backed with rays alternately straight and flamboyant. In each of the side cusplings is a boldly executed double rose, seeded, the outer leaves yellow and the inner ones white. Small pieces of blue glass are inserted as an ornamental part of the border, breaking up as it were the monotony of the yellow and white glass used throughout the design, contrasting advantageously with the large sable shield in the centre.

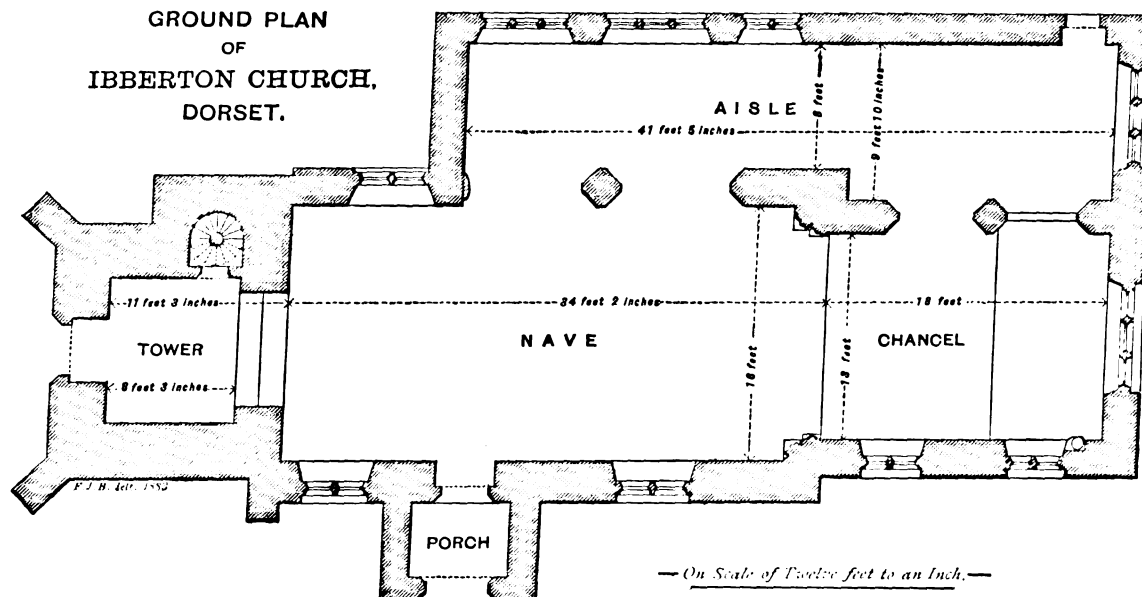
In the curve of the under or half-cusping is a leafed pattern in yellow and white, worked out by the means of a dark brown background. Between the intervening pieces of blue glass in the border on either side are strips of glass with the initials T. and I., each surmounted by a lofty crown. These initials were no doubt repeated all down the border of the glass, and were intended to be read upwards, from the foot of the window to the cusping, consequently as I. T., and thus to correspond with the name I am about to give. These letters I have no doubt are intended to represent the initials of John Towninge, who was instituted to the rectory of Ibberton on the 14th of March, 1452, and resigned it in November 1478; and that the church was rebuilt during his incumbency. Centred within the border is a pointed shield with the arms of Milton Abbey, *Sable, three baskets argent, each replenished with as many loaves or*. They are in some

instances termed *Wastell cakes*. Wastell bread was well-baked white bread, and the loaves represented are intended to indicate loaves baked in a square mould. Around the shield in a circular form is a white scroll or ribbon gracefully entwined about a yellow stem with sprouting leaves, a yellow-leafed pattern filling up the spaces between the shield and the inner portion of the circle. The remaining spaces without the encircling scroll are filled up with what is termed quarry glass; each lozenge-shaped compartment has a white and yellow leaf device of a conventional pattern banded and united in the stem. Where the lead-work does not occur to form the bordering of the quarries, a dark brown line is given of a corresponding thickness, an imitation, as it were, of the ordinary leading. It may be noted that the glass border is fitted close into the stone-work of the window.

In the eastern light of this window the double rose is given in the upper cusping, and I presume the star occupied the side cuspings. Another example of the star remains in the western window in the south wall of the nave in the centre cusping. The opposite window in the north wall of the nave has in its cuspings a tall crown in the centre one, and the rose on either side, with the leafed border pattern under its lower cusps, and the small pieces of blue glass, showing that it was originally filled with glass of the same design as the fragment now remaining in the chancel window. Several squares of the quarry pattern remain here and there in the windows, and in some instances the pattern is almost obliterated by the action of time and imperfect burning in the kiln.

Ibberton is about six or seven miles from Blandford, and five miles from the Shillingstone station of the Somerset and Dorset Railway. The church lies to the south of the village, and about a quarter of a mile from it. It stands in an elevated position upon the side of a steep hill. Its low and lengthened roofs, terminated at the west end by a grey stone-embattled tower without pinnacles, with a square projecting staircase-turret breaking the line of its northern front, backed by the rising hill and the green foliage of several lofty trees, gives it a very picturesque appearance from a distance, and it becomes even more so the nearer it is approached by the steep and winding lane which leads to it from the village. The church was evidently erected, as has been already mentioned, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the windows in the walls of the chancel and nave being of the same date and pattern, and distinguished by the peculiar form of the termination of the hood moulding. It consists of a chancel and a nave, a north chancel and aisle. The nave still retains its ancient roofing of lead which

presents a sunken and venerable appearance owing to corrosion and dilapidation. At the west end of the nave is a square tower with a tall Perpendicular arch opening into the nave. The chancel arch with its walling and responds have been cut away, giving a continuous and uniform breadth to the nave



and chancel. The north chancel or chantry chapel is separated from the chancel by two low pointed arches, resting upon a pier of a square plan placed diagonally with engaged circular shafts on each face, having moulded capitals left in an unfinished state. In the east wall of the chancel is a large window of three lights under a pointed arch; the entire tracery of its upper half has been cut away. A piscina exists in the south wall of the chancel near the east end, and to the west of it is a small squareheaded window of two lights, cusped. On the western side of this window is a similar window of larger size, and the upper part of the western light contains the pieces of painted glass with the arms of Milton Abbey. According to the editors of Hutchins's *History of Dorset* (1871) the arms of Old France then remained in the south window. No such coat remains in any window now. In the south wall of the nave are two windows similar to the last, and in the centre between these windows is a pointed arched doorway which forms the principal entry to the church, and protected exteriorly by a porch. In the north wall of the nave at its western end is a similar window, with the fragments of painted glass already noticed. The aisle has three squareheaded windows, with only a width of walling about two feet or two feet six inches between them. The

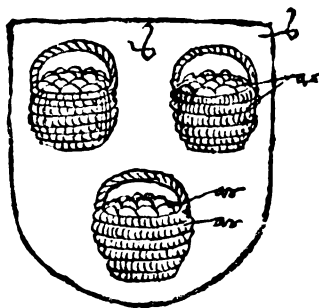
western one of the three is close to the west wall and is of three lights, squareheaded (seventeenth-century work). In this window are two heraldic quarries, and on another is the date 1588. The centre window is also of three lights, with cusped headings; the third window is of two lights, similar to the windows in the south wall of the nave. In this window are some remains of Elizabethan glass, consisting of the royal arms with the lion and dragon as supporters in the western light, and a double rose red and white with the initials E. R. (Elizabetha Regina) within an oval-shaped ornamental border, in the eastern one. The eastern or chancel part of the aisle has no window in the north wall, but at its eastern end close to the east wall is a narrow doorway, inserted in its present position, probably at the time the present north wall of the aisle was erected (in the sixteenth century). It is now used as the entrance to the aisle, for the accommodation of the inhabitants of the farms known as Leigh and Marsh, the pews assigned to them being situated in the aisle. In the east wall is a squareheaded window of three lights, with cusped headings of the same design and date as the side windows of the chancel and nave.

The eastern wall of the aisle is in a line with the east end of the chancel, but the western wall does not extend to the end of the nave, there being the window below in the north wall of the nave, as before mentioned; but it encroaches close upon the east side of the window. The aisle is traditionally reported to have been built from materials brought from Milton Abbas after the dissolution of the abbey. This is not unlikely, as its central window is of the same character as the windows of the great hall of the abbey, built by Abbot William Middleton, who ruled the abbey from 1481 to 1525.

I am, yours sincerely,

FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT.

From Glover's  
Cott. MS.



*Ordinary of Arms,*  
Tib. D. x.

*The Arms of the  
Abbey of Milton.*

MY DEAR MR. FRESHFIELD,

Winchester, January 23rd, 1882.

I thank you for your letter. The enclosed sheet contains, I think, all the additional particulars you wish to know.

The two heraldic quarries from the window of the north aisle of Ibberton church belong to the seventeenth century. The date 1588, which I have mentioned as existing on another quarry, refers to the period of the insertion of the glass representing the royal arms, &c. in another window of the aisle. The glass of the two heraldic quarries probably formed no part of the original glazing of the window, and are to be regarded as later insertions. It will be observed the quarries vary in shape and size. The border edging in one instance (Fig. 1) shows

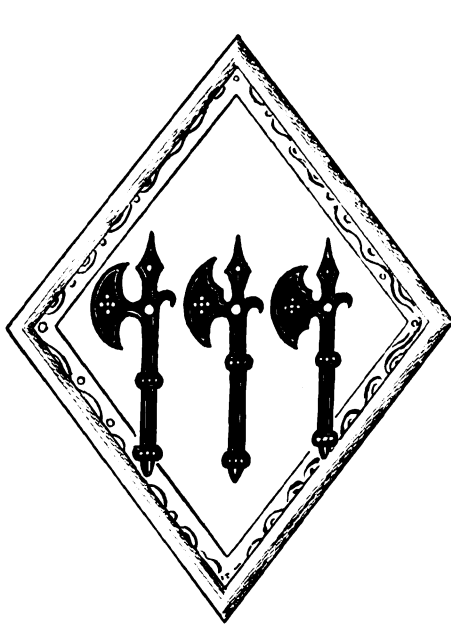


Fig. 1.

(Scale half-size.)

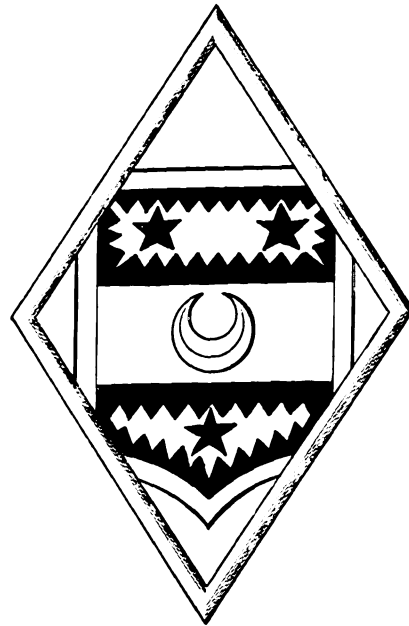


Fig. 2.

that the lead-work follows its original dimensions, but in the other (Fig. 2) the piece of glass has been cut away to fit the shape and size of the lead-work arrangement of the window, and it is placed in a reversed position, the pointed end of the shield being uppermost. I have not succeeded in identifying the coat of arms on the latter quarry. In Hutchins's *History of Dorset* (first edition, 1774) it is blazoned inaccurately as *Or, a fess sable between three mullets in a border engrailed argent, a crescent or*. In the last edition (1871) it is given as *Or, a fess argent between three mullets in a border engrailed sable, a crescent gules*. The crescent retains not the slightest trace of colouring. This piece of glass may be Dutch or German, the shape, bordure, and charges of the shield not resembling English heraldry.

The lozenge-shaped coat of the three battle-axes may be intended for the arms of Frances Gibbs (daughter of Thomas Gibbs, of Watergate, co. Warwick), whose half-sister, Anne Dimock, married Sir Walter Erle, of Charborough, Dorset. (See arms and pedigree in the Harleian Society's volume of the *Visitation of London*, 1623, vol. i. p. 313.) She died 26th January, 1653, and was buried at Exmouth, Devon. The same arms, within a border *ermine*s, are assigned to the family of Gibbes, of South Perot, in Dorsetshire, and a pedigree of them is given in the Dorset Visitation of 1623.

In the west window of the tower of the church is a piece of glass of the latter end of the fifteenth century, representing one of the four evangelistic emblems, the winged lion with a scroll containing the word *Marcus*.

In the upper part of the east window of the chancel are inserted some re-leaded fragments of painted glass of the fifteenth century, consisting of portions of pinnacles and borders, cut up into strips. Hutchins states in his *History of Dorset* (first edition, 1774), that in this "window of the chancel were painted many images of saints (among which was that of St. Eustacius) in several ranges, which were all destroyed some years since."

I recollect seeing in Sherborne Abbey Church, on the north side of the nave, a large stone shield representing the arms of Milton Abbey. The baskets were of the same shape as they are given upon the painted glass in Ibberton church. I enclose you some rough tracings I have just made of the shields I have mentioned, so that you may see how differently the baskets are shaped. In the last edition of Hutchins's *History of Dorset* (1871) each of the battle-axes represented upon the glass quarry are mentioned as *charged with a crosslet or*, whereas they are only ornamented with five gilt spots or studs, disposed in the form of a cross, and are no more deserving of attention in the blazoning of the coat than the gilt bosses on the bands of the handles, or the two yellow spots higher up.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT.

P.S.—Ibberton affords another instance of the loss of parish registers in recent years. When Hutchins wrote his *History of Dorset* the registers extended back to 1564. The only register now extant anterior to the year 1800 is a small book containing the entries of baptisms from 1761 to 1799, and three burials, two in 1777 and one in 1778.

XVIII.—*Remarks on the Gryphon, Heraldic and Mythological.* Communicated  
by ROBERT BROWN, JUN. Esq., F.S.A.

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Read February 15, 1883.

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I.—THE HERALDIC GRYPHON.

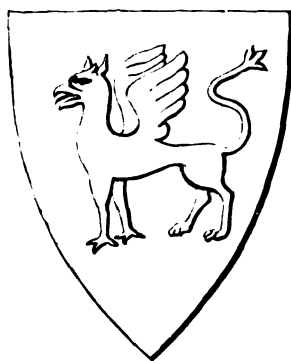
THE science of heraldry has faithfully preserved to modern times various phases of some of those remarkable legends, which, based upon an accurate study of natural phenomena, exhibit the process whereby the greater part of mythology has come into existence. There we find the lunar Unicorn, the wild, white, fierce, chaste moon, whose two horns, unlike those of mortal creatures, are indissolubly twisted into one, a most remarkable myth, which I have recently fully considered;<sup>a</sup> and there, also, as in every department of ancient thought, the solar power is fully represented. I now propose to examine, briefly, the ancient and widely-spread heraldic myth of the Gryphon.

It is not necessary for me in the present state of science to refute the opinion that such a concept as the Gryphon was the result of capricious fancy and arbitrary invention. We are now aware that every ancient and widely-spread myth or legend rests upon a solid basis of fact, which, however, may or may not be historical; and that archaic ideas connected with natural phenomena, though often exceedingly obscure to us on account of our ignorance of the particular standpoint of early thinkers, are, notwithstanding their sometimes bizarre presentation, invariably distinguished by a really great simplicity, being natural impressions drawn by an analogy, often indeed erroneous but to them obvious, from still simpler and more immediate experiences. We are, of course, also aware that the Gryphon, the Unicorn, and various other charges had existed in idea for centuries prior to the organization of heraldry as a formal system, their adoption in which was due to their previous notoriety and renown. Although in later instances the Gryphon at times is blazoned *argent* or even *sable*, yet, as might be expected, *or* is his proper tincture. Thus we find that “a male Griffin is distinguished by two straight horns rising from the forehead, and *rays of gold* which issue from various

<sup>a</sup> Vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Unicorn, a Mythological Investigation* (Longmans, 1881).

parts of the body ;" <sup>a</sup> and so, as will further appear, represents the horned and radiate sun. <sup>b</sup> In the *Roll of Karlaverok* the Gryphon appears as a charge, and is duly tintured *or* :—

<p>" Symon de Montagu, Ke avoit banière e escu De inde, au grifoun rampant de or fin."</p>	<p>(Simon de Montagu, Who had a banner and shield Blue, with a griffin rampant of fine gold.) <sup>c</sup></p>
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ARMS OF SIMON DE  
MONTACUTE.

This, mythologically speaking, would represent the rising sun, Hyperion, in the blue vault of heaven. As the chronicler applies the term *rampant* to the Gryphon, it was an unnecessary distinction, <sup>d</sup> and one not much approved by Guillim, <sup>e</sup> to employ the word *segreant* (Lat. *erectus*) in respect of this creature. The Gryphon appears in various phases in the arms of Montacute. "In the Roll in the Cottonian MS. they are thus blazoned : ' Quartile de argent e de azure ; en les quarters de Azure les griffons de Or. . . The fact appears to have been that Simon de Montacute bore two coats . . . the other, *Azure*, a griffin segreant *Or* ; for on the secretum to his seal is a griffin in that position.' " <sup>f</sup>

But in another example of the arms of this same Simon the Gryphon, an excellent specimen of the combined eagle and lion, appears as *statant*. <sup>g</sup> The following examples of this charge occur in the Roll of Edward III. :—

" Monsire de Swillington, *gules*, a une Griffin *d'argent*.  
Monsire de Griffin, *sable*, a une Griffin *d'argent*, beke et pieds *d'or*.  
Monsire John de Meux, port *d'azure*, a vi. Griffins *d'or*.  
Monsire Oliver de With, port *d'azure*, a trois Griffins *d'or*. <sup>h</sup>

But one of the earliest examples of the Gryphon as a charge, or at all events as a badge or cognizance, in English heraldry, occurs in the De Reviers, Redvers or Rivers family, Earls of Devon, *circ.* A.D. 1100—1245. The arms of Richard

<sup>a</sup> Cussans, *Handbook of Heraldry*, 95.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Robert Brown, Jun. *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 112 *et seq.* Mr. Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i. 401) gives a representation of a two-horned and bearded Bacchus, whose head with large ox-ears appears in the centre of a bronze disk, like the sun in the solar system. The artistic treatment, including the moustache, is strikingly similar to that shown in the head of a two-horned personage also forming the centre of a disc, a picture of which is given in Strahlenberg's *Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*, 1738. It is possible that these representations show a link between Etruria and the Turanian East.

<sup>c</sup> Wright, *The Roll of Cuelverock*, 17.

<sup>d</sup> *Display of Heraldrie*, edit. 1660, p. 258.

<sup>e</sup> Ap. Planché, *The Pursuivant of Arms*, 128.

<sup>f</sup> Vide Leigh, *Accidence of Armory*, 1562, in *voc.*

<sup>g</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Siege of Carlaverock*, 243.

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.* 129.



de Redvers, who was at Senlac, and who died A.D. 1107,<sup>a</sup> are said to have been "Gules, a griffin segreant or";<sup>b</sup> and an excellent type of Gryphon is shown on the seal of Richard de Redvers, Earl of Exeter, A.D. 1162.<sup>c</sup> Later examples of the heraldic employment of the Gryphon are numerous. Thus the Lord Stanley, *temp.* Edward IV., bore as a badge "A griffin's leg, erased, gold";<sup>d</sup> and amongst the arms of native Irish families we find: "Nearns—A Griffin segreant, holding in each paw a key. Froyhins—Two Griffins combatant."<sup>e</sup> The arms of the Finches, Earls of Nottingham and Winchelsea, were "Arg. a chevron between three Griphons passant sa." The Honourable Society of "Grayes Inne, bear for their coat, Sable, a Griffin segreant (or rampant) or."<sup>f</sup> The Gryphon is also frequently employed as a crest, and heralds have been good enough to supply the kingdom of the West Saxons and Cerdic its founder with arms, namely, "Gules, a Griffin segreant Or"; as S. Lucius, of Britain, "the first christened king in the world," has had with equal authority ascribed to him "Or, an eagle displayed with two heads Sa."



THE SEAL OF RICHARD DE REDVERS.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions*, ii. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Heylyn, *Help to English History*, 1773, p. 220.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Planché, *The Pursuivant of Arms*, 127. The pedigree of the family with notice of their Gryphon seal, etc. is given by Ellis, *Antiquities of Heraldry*, 107.

<sup>d</sup> Planché, *The Pursuivant of Arms*, 223.

<sup>e</sup> Ellis, *Antiquities of Heraldry*, 241, note.

<sup>f</sup> Guillim, *Display of Heraldrie*, 401.

<sup>g</sup> The famous heraldic double-headed eagle affords a good instance of the persistence of an established symbol. Prof. Sayce, when treating of the monuments of the Hittites, observes: "At Eyuk . . . on the eastern bank of the Halys . . . we find a representation of a double-headed eagle, which seems the prototype of the Seljukian eagle of later days" (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* vii. 250). And again, he says: "If Boghaz Keui represents the Pteria of the Greeks, it is possible that, as Longperier suggested, the city may have been symbolised by it, *pteria* being the Greek name of the *pteria aquilina*, or fern with leaves like a double eagle. However this may be, the Seljukian Sultans adopted the old symbol of the Hittites after taking possession of Kappadokia and Lykaonia in the eleventh century, and from them it was carried by the Crusaders into Europe" (*Ibid.* 263). "Herodotus expressly states that the Greeks had borrowed their helmets as well as the 'emblems' on their shields from the Karians; and the Karians, as we now know, were once subject to Hittite influences. I am tempted to see in the emblems or symbols on the shields a reminiscence of the Hittite hieroglyphics" (*Ibid.* 303-304). Thus through hundreds and even thousands of years do archaic ideas, passed on from race to race and from land to land, variant in phase, yet maintaining a true identity, continue to exist. From the non-Semitic tribes of western Central Asia, who at an early period descended into the Euphrates Valley, through Hittite and Phœnician to Greek, Turk and Crusader, is handed down a mysterious symbol, originally representing some natural analogy deduced by a childlike mind.

To meet the difficulty:—How is it that we never see a Gryphon in the flesh? it was laid down that “the Griffon, having attained his full growth, will never be taken alive;”<sup>a</sup> but there was still some satisfaction in seeing his claws. Mr. Tylor remarks: “Rhinoceros horns, supposed to be griffin’s claws, were mounted in gold and silver in Europe in the Middle Ages, and preserved as relics in churches. There is or was one in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, mounted on little gilt claws, which sufficiently show what it was thought to be.”<sup>b</sup> “It is said that three talons of the Gryphon were preserved at Bayeux, and fastened on high festival days to the altar;” and there was a legend “concerning a cup, formed of a Gryphon’s claw, and dedicated to S. Cuthbert.”<sup>c</sup> Similarly, sceptics who doubted the existence of the unicorn, were shown “the spiral tusk of the narwhal,” which used “to be sold as the real horn of the unicorn.”<sup>d</sup> Guillim remarks that “some have made doubt whether there be any such beast as this or not. But the great esteem of his horne (in many places to be seen) may take away that needlesse scruple.”<sup>e</sup>

It is to be specially observed that the Gryphon, despite his strange form and double nature, is not an evil beast like, *e.g.*, the dragon; but a symbol of “strength and vigilancy,” etc. With any Christian symbolism which has been attached to the creature, I am not here concerned, as this is an arbitrary addition to the original idea.

## II.—THE GRYPHON-LEGEND.

The Gryphon-Legend, as recorded by Greek prose writers, is usually repre-

<sup>a</sup> Guillim, *Display of Heraldrie*, 259. Opinions were divided respecting the possibility of capturing the unicorn alive. Some, following Pliny and other ancient authorities, stoutly maintained that “the unicorn is never taken alive; and the reason being demanded, it is answered, that the greatness of his mind is such that he choseth rather to die than to be taken alive” (*Ibid.* 176). But it was more generally held that he would come gently and lay his head in a virgin’s lap, “sicque deprehenditur a venatoribus” (Vide Robert Brown, Jun. *The Unicorn*, 2, and authorities cited). This incident is shown on a miserere at Stratford-on-Avon. There the crescent-moon appears on the shield over the unicorn’s head. The basis of the myth is the sway of the chaste virgin Moon-goddess, Artemis-Diana, over the lunar orb.

<sup>b</sup> *Early History of Mankind*, 3rd edit. 319-320.

<sup>c</sup> E. J. Millington, *Heraldry in History, Poetry and Romance*, 278.

<sup>d</sup> Rev. J. G. Wood, *Illustrated Natural History*, 85-86.

<sup>e</sup> *Display of Heraldrie*, 175. The representation of the Unicorn in Conrad Gesner’s *Historiae Animalium*, shows exactly the narwhal’s horn arbitrarily attached to an imaginary beast.

sented as having been first narrated in western regions by Aristeas of Prokonnêsos, who, be it remarked, is described as being a special votary of Apollôn.<sup>a</sup> Whether Aristeas be a historical or a purely mythical personage is unimportant; the broad fact remains that, as Hêrodotos says, "These stories are received by the Scythians, and by them passed on to us Greeks."<sup>b</sup> Pausanias gives an excellent presentation of the legend. After noticing that Gryphons were wrought on each side of the helmet of Athena, which surmounted her statue of ivory and gold in the Parthenon, he continues: "These Gryphons, Aristeas the Prokonnesian says, in his verses, fight about gold with the Arimaspians (who dwell) beyond the Issedonians; and (he says) that *the gold which the Gryphons guard was sent up from the earth* (ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν): and that the Arimaspians were all one-eyed men from their birth; and he states that the Gryphons are like wild beasts (θηρία), but have the wings and beak of an eagle."<sup>c</sup> Pausanias had also heard that Gryphons were spotted like leopards, but rejected it as an idle tale.<sup>d</sup> Hêrodotos says, "The northern parts of Europe<sup>e</sup> are very much richer in gold than any other region. The story runs, that the one-eyed Arimaspi purloin it from the Griffins; here I am incredulous."<sup>f</sup> According to the poem attributed to Aristeas, above the Issedonians "dwelt the Arimaspi, men with one eye; still further, the gold-guarding Griffins; and beyond these, the Hyperboreans, who extended to the sea."<sup>g</sup> "The Issedonians are reputed to be observers of justice; and it is to be remarked that their women have equal authority with the men."<sup>h</sup> Thus our knowledge extends as far as this nation. The regions beyond are known only from the accounts of the Issedonians, by whom the stories are told of

<sup>a</sup> Herod. iv. 15. Another famous mythical inhabitant of the unknown north-east, Abaris, is similarly connected with the Sun-god. "Abaris is said to have been a Hyperborean, and to have gone with his arrow all round the world without once eating" (Herod. iv. 36. Canon Rawlinson's translation). The cycling progress of the arrow-armed sun is evidently the basis of the story; and it is quite unnecessary to suppose that the arrow of Abaris represents the magnet, or that Abaris was "a Scythian, who wished to make himself acquainted with Greek customs."

<sup>b</sup> Herod. iv. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Pausanias, i. xxiv. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. viii. ii. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Herodotos, it will be remembered, regards the north of Asia as forming part of Europe.

<sup>f</sup> Herod. iii. 116.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. iv. 13.

<sup>h</sup> Prof. Sayce, when speaking of the Laws of Akkad, remarks that the "importance of the mother in family-life is still a distinguishing feature of the Finnic-Tatar race" (*Records of the Past*, iii. 21). According to Akkadian law a married woman's property was her own, a principle to which we are slowly but surely tending (vide Stat. 45 & 46 Vict. cap. 75).

the one-eyed race of men and the gold-guarding Griffins.”<sup>a</sup> Ktêsias states, “There is gold in the Indian country ; but there are many and great mountains, wherein dwell the Griffins, four-footed birds of the greatness of the wolf, but with legs and claws like lions. The feathers on the rest of the bodies are black, but red on the breast. Through them it is that the gold in the mountains, though plentiful, is most difficult to get.”<sup>b</sup> Aischylos makes Promêtheus council Iô: “Be on thy guard against the Gryphons, the keen-mouthed unbarking hounds of Zeus, and the one-eyed equestrian Arimaspien host, who dwell around the stream flowing-with-gold, the ferry of Ploutôn.”<sup>c</sup>

Such is the ancient myth, repeated “with advantages” by numberless subsequent writers, amongst whom may be mentioned Aelian, Solinus (who describes the Gryphons as “*Alites ferocissime et ultra rabiem saevientes*”), Albertus Magnus, and Sir John Mandeville,<sup>d</sup> who specially connects the Gryphon with “Bactrie.” Pliny says many have written on the subject, “*sed maxime Herodotus, et Aristeus.*” He speaks of the one-eyed Arimaspi, “*quibus assidue bellum esse circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum volucris genere, eruenta ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et feris custodientibus, et Arimaspis rapiuntibus.*”<sup>e</sup> The story being in the hands of Euhemerists when we first meet with it, the accounts of their successors, chiefly consisting of repetitions and arbitrary additions, are quite unimportant, except in so far as they may occasionally chance to preserve—of course, without understanding it—any genuine incident of the myth.

One or two archaic features in the general classical and mediæval legend deserve special notice. The first of them is the great hatred of the Gryphon for the horse. As Servius and Aldrovandus assert, they are “*equis vehementer infesti,*”<sup>f</sup> to which trait Vergil alludes,—

“Jungentur jam gryphes equis, aevoque sequenti  
Cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula damae.”<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Herod. iv. 26-27. Herodotos gives a derivation of the name ‘Arimaspi,’ “*arima* being the Scythic word for ‘one,’ and *spû* for the eye.” Prof. Rawlinson is of opinion that these words are Aryan (Herod. iii. 161 ; vide *inf.* Appendix).

<sup>b</sup> *Indika*, xii.

<sup>c</sup> *Prometheus Desmotês*, 822-825. Aischylos is derided (Aristophanes, *Batrachoi*, 929) for using high-sounding words such as *grupactos*, ‘gryphon-eagle.’

<sup>d</sup> Vide Robert Brown, Jun. *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 337.

<sup>e</sup> *Hist. Nat.* vii. 2. Vide also *Ibid.* x. 70.

<sup>f</sup> Vide *Monstrorum Historia*, 341.

<sup>g</sup> *Ecloga*, viii. 27-28.

The Gryphon appears in Greek legend, and is sometimes portrayed on the vases, as warring with the Amazons.

The Gryphon is connected with a mysterious egg. According to Albertus Magnus, "in its nest the griffin lays the agate for its help and medicine." In the Middle Ages "the gryphon's egg (so-called) was considered a valuable curiosity, and used as a goblet."<sup>a</sup>

The connexion of the Gryphon with tombs, the goddess Nemesis, the Wheel, and the light-divinities Apollôn, Dionysos, and Athena, will also be noticed subsequently.

Lucan<sup>b</sup> foolishly remarks that the Arimaspi adorned their hair with gold, a good instance of a worthless addition of a late writer. Milton's fine comparison of Satan to a Gryphon pursuing an Arimaspi, will, of course, be remembered.

According to Philostratos, Apollonios of Tyana, on his return from India, "described the gold-digging griffins, that they were *sacred to the sun* (his chariot is represented as drawn by them), about the size of lions, but stronger because winged; that their wings were of a reddish membrane, and their flight was low and spiral; and that they overpowered lions, elephants and dragons"<sup>c</sup>—*i.e.*, large serpents.

Such, then, is the archaic legend, which is practically summed up in the statement that the horse-hating, keen-mouthed, unbarking, egg-laying, gold-guarding Gryphons (eagle-lions) lived in the far East, were sacred to the sun, and fought with Amazon and one-eyed Arimaspi. I will next further illustrate the legend by noticing some instances of the treatment of the Gryphon in art.

### III.—THE GRYPHON IN ART.

The following instances of the Gryphon in art are not intended to be by any means exhaustive of the subject, but are cited as merely illustrative of some phase of the myth, or to show its wide-spread character.

I. *The Gryphon in Kem*<sup>d</sup> ("the Black" Land).—The winged Hieracosphinx,<sup>e</sup> called Sefer, painted at Beni-Hassan, and a compound of bird and beast, if it may not actually be styled a Gryphon, is exceedingly gryphonesque. We are told

<sup>a</sup> E. T. Millington, *Heraldry*, 279.

<sup>b</sup> *Pharsalia*, iii. 280.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Priaulx, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 52-53.

<sup>d</sup> Egypt. Αἰγυπτος (according to Brugsch) = Ha-Ka-Ptah ("House-of-the-cult-of-Ptah").

<sup>e</sup> Vide Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 93.

by Greek writers that the Androsphinx showed the union of intellectual and physical strength; a symbolism which thus represents abstract ideas belongs to a developed and established civilization, and we have some difficulty in laying bare the simple nature-myths of Egypt on account of the many *strata* of later thought which conceal them. Sir Gardner Wilkinson compares the Egyptian compound-animals "to the creations of heraldry."

The Gryphon with a bird's beak, straight ears or horns, stiff erect tail and animal's body, is a symbol of "*Bar*, Baal,"<sup>a</sup> the Semitic sun-god.

Another winged monster in the Hieroglyphic lists, named Âkhekh,<sup>b</sup> though called a Gryphon is rather a dragon, and, as such, connected with darkness; Âkhekh being also a name for dragon, the ideograph showing "the demon of darkness, the serpent Apop"<sup>c</sup> (Apophis), pierced with knives.

"The monster with stiff ears, peculiar snout, and tail erect,"<sup>d</sup> which is a symbol of Sat (*cf. sat*, flame, *sati*, sun-ray), the devouring and burning Sun-god, has also been incorrectly styled a Gryphon.

A gem of the Hellenico-Kemic period, figured by Leonardus Augustinus,<sup>e</sup> shows a so-called Canopic vase on the back of a female Gryphon, whose sinister paw rests upon a wheel on which is a cross. Sir Gardner Wilkinson remarks;—"Vases surmounted with a human head, forming the cover, appear to have been frequently used for keeping *gold* and other precious objects, representations of which are met with in the small side chambers of Medeenet Haboo."<sup>f</sup> "Canopus" means "Golden floor," or "Golden land,"<sup>g</sup> and is also the name of that brilliant star of the first magnitude which in a poem of the time of Thutmes III. is said to "pour his light like a glance of fire."<sup>h</sup> Augustinus well remarks, "Gryphus anteriore pede movet rotam, quod symbolum est solis, quippe procreatione rerum veniente ex circuitu et motu currus solaris." The wheel is a familiar Dionysiak and solar emblem, and as such is represented as an object of adoration on the Topes of Sanchi and Amravati.<sup>i</sup> According to Proklos, a cross within a circle symbolised the vivifying principle that animates the universe.

<sup>a</sup> Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, i. 529.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* v. 368.

<sup>c</sup> Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, 75.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* 51.

<sup>e</sup> *Gemmae et Sculpturae Antiquae*, 1694, No. 205.

<sup>f</sup> *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 10.

<sup>g</sup> Coptic Kahinoub, *χρῖσεν ἱεραὸς*; *kaa* = 'floor,' and *nub*, 'gold' (Vide Dr. Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, i. 441; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 10).

<sup>h</sup> Ap. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. 371.

<sup>i</sup> Vide Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*; Robert Brown, Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 92.

Here the Gryphon, true to its solar nature, supports the golden Canopus ; and guards the golden and all-animating sun, from which nevertheless it is quite distinct.

II. *In the Purat (Euphrates) Valley.*—The testimony of Hêrodotos does not specially connect the Gryphon with the Purat Valley, but with more northern regions ; and the term “gryphon” has sometimes been somewhat loosely and incorrectly employed in describing Euphratean monsters. Thus the late George Smith, speaking of the Kaldean “dragon of the sea,” observes : “The form of this creature, as given on the gems, is that of a griffin *or* dragon, generally with a head like a carnivorous animal, body carved with scales, legs terminating in claws, like an eagle, and wings on the back. Our own heraldic griffins are so strikingly like the sculptures of this creature that we might almost suspect them to be copies from the Chaldean works.”<sup>a</sup> We have, however, only to read this description to see that the creature portrayed is not a Gryphon ; and the point is important in the consideration of the myth, for the Gryphon, though terrible, is a creature obedient to the gods and not wicked or malevolent ; whilst the Dragon, as in the case in question, is the exact opposite, the two being respectively representatives of light and darkness.

Again, Ainsworth, speaking of ruins at Al Hadhr, near Kalah Sherghat, says : “On one of the walls is the finely-sculptured figure of a griffin, with twisted tail, also *relievi* of busts, birds, griffins,” etc.<sup>b</sup> It would not, however, be safe, in the absence of a drawing, to assume that the Gryphon is really the creature portrayed.

But the Gryphon proper may, I think, be recognised in one or two instances on the cylinders, especially in the following scene : Double-winged Gryphon attacking unicorn-stag, over which a crescent.<sup>c</sup> This is a highly interesting combination. The Unicorn, as I have elsewhere shown, represents the lunar power ; and the design would thus symbolize the victory of the day-light over the night-light.

III. *In Cyprus.*—Major Palma di Cesnola, F.S.A., in his *Salaminia*, gives the following instances of representations of the Gryphon on Cypriot cylinders, the designs on which are modelled upon Babylonio-Hittite prototypes :—

<sup>a</sup> *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 1st edit. p. 90. Prof. Sayce has judiciously omitted this passage, and observes : “The dragon itself, according to the representations of the monuments, was a composite monster, with the tail, horns, claws, and wings of the mediæval devil” (*Ibid.* 2nd edit. p. 113).

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Bonomi, *Ninereh and its Palaces*, 118.

<sup>c</sup> Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xliii. Fig. 21. Cf. also Figs. 12, 13 ; and Pl. xlv. Fig. 18. Vide *inf.* p. 376, note <sup>d</sup>.

1. Gryphon *sejant*, a very good specimen, beneath which a lion *sejant*.
2. "Winged Gryphon, which must be carefully distinguished from the Egyptian sphinx."
3. "Gryphon, seated in adoration before the Paphian goddess." What is called "the Paphian goddess" is some object like a club, radiate, upon a globe or star, with a serpentine ornament on each side. The Gryphon is adoring (or watching or guarding) some symbol of light.
4. "Gryphon *segreant* adoring," as in the last instance.
5. Another "archaic cylinder" shows "animals in heraldic style on either side of an eagle." The "animals" seem to be Gryphons *segreant*, standing something in the manner of supporters. I cannot discern what the object between them may be, but above it is the globe or star.
6. "Two Gryphons in the Babylonian style." In another instance "the winged Gryphon has become a sphinx."

IV. *In Skythia*.—The palace of Skylas, king of Skythia, was ornamented with Gryphons carved in white marble.\*

Prof. Rawlinson remarks, "The griffin has been found as an ornament in Scythian tombs, the drawing, however, being Greek;" and he gives<sup>b</sup> a drawing of a Skythian Gryphon of the true type, *i.e.*, with eagle's head, lion's body and wings. He derives the Gryphon "from the winged lion of the Assyrians, which was the emblem of the god Nergal." But with this view I am unable to agree, for, as he shows, Nergal's emblem is "the man-lion,"<sup>c</sup> which has nothing to do with the Gryphon, and explains neither the combination, nor the incidents of the myth.

The connexion of the Gryphon with tombs, I shall again refer to.

The Gryphon is frequently shown on the coins of Pantikapaion in the Taurik Chersonesos, the type being:—

"Horned Gryphon, stepping to *l.*, on ear of corn; in mouth a spear.

Fore part of Gryphon to *l.*

Horned Gryphon stepping to *l.*; in mouth, a javelin; below, ear of corn."<sup>d</sup>

The horned, radiate, solar-power, armed with the spear-ray, steps forward to the west, and is particularly connected in a specially corn-producing region with

\* Herod. iv. 79.

<sup>b</sup> Herodotus, iii. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Vide *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 137.

<sup>d</sup> Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, in voc. *Panticapæum*.



the grain which it ripens. Aristaïos, the rural divinity, son of heaven and earth, is but a name of Apollôn,<sup>a</sup> and the guardian of the *arista* or "ear of grain."

V. *At Mykéné*.—Here Dr. Schliemann found "three griffins of gold; the upper part of their bodies is that of an eagle, the lower that of a lion; the wing is ornamented with spirals. Böttiger explains these monsters as simple productions of the Indian carpet manufacture, because from a remote antiquity the Indians delight in compounding their sacred animals,"<sup>b</sup> an excellent specimen of an explanation which explains nothing. People portray Gryphons because it pleases them so to do. Schliemann adds, "It appears certain that the Griffin came in the retinue of Dionysos from India to Greece, and that it therefore became here the symbol of wisdom and enlightenment." In *The Great Dionysiak Myth* I have endeavoured to show that Dionysos did not come from India, but was, as antiquity has styled him, an "Assyrian stranger." As a Sun-god he is specially connected with the Gryphon, a symbol not of "enlightenment" but of light.<sup>c</sup>

VI. *In Etruria*.—When describing the contents of the museum at Volterra, Mr. Dennis says, "Griffons are favourite subjects on these urns. That they are embodiments of some evil and destructive power is evident in their compound of lion and eagle." This idea, as we see by the whole tenour of the myth, is erroneous; as well might it be said that the majestic man-lion of Nergal was an "embodiment of some evil power." "Thus [*i.e.*, lion and eagle] they are generally represented; now, like beasts of prey, tearing some animal to pieces; now overthrowing the Arimaspes . . . . The Arimaspes on these urns are not one-eyed."<sup>d</sup>

Again, speaking of urns at Perugia, he says: "There are several with a griffon as a device; one remarkable for having an eye [probably intended for the solar eye] in its wing. The griffon is still the crest on the arms of Perugia."<sup>e</sup>

Dempster, in his *De Etruria Regali*, gives an excellent example of a Gryphon from a bronze seal found at Cortona; it has long ears, wings, a beak, and the body of a lion.

VII. At a temple of Artemis in Elis was preserved in the time of Strabo, a celebrated picture by Arêgôn the Korinthian, representing Artemis carried by

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 116; Robert Brown, Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 402.

<sup>b</sup> *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, 177-8.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 334 *et seq.*; 409-410; ii. 58.

<sup>d</sup> *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, ii. 174.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* 448.

a Gryphon.<sup>a</sup> As she is a light-goddess and a "wide heaven possessor" the connexion is not inappropriate.

VIII. Similarly, on each side of the helmet of the statue of the dawn-goddess Athena, in the Parthenon, was wrought a Gryphon.<sup>b</sup>

IX. *On Vases.*

1. Swan between two Gryphons.<sup>c</sup> Rather a favourite design. The swan is a bird connected with Zeus; and, as we have seen, the Gryphons are the Zeus-dogs.

2. *Oinochoë* with "spout modelled in the form of a Gryphon's head with erect ears."<sup>d</sup> Keeness of sight and hearing is a trait in the Gryphon-concept. Cf. *Hêlios*, ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾶς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις.<sup>e</sup>

3. Group of seated Zeus and others. "His chair has an upright back terminating in the head of a Gryphon."<sup>f</sup>

4. Panther crouching and a Gryphon *couchant*.<sup>g</sup>

5. A lion and a Gryphon *courant*.<sup>h</sup>

6. The hyperborean Apollôn riding on a Gryphon; in his left hand a laurel-branch.<sup>i</sup> "The crown of the god and the berries of the laurel<sup>k</sup> are gilded."<sup>l</sup>

7. Dionysos drawn by Gryphons.<sup>m</sup>

8. Combat of Amazon and Gryphon.<sup>n</sup> "Sometimes," says Dr. Birch, "the Amazons are depicted . . . fighting with Gryphons, in detached scenes, like the combats of the Gryphons and Arimaspi."<sup>o</sup> In this design the Amazon is dismounted; the Gryphon "has leapt on the back of her horse and seized it by the throat; the horse springs off the ground in agony." The Gryphon is painted white. The Amazon "wears a Phrygian cap."<sup>p</sup>

9. The same subject.<sup>q</sup> "The Amazon attacks the Gryphon with her spear, making her horse rear against him; the Gryphon meets the horse breast to breast, rearing against him."

10. Contest of Amazons and Gryphons.<sup>r</sup> In centre, an Amazon aiming, with an axe held in her right hand, a blow at a Gryphon, "who is striking her on the flank with both forepaws; on the right another Gryphon has fastened his beak and claws on her knee; a third Gryphon, on higher ground on the right,

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, viii. iii. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Pausanias, I. xxiv. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Vide *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, Nos. 377, 379.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* No. 435.

<sup>e</sup> *Iliad*, iii. 277.

<sup>f</sup> *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, No. 182.

<sup>g</sup> *Ibid.* No. 946.

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.* No. 953.

<sup>i</sup> *Ibid.* No. 934.

<sup>k</sup> Δάφνη, "the Burning."

<sup>l</sup> Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, 205.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibid.* 239.

<sup>n</sup> *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, No. 1368.

<sup>o</sup> Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, 265.

<sup>p</sup> As to the Amazon-Myth, vide *inf.* sec. v.

<sup>q</sup> *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, No. 1393.

<sup>r</sup> *Ibid.* c. 21.

rushes at her head. At a little distance two other Amazons coming to her assistance. The Gryphons are painted white."

11. *Rhyton*, terminating in a Gryphon's head.<sup>a</sup>

12. "Two Gryphons confronted, with their right paws raised; between them a tripod,<sup>b</sup> a utensil specially connected with Apollôn.

13. Gryphons attacking horses.<sup>c</sup>

14. Gryphon and crow,<sup>d</sup> a bird specially connected with the Sun-god.

15. Speaking of the vases of Pantikapaion, Dr. Birch observes: "The most remarkable of these is that of the Athenian potter Xenophantos, having for its subject a combat of Gryphons and the Arimaspoi, a story of local interest."<sup>e</sup>

X. *On Lamps*.—The Gryphon appears, suitably enough, as an ornament on lamps.

1. Lamp with "the Gryphon and *patera* of Apollo."<sup>f</sup>

2. Lamp, the handle formed of a Gryphon's head and neck, with erect ears and crest.<sup>g</sup>

XI. Demi-gryphon, with head reverted, pricked ears, and rayed crest.<sup>h</sup> Apparently a carved figure.

XII. *On Coins*.—The coins of Pantikapaion have been already referred to.

1. Abdera.—Gryphon *sejant* or *couchant* to *r*, left foot raised. Type from Teôs.

2. Assos.—Gryphon *couchant* to *l*.

Gryphon *trippant* to *l*.



(ABDERA.)



(ASSOS.)

Gryphon "*couchant* to *l*., with right foot raised." Leake observes, "The wheat of Assus was renowned . . . . The gryffon was a type of Apollo; Assus was also called Apollonia."<sup>i</sup> Other coins bear the Dionysiak bunch of grapes and *kanthar*.

3. Teôs.—Gryphon with wings *addorsed*, open mouth, protruded tongue, and raised left paw; in the field, grapes and vine-branch.

<sup>a</sup> *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, No. 1471.

<sup>c</sup> Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, 287.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* 432.

<sup>g</sup> Montfaucon, Vol. v. Pt. ii. Pl. cxl. Fig. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Caylus, *Antiquité's Gauloises*, Vol. iii. Pl. xcvi. Fig. 6.

<sup>i</sup> *Numismata Hellenica*, in voc. *Assus*.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* No. 1524.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* 403.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.* 514.

Gryphon—*couchant*. Rev. *Diota*.

Gryphon—*passant*. Rev. Two Lions in ivy wreath.

Gryphon—*courant*. Rev. Triple-chord lyre. Teôs was renowned for its magnificent temple of the sun-god Dionysôs.

4. Smyrna.—A common type on coins of this place is Tychê (Fortuna), who in an inscription is identified with Nemesis.<sup>a</sup> Her statue holding the horn of Amaltheia, was first made for the Smyrniots by Boupalos of Chios, *circa* B.C. 520;<sup>b</sup> and the learned Nonnos<sup>c</sup> calls the γρὺν πτερόεις the messenger of the goddess, and an ὄρνις ἀλάστωρ, or avenging bird" (Alastôr = Deus Vindex). The wheel (τροχός) is also named as an adjunct of Tychê-Nemesis. Now *trochos* = (1) a runner; (2) anything circular which runs or moves easily; *e. g.*, (3) the sun's disk, the sun being the great racer or runner, and the gryphon-guarded wheel. Hence on these same Smyrniot coins we find:—

Gryphon, *statant* to *r.*; left fore-paw on wheel.

And an elegant lamp, engraved in Montfaucon,<sup>d</sup> shows a fine specimen of the winged Gryphon *statant*, with pricked ears and sinister paw on wheel. The solar wheel in its progress reveals the varied fortunes of men; and the revealing Gryphon of light becomes to the wicked an Alastôr, or avenging-divinity, in the same way that the innocent dawn-light Saranyû is transformed into the dread Erînyes.

5. Soloi.—In Kilikia. Head of Athena with Gryphon on shield.<sup>e</sup>

6. As.<sup>f</sup>—Head of Hercules, wearing the skin of the lion's head as a cap. Rev. Fine head of Gryphon, horned, and with horned crest. Hêraklês, as is well-known, is an Aryan solar divinity; but with whose mythic career much non-Aryan incident and ideas have been mingled.

7. C. O. Müller mentions coins of Chalkêdôn showing Apollôn "flying on a griffin."<sup>g</sup> The Gryphon thus somewhat resembles the luminous, solar, man-bird Garuda, the steed of Vishnu, who is described as "red-winged," "white-faced," and "white-and-red."

### XIII. *On Gems.*

1. Gryphon *statant*, with sinister paw on the lyre of Apollôn; behind, the raven of the Sun-god, Amethyst (Florence). The lyre thus corresponds with the wheel, and, as Mr. Ruskin finely says: "The sun is always thought of as

<sup>a</sup> "Deae Nemesei, sive Fortunae" (Gruter, i. 80).

<sup>b</sup> Pausanias, iv. xxx. 4.

<sup>c</sup> *Dionysiak.* xlviii. 375 *et seq.*

<sup>d</sup> *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Vol. v. Pt. ii. Pl. clxii. Fig. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. No. vii.

<sup>f</sup> Museum, Jesuits' College, Rome.

*Ancient Art and its Remains*, 449; cf. No. vii.

the master of time and rhythm, and as the origin of the composing and inventive discovery of melody."<sup>a</sup>

2. Two Gryphons devouring a stag.<sup>b</sup> In Aryan mythology the stag represents (1) the cloud; (2) "The moon in the gloom of night;" or (3) "The whole sky of night;"<sup>c</sup> and thus is appropriately represented as being overcome by the diurnal and solar Gryphon.

3. Erôs with two Gryphons yoked to his car.<sup>d</sup> Love is allied to light, heat, strength, and subdues all things. The Gryphon becomes the Hippogriff.

4. The Gryphon of Apollôn fighting with giants.<sup>e</sup>

5. Gryphon "with large wings extended."<sup>f</sup>

XIV. *On Tombs*.—The Gryphon is appropriately sculptured on tombs, (1) as the type of a vigilant and powerful guardian power; (2) as a symbol of the *nemesis* or fate which awaits mankind generally; and (3) like the Cherub, as a solar emblem, the sun affording the great type of death and renewal of life through death.

1. Demi-eagle and demi-lion.<sup>g</sup> A variant phase, the fore part of the creature, including the fore feet, being like an eagle, the hinder part like a lion.

2. Gryphon on back of bull *couchant*, which it assails.<sup>h</sup>

3. Similar scene.<sup>i</sup> With this may be compared another scene, also on a sepulchral urn, where a winged Genius, hovering over the bull, plunges a dagger into his head.<sup>k</sup> I think we have here the Mithraik Gryphon,<sup>l</sup> and that the combination is a variant phase of the familiar representation of Mithra and the Bull.

4. Goat-headed Gryphon.<sup>m</sup> A rare variant phase.<sup>n</sup>

5. Ordinary Gryphon on tomb.<sup>o</sup>

#### XV. *The Mithraik Gryphon*.

The Gryphon (*gryphus*) is appropriately one of the seven "portentosa simu-

<sup>a</sup> *Queen of the Air*, i. 41.

<sup>c</sup> Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii. 83.

<sup>e</sup> Müller, *Ancient Art and its Remains*, 449.

<sup>g</sup> Montfaucon, Vol. v. Pt. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 1.

<sup>i</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. xlix.

<sup>l</sup> Vide *inf.* No. xiv.

<sup>n</sup> As to the solar character of the Goat, vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Law of Kosmic Order*, sec. xix.

Capricornus, the Sea-goat.

<sup>o</sup> Montfaucon, Vol. v. Pt. i. Pl. xxxvii. lxxviii.

<sup>b</sup> King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, Vol. ii. Pl. lv. Fig. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, Vol. i. Pl. lxxv. Fig. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Cesnola, *Salamina*, 50.

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. xxxi.

<sup>k</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. lxiv. Fig. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Montfaucon, Vol. v. Pt. i. Pl. lxxix. Fig. 2.

lachra," "which gave names to the seven initiations" <sup>a</sup> in the cult of the solar Mitra-Mithras.

1. Mithraik talisman. "A man blindfolded, with his hands tied behind his back, is bound to a pillar, on which stands a Gryphon holding a wheel." <sup>b</sup>

2. Mithraik design from the Roman wall, Northumberland. Guarding a cross-marked circle (wheel) stands a Gryphon, over whom is a crescent, a cross, and a star, one above the other. <sup>c</sup>

At the initiation described by Apuleius, the garments of the votary were adorned with animals portrayed in various colours, amongst which were "gryphes hyperborei." <sup>d</sup>

XVI. On the horn of Ulf, in the vestry of York Minster. <sup>e</sup> The Gryphon, an excellent example, with lion's body, eagle's beak, wings with curved tips, and pricked ears, stands on one side of a sacred tree, as guarding it in Assyrian fashion. His companion animals are the lion, the unicorn, <sup>f</sup> and a kind of winged wolf or bear, probably meant for a dragon.

XVII. The Gryphon also appears carved in churches. Thus numerous and interesting examples occur on miserere-seats in Beverley Minster. <sup>g</sup>

XVIII. Gigantic carved Gryphons have also been met with in Burmah, <sup>h</sup> as for instance at Thyetmyo, on the Irrawaddy. Here they are called Chin Thay, and stand at the entrance of one of the great pagodas dedicated to the cult of Buddha.

#### IV.—THE MEANING OF THE NAME "GRYPHON."

The name of the creature appears in Greek in the forms *grups*, *grupon*, *grubos*, and *grunos*, <sup>i</sup> the Lat. *gryphus* (an extended form of *grups*), *grypphes*, Low Lat., *griffus*, French and Middle Eng. *griffon*, Eng. *gryphon*, *gryfon*, *gryphin*, *griffon*, *gryffen*, <sup>j</sup> *griffin* (a weakened form), *griph*, *grype*, and *gripe*. <sup>k</sup> Minsheu, after the manner of his time, derives the word "ab Heb. *garaph*, arripere." He says,

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, XLVII. 207.

<sup>b</sup> King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, 61.

<sup>c</sup> Waring, *Ceramic Art in Remote Ages*, Pl. xxxvi. Fig. 2.

<sup>d</sup> *De Asino Aureo*, lib. xi.

<sup>e</sup> Figured in Poole and Hugall's *York Cathedral*, York, 1850, facing p. 191.

<sup>f</sup> Vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Unicorn*, in which the unicorn on this horn is fully noticed, and a picture of it given.

<sup>g</sup> Figured in Wildridge's *Misereres of Beverly Minster*, Hull, 1879.

<sup>h</sup> Vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 336.

<sup>i</sup> Vide Hesychios, in voc.

<sup>j</sup> Minsheu.

<sup>k</sup> Cotgrave.

"Gryphes est animal pennatum et quadrupes : ideoq. per terram currunt ut Leones, per aëra volunt ut Aquilae. Omni parte corporis Leones sunt ; alis et facie, et pedibus, Aquilis similes. Multum equos infestant, adeoq. equitem armatum cum equo in sublime rapiunt."<sup>a</sup> The word is akin to the Greek *grupos*, "curved," "bent," "hook-nosed" ; and, according to Prof. Skeat,<sup>b</sup> the root is unknown. But I think we may without much hesitation derive *gryphon* from the Proto-Aryan root *garbh*,<sup>c</sup> the earliest form of which is probably *grap*, Vedic *grabh*, Sk. *grah*, Zend *gereu*, Lith. *grėlju*, Slav. *grablju*, Goth. *greipan*, Irish *grabaim* ("I devour"), Eng. *gripe*, *grab*, *grasp*, etc. The Gryphon is, therefore, as I have already explained the word,<sup>d</sup> "the Grasper or Clutcher," the creature that grips the gold.

So, again, the Vedic *grabha* (= grabber) is "a taking possession of," *grabhītri*. "one who seizes," and the Sk. *graha* means "seizing," "taking." This latter is a very interesting word in the present connexion, for it is applied to "*the power that seizes the sun and moon and causes eclipses*";<sup>e</sup> and, as we shall see, the Gryphon is a sun-seizing power, having an exactly opposite effect from that of the sun-swallowing demon Rahu, who, in Hindu astronomy, becomes the ascending node. The term *graha*, "seizer," is, however, not merely applied to this monster, but is the general name for "planet" ; and, according to Prof. Weber, "is evidently of astrological origin."<sup>f</sup> He suggests that Hindu astronomico-astrology is primarily Chaldean in part ; and I would illustrate the term *graha* as applied to the progress of a planet, from a Babylonian astronomical inscription, where we read :—

"Nibat-anu [Mars] the constellation of the Scorpion faces.  
The Zodiacal Sign by its lower part it seizes."<sup>g</sup>

The Gryphon is thus practically *Graha*, "the Seizer."

The name *grype* is applied by old English writers to a kind of eagle or vulture. Thus Holinshed says: "This *griph* or geire is a kind of an eagle."<sup>h</sup> And Holland: "There was not a vulture or *grype* anywhere to be seene."<sup>i</sup> According to Vossius, the Gryphon is "*avis fabulosa*," and derives its name "*ab adunco rostro*." According to Sir Thomas Brown, "the word Γρύψ, or *gryps*, some-

<sup>a</sup> Dictionary, 1627, in voc. *Gryffen*.

<sup>b</sup> English Etymological Dictionary, in voc. *Griffin*.

<sup>c</sup> Fick, Wörterbuch, i. 74.

<sup>d</sup> The Great Dionysiac Myth, ii. 58.

<sup>e</sup> Monier Williams, Sanskrit English Dictionary, in voc.

<sup>f</sup> History of Indian Literature (English translation), 1878, p. 250.

<sup>g</sup> Ap. Prof. Sayce, in Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol. iii. 181.

<sup>h</sup> Ireland, ii. 18.

<sup>i</sup> Livius, p. 1109.

times mentioned in Scripture and frequently in humane authors, properly understood, signifies some kind of eagle or vulture; from whence the epithet *grypus*, for an hooked or aquiline nose." But though this might be the opinion of a scientist, the simple old faith was then generally held, so he adds, "That there are griffins in nature, that is, a mixt and dubious animal, in the fore part resembling an eagle, and behind, the shape of a lion, with directed ears, four feet, and a long tail, many affirm, and most, I perceive, deny not." <sup>a</sup>

In the well-known Pahlavi work, the *Bundahis* ("Cosmogony"), the Gryphon is thus spoken of: "The fourth genus [of living creatures] is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures is the largest." <sup>b</sup> Elsewhere it is spoken of as "the griffon-bird, which is a bat," <sup>c</sup> meaning, I presume, "which resembles a bat in its nature"; for it is clear that the Gryphon of the *Bundahis*, largest of flying creatures, does not literally mean the harmless little bat. Again, we read, "First of birds the griffon of three natures was created *not for here* (this world)." <sup>d</sup> And again, "Of birds Kamros is chief, who is worth all the birds . . . except the griffon of three natures." <sup>e</sup> The Gryphon thus stands at the head of flying creatures, its three natures being, I presume, those of the lion, and eagle, and of the compound or monstrous creature. Mr. West identifies this Gryphon with the *Simurgh*, the mighty mythical bird of Persian legend. This creature was "a bird or griffon of extraordinary strength and size (as its name imports, signifying as large as thirty eagles), which, according to the eastern writers, was sent by the Supreme Being to subdue and chastise the rebellious Dives. It was supposed to possess rational faculties and the gift of speech." <sup>f</sup> Southey adds, "In Mr. Fox's collection of Persic books is an illuminated copy of Firdusi, containing a picture of the Simorg, who is there represented as an ugly dragon-looking sort of bird." The *Simurgh* is thus, like the Gryphon, a good power; and the Dives, the *Devas* of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) are the powers of darkness, chaos and evil.

Again, "as Apollo is the prophetic and divining deity, whose oracle, when consulted, delivers itself in enigmas, the word griffen, too, meant enigma, logogriph being an enigmatical speech, and griffonage an entangled, confused, and embarrassing handwriting." <sup>g</sup> Thus Baily gives, "*Griph*, a Riddle." <sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Vulgar Errours*, iii. 11.

<sup>b</sup> *Bundahis*, xiv. 11. Ap. E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, pt. i.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* xix. 18.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* xxiv. 11.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* xxiv. 29.

<sup>f</sup> Fox, in the Notes to Southey's *Thalaba*.

<sup>g</sup> *Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology*, ii. 205.

<sup>h</sup> *Dictionary*, 1724.



V.—THE EXPLICATION OF THE GRYPHON-MYTH.

Mr. Tylor, having remarked, apropos of “myths of observation in Siberia,” that “the curved tusks of the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus* are something like the claws of a monstrous bird,” and are believed by the Siberians to be such, observes, “Adolf Erman connects with much plausibility the well-known *rukḥ* of the *Arabian Nights*, and the *Griffin* of Herodotus, with the tales of monstrous birds current in the gold-producing regions of Siberia; and he even suggests the remark that gold-bearing sand really underlies the beds which contain these fossil ‘birds claws’ as an explanation of the passage, ‘it is said that the Arimaspi one-eyed men seize (the gold) from underneath the griffins’ ”<sup>a</sup> (ὑπὲκ τῶν γρυπῶν). The objection to such an explanation is, that (1) it by no means satisfies the incidents of the myth, in fact, leaves nearly every one of them utterly unexplained; and (2) comparative mythology teaches us that the true explanation of these myths of unnatural animals and birds is almost always supplied by the Natural Phenomena Theory, by means of which we are enabled to understand perfectly the nature of the heraldic lion and leopard, of unicorn, dragon, and phœnix. Why is the Gryphon connected with the sun and with Nemesis, and believed to have a special hatred of horses? Who are the one-eyed Arimaspians, and why should they wish to steal the gold? Have any of *their* bones or other remains been discovered, so as to supply the basis for a “myth of observation”? It is often only when a myth is presented in its completeness that the inadequacy of a plausible partial explanation appears. Thus, for instance, we are specially told that the gold which the Gryphons guarded “was sent up from the earth,”—not buried in it;” and as the country had no inhabitants except the Gryphons, and they did not send the gold up but guarded it when it was sent, it is sufficiently evident that no metallic substance lies at the base of the story.

The Gryphon is an emblem of the sun-guarding, solar light and brightness, which receives into its care the golden solar egg when sent up in the morning from the earth and the Underworld; which combines the potencies of the heaven-soaring king of birds, always connected like his master with the upper expanse, and of the majestic king of beasts, himself ever a type of and closely-connected with the sun;” which, like Hêlios himself, with keen eye and pricked ear hears

<sup>a</sup> *Early History of Mankind*, 3rd edit. p. 319.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *sup.* sec. ii.

<sup>c</sup> As to the leonine sun, vide Robert Brown, Jun. *The Unicorn*, secs. xi. xii.; *The Law of Kosmic Order*, sec. xiv. Leo, the Lion.

and sees all things ; which never barks—for light is silent—although it is the keen hound of Zeus, lord of the broad bright heaven ; which dwells each morn near the eastern ocean-stream, caused by the rising Hêlios to flow with gold, the ferry of Ploutos-Ploutôn, lord of the wealth of the Underworld ; which fights with the Amazons, the varying clouds of storm and sunshine ; which, sacred to the sun, places its paw upon the solar wheel ; which is the “avenging bird” of Nemesis, because Time, of which the sun is lord, brings in due course the doom and retribution upon the evil-doer ; and because the light-power searches and finds out the wicked, even as the Vedic dawn-nymph Saranyû becomes changed into the dread retributive Erînyś;<sup>a</sup> which hates the horse because that animal is connected with the Arimaspiān ;<sup>b</sup> which is placed on tombs to show that it still guards the sun in the Underworld, and will pursue the Arimaspiān thief through the darkness until at dawn the gold is once more recovered ; which devours the bull, or plants its paw upon the bull’s head, to show the triumph of the diurnal power over the nocturnal Lunus-Taurus ;<sup>c</sup> and which fights with and pursues the flying, one-eyed, Arimaspiān, storm-and-darkness monster who rides upon the tempest, and of whom Polyphêmos is a protagonistic type, as he essays to steal and hide the solar golden egg, Martanda, the Vedic egg-sun, “a smooth lump, destitute of any modifications of shape,”<sup>d</sup> called in Egypt of old “the golden ape of the gods without hands or feet.”<sup>e</sup>

As to the Arimaspiāns ;—“Among the mythologies of many nations,” says Miss J. E. Harrison, “it is not the architect, nor the craftsman Cyclops, who most often meets us, but the one-eyed cannibal robber-giant. Among peoples the most diverse—Kelts, Teutons, Oghuzians, Esthonians, Indians, dwellers in Polynesia—we light upon legends which look like shattered shreds of the Homeric tale. . . . In Zakynthos the peasants of to-day stand in awe of monsters of superhuman strength, with one eye only in the middle of the forehead ; it is of huge size, and spurts out fire,” the lightning flashing from the angry sun ; and she quotes a saying to one “about to go into a strange land,” “Beware lest the one-eyed fall upon you and eat you<sup>f</sup>” (οἱ μονόματ’ ῥιχνούντ’ καί σε τρώνε).

<sup>a</sup> Prof. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 564.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *inf.* Appendix : On the meaning of the name “Arimaspiān.”

<sup>c</sup> Robert Brown, Jun. *The Unicorn*, sec. iv. Deus Lunus ; *The Law of Kosmic Order*, sec. xi. Taurus, the Bull.

<sup>d</sup> Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 49.

<sup>e</sup> *Funereal Ritual*, cap. xlii.

<sup>f</sup> *Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature*, 1882, pp. 30-31.

Prof. Sayce,<sup>a</sup> also, cites various instances of the myth of the one-eyed monster, which he regards as being Turanian in origin. Thus, amongst the Turkish-Tatar Oghuzians, this creature is called Depé-Ghoz ("Eye-in-the-crown"). He also appears in Basque legends, and generally dwells in a cave, *i.e.* "the blind cave of night." As there are many Gryphons, so there are many Arimaspians; and Polyphêmos has numerous fellows and friends.

The basis of the myth is the one eye, solar or lunar, glaring wildly through the storm by day or night; or also, as regards the moon, in the gloomy, cloudy night; and if it be asked, How is it consistent that the gold guarded by the Gryphon should be identical with the eye of the Arimaspians, let me answer, in the words of Dr. Paley: "A curious but well-known characteristic of solar myths is the identification of the sun both with the agent or patient, and with the thing or object on or by which the act is exercised. Ixion is the sun, and so is Ixion's wheel. . . . Now this, so far from being an objection to the theory, goes far to confirm it. It is *the unconscious blending of two modes of representation.*"<sup>b</sup> Thus Hêraklês (the sun) shoots his arrows (rays) at Hêlios (the sun), who, admiring his courage, gives him a golden boat-cup (the sun), in which to sail over ocean. This is one phase of what I have styled the Law of Reduplication.

With reference to the statement of Hêrodotos, that the Arimaspians seize the gold "from underneath the Gryphons," an incident upon which Erman lays special stress in connexion with his theory, it is literally true in the myth; for it is when the Sun, which is as it were upheld by its Gryphon-guardians, is sinking, that the Darkness-power seizes it from under them and drags it down to the Underworld.

As to the Amazons, against whom the Gryphons war, they are, in the words of Sir G. W. Cox, "mysterious beings, of whom it is enough to say that they are opposed or slaughtered not only by Theseus, but by Heraklês, Achilleus, and Bellerophôn, and that thus they must be classed with the other beings in whom are seen reflected the features of the cloud enemy of India. Their beauty, their ferocity, their seclusion, all harmonise with the phenomena of the clouds in their varying aspects of storm and sunshine."<sup>c</sup> In a word, they appear in Greek mythology as the constant opponents of the powers of light. In mythic history they are connected with Skythia and the regions adjacent,<sup>d</sup> and Hêrodotos says

<sup>a</sup> *Principles of Comparative Philology*, p. 321 *et seq.*

<sup>b</sup> *On the Origin of Solar Myths*, Dublin Review, July, 1879, p. 109.

<sup>c</sup> *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, edit. 1882, p. 309.

<sup>d</sup> Vide *Iliad*, iii. 189; Herod. iv. 110-117

that the Scythians called them Oiorpata (= ἀνδροκτόνοι). The name "Amazon" is not Hellenic, and its usual derivation is purely arbitrary. Some have connected it with an Armenian word, *maza*, said to mean "moon" (cf. the Sanskrit *mās*, "moon"; *māsa*, "month"); and the Amazons were associated "with the Ephesian Artemis"<sup>a</sup> (probably *amazón* is intensive and = *polymastos*), "who was worshipped as Amazô,"<sup>b</sup> and whose temple they were said to have founded.<sup>c</sup> is in allusion to this connexion with the crescent-moon that Soudas speaks of the Ἀμαζόνειον κέρας.

Such, then, is the origin and meaning of the Gryphon-Myth;<sup>d</sup> and truly has it been said that "Heraldry is the short-hand of history. In its figures, properly interpreted, we read the chronicle of centuries."

<sup>a</sup> Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, 256.

<sup>b</sup> Sir G. W. Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, 309, note p. 3.

<sup>c</sup> The historical basis, as distinguished from the Natural Phenomena basis, of the Amazon-legend is supplied by the Hittite cult (rather than by the Phœnician cult, as Duncker, *History of Greece*, i. 62 *et seq.*, holds) of the great non-Aryan goddess of Asia Minor, known as Kybelê, Kybêbê, Omphalê, Ma, and Artemis Ephesia. Thus Prof. Sayce remarks:—"Her handmaids and ministers, the Amazons, are certainly of Hittite origin, and are usually connected with places where there are Hittite remains." (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* vii. 273.)

<sup>d</sup> Apropos of the Gryphon in the Purat Valley (vide *sup.* p. 363), "twenty-four gold gryphons of Assyrian workmanship" have been "discovered near Kiev on the Dnieper" (Rev. Is. Taylor, *The Alphabet*, ii. 216, note 1); and, in illustration of the non-evil nature of the Gryphon, and of his being on the side of the gods against the powers of evil (vide *sup.* p. 358), we find that in Indian mythology "the shades of the blessed" were said to be conveyed to the paradise "on the summit of Mount Meru . . . in celestial chariots drawn by winged gryphons" (Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, 380).

## APPENDIX.

## ON THE MEANING OF THE NAME "ARIMASPIAN."

If, contrary to the opinion of many eminent authorities, we agree with Donaldson, Jacob Grimm, and Professor Rawlinson, that the Scythians were an Aryan and not a Turanian (Finnic-Tatar) race; or, if at least we agree that they spoke an Aryan dialect, and that Hêrodotos has correctly reported the meaning of the word "Arimaspian" in the *Scythian language*, a further question still remains. For the Arimaspians were not Scythians, and if they had any actual historical existence (which they probably had) they were certainly not one-eyed, nor is there any evidence to show that they were Aryans. The derivation, according to which ἄριμα = ἔν and σποῦ = ὀφθαλμός has been supplemented by another, according to which ἄρι = ἔν and μασπός = ὀφθαλμός, a circumstance scarcely calculated to increase belief in the correctness of either; whilst Donaldson, noticing that the Arimaspians are styled by Aischylos "equestrians" (ἵπποβάμονες—hence the legendary hatred of the Gryphon for the horse), derives the name from a Median form Orim-αspa, "Horse of light." Now a possible derivation must never be accepted when it runs counter to the main gist of a myth; the Arimaspians are not connected with light but with darkness, and are therefore not horsemen of light.

A singular passage in the *Iliad* (ii. 782-3) states that the couch (grave-bed) of the rebel giant Typhôeus, who was hurled by Zeus to the Underworld, was εἰν Ἀρίμοις, rendered by the Latin poets Inarine (Vergil, *Aen.* 716; Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 89), in the land of the Arimoi, a region which, like the Dionysiak Nysa, has been placed by different authorities in various terrestrial localities. It may next be noticed that we find an historical tribe, the Arimai, amongst the Hittite peoples of the north of Nahri, the Assyrian form of Aram Naharaim ("of the two rivers," i.e. Mesopotamia), *circa* B.C. 820 (Professor Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* vii. 292. Cf. the Urume of the Assyrian Inscriptions, the Urima of Ptolemy, now Urum on the Euphrates). The Arimai thus adjoined Armenia, which was "regarded by the Accadians as the cradle of their race," though "afterwards the home of the Aryan Medes" (Sayce, *Introd. to the Science of Language*, ii. 370). The Hittites, like the Akkadai, were a non-Aryan and non-Semitic people; and it is therefore in some Turanian dialect that the meaning of the name "Arimai" must be sought.

The Rev. Isaac Taylor observes, "Arimi, according to Strabo and Hesychius, meant 'apes.' Naturally no word for 'ape' is found in the Siberian vocabularies. Possibly Arimi meant 'little men.' In the Turkic and Mongolic languages *ar* or *er* is a 'man,' and 'little' is *hene* in Yenissei" (*Etruscan Researches*, p. 318). There is no reason to think that Arimai meant "little men"; but with the Mongolic *er* (Strahlenberg, in his *Vocabularium Calmucko-Mungalicum*, 1738, gives "*are*, a man") we may compare the Akkadian *eri* (Assyrian, *zicaru*, Heb. *zokhar*, "a male"), "man." *Ma* means "land" alike in Akkadian and Etruscan, and also in several of the Finnic-Tatar dialects. Its Assyrian equivalent is *padinnu* "plain," e.g. Padan-Aram. Thus *ma*, by the addition of the individualising affix *da*, becomes Mada (Media), i.e. "the land." The Arimai would therefore be

"the men of the plain," Lowlanders. But the nomadic lowlander of Central Asia, the native home of the horse, is preeminently a horseman. So Hêrodotos says of the Scythians, "One and all of them shoot from horseback" (Herod. iv. 46). Now, as noticed, the Aryan Medes established themselves in Armenia, and may well have described the equestrian Lowlanders as Arimaspians, *i. e.* "Horse men (warriors) of the plains"; the *horse* or *courser*, *i. e.* "the Rapid (animal)" from a Teutonic root *har*, "to run" (*cf.* Lat. *currere*), is called in Sanscrit *asva*, the Zend *aspa*, Gk. *ikkos* and *hippos*, and Lat. *ekvus* (*equus*). In this case the name "Arimaspian" is a compound of Aryan and Turanian words, and would be a general term for the nomadic, equestrian, warrior tribes of Asia, who were certainly, in the words of Aischylos, στρατὸν ἵπποβάμον.' That the name "Arimaspian" is connected with "horse" is, moreover, exceedingly probable, on account of the intense (legendary) antipathy, otherwise inexplicable, of the Gryphon for that animal.

Soudas appears to connect Ἀριμα with Ἀριμάνιος, the Zarathustrian Angrômainyush, Añro-maīnyas, or Añgra-mainyu, the Parsi Aharman and the modern Persian Ahriman, "the Hurtful-spirit" (Haug), "the Attacking-spirit" (Tiele), "l'Esprit d'Angoisse" (Darmesteter). But this is inadmissible, especially as Ἀρειμάνιος (Plutarch, *Peri Is.* xlvii.) is the proper Greek form of the name.

At the next meeting, February 22nd, 1884, in illustration of the above communication:—

A. W. Franks, Esq., F.R.S., V.P., exhibited a Gold Armlet, each side of the opening of which is formed of a Griffin in full relief.

C. H. Read, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited and presented a drawing of a "Griffin's Claw," preserved in the British Museum.

Both these objects are fully described in *Proc.*, 2d S., vol. ix. pp. 249-251.

H. S. M.

"The Griffin," by Edward Peacock, Esq. (*The Antiquary*, Nov. 1884, No. 57, vol. x. pp. 89-92), is an interesting addition to the literature on the subject.

XIX.—*Ptolemy's Geography of the British Isles.* By HENRY BRADLEY, Esq.

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Read June 21, 1883.

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To the Alexandrian Claudius Ptolemy, who flourished about the middle of the second century after Christ, belongs the honour of having achieved the final systematisation of the results of ancient research in the two sciences of astronomy and geography. His treatise on Geography continued to be the standard text-book on its own subject, as his *Almagest* was the standard text-book on astronomy, until the brilliant discoveries of the fifteenth century called the attention of Europe to their defects.

The portion of Ptolemy's Geography relating to Britain has been for three centuries the subject of much elaborate discussion among English antiquaries. With regard, however, to the identification of very many of Ptolemy's positions, the conclusions of recent authorities of eminence are very far from being unanimous. This divergence of opinion is in part due to the imperfections of Ptolemy's own knowledge of British geography; but to a much greater extent it may be ascribed to the extreme laxity of the methods of investigation which have usually been adopted. In attempting an original examination of this subject I am deeply sensible of the disadvantages arising from my unavoidably scanty acquaintance with the work of previous inquirers. The strongly favourable opinion of some eminent scholars, to whom an outline of the present Paper has been submitted, has, however, induced me to venture on offering it to the Society.

The information supplied by Ptolemy consists essentially of a table of latitudes and longitudes. From the geographer's own statement (*Geog.* I. xvii. 2, II. i. 9) it appears that he intended this table to serve as a sufficient guide to the draughtsman without the necessity of any reference to previously existing delineations. It would seem unquestionable that in order to make any trustworthy use of Ptolemy's indications of positions our first step must be to employ them in the construction of such a map as Ptolemy himself would have

drawn.<sup>a</sup> Obvious as this proposition appears, however, its truth has been by many eminent writers practically overlooked. In some cases it would seem that the places mentioned by Ptolemy have been identified with known localities purely on the ground of supposed similarities in local names, without any regard to the positions assigned to them by the geographer. Some writers, again, have contented themselves with laying down Ptolemy's angular measurements, converted into linear distances, on the map of the country as now known, and have in this way arrived at conclusions which an inspection of the Ptolemaic map would at once show to be extravagantly improbable.<sup>b</sup> But even those inquirers who have founded their theories on a delineation of the whole or part of Ptolemy's map have not, so far as I am aware, been sufficiently careful to avoid sophisticating the evidence of Ptolemy by the introduction of details derived from their own independent geographical knowledge. Moreover, instead of following rigorously, for better and worse, the text of some one editor, they have generally yielded more or less to the temptation to indulge in desultory attempts at textual criticism.

The map subjoined to this Paper is intended to be a strictly accurate rendering into graphic form of Ptolemy's table of British positions, as represented in the Greek edition of Nobbe (Leipzig, 1846).<sup>c</sup> The projection employed is that authorised by Ptolemy himself (*Geog.* II. i. 10); that is to say, a projection in which the meridians and parallels are represented by straight lines at right angles to each other, the proportion in length between the degree of latitude and that of longitude being that which is correct for the middle parallel of the map. The positions assigned by Ptolemy are indicated, in the case of towns, by the usual small circle, and in other cases by a small cross. It will be observed that in completing the outline of the coast I have made use of *straight* lines to

<sup>a</sup> It may perhaps be imagined that we might content ourselves with the maps which are given in the MSS. of Ptolemy, which are presumably reproductions of those drawn under the author's superintendence by a certain Agathodæmon. By taking these maps as the basis of our discussion, however, we should be liable to be misled by details introduced by the draughtsman, for which Ptolemy affords no authority. However valuable these maps may be as aids to the criticism of Ptolemy's text, they cannot be made a substitute for the text itself.

<sup>b</sup> A recent exemplification of this fallacious method is supplied by the Papers by Mr. Gordon Hills in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1878 and 1881, which have gained a sort of authoritative rank far in excess of their real merits, through the deference paid to them in Prof. Rhys' work on *Celtic Britain*.

<sup>c</sup> The first copy I made of the map was drawn from the text of Ptolemy as given in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, and the conical projection was employed instead of the rectilinear one described above. There is, however, no very striking difference between the two delineations.





MAP OF THE "BRETONIC ISLANDS," ALUVION AND IVERNIA.

Constructed from the Latitudes and Longitudes given by Ptolemy.



connect the points laid down on Ptolemy's authority. This, no doubt, gives to the delineation a formal and inartistic appearance; but the picturesque undulations of outline, in which map-makers delight, would have been liable to suggest identifications for which there was no real foundation. With regard to the territories occupied by the several nationalities, the information afforded by Ptolemy is almost entirely confined to the enumeration of the towns which belonged to each people. The tribal boundaries as I have drawn them can therefore claim only a loose approach to correctness. I have however preferred to insert them rather than to leave the map seriously incomplete as a representation of Ptolemy's statements. The precise extent to which these boundaries possess authority is in most cases determined by the towns included within the several territories. There is only a single instance amongst the British positions of Ptolemy in which the reading of Dr. Nobbe's text results in any graphical impossibility. This is in the case of Salinæ, mentioned by Ptolemy as a town of the Catyeuchlani. The position assigned to this place (long. 18°, lat. 55 $\frac{2}{3}$ °) is inconsistent with the situation of the territory of the tribe to which it belonged, and I have therefore found it necessary to omit this name. In every other instance the map is a faithful representation of the readings of the edition above referred to, although there is reason to doubt whether Ptolemy is really responsible for all the serious errors which appear in the positions, especially of inland towns.

Before speaking in detail of Ptolemy's special geography of Britain, it will be well to say a few words respecting the character of his knowledge of geography in general. It is not at all uncommon to find even educated people entertaining the strange notion that "the ancients" believed that the earth was flat. Of course the sphericity of the earth was a commonplace of philosophy ages before Ptolemy was born. Moreover, Ptolemy's estimate of the size of the earth was surprisingly near to the truth. He tells us (*Geog.* I. xi. 2) that the length of a degree of a great circle is 500 stadia, which makes the circumference of the earth one-sixth too small. Curiously enough, an earlier Alexandrian geographer, Eratosthenes, had committed an opposite error of precisely equal amount, having made the circumference one-sixth too large. If there had been any one to take the average between these two estimates, the resulting calculation of the size of the globe would have been almost absolutely correct. Ptolemy's degrees of longitude are measured from the western extremity of the known world, *i.e.*, from the Fortunate Islands, and his degrees of latitude like ours from the equator. As he divides his degrees not into minutes but into twelfths, any error in his mea-

surements smaller than 5' may be regarded as non-existent. It may be mentioned that the terms latitude and longitude (referring to the "breadth" and "length" of the known world) seem to have been the invention of Ptolemy himself.

In criticising the correctness of Ptolemy's geographical descriptions, it should be remembered that he had to depend for his information on the reports of travellers who were unfurnished with the instruments which we consider indispensable for the ascertaining of geographical data. The ancient navigators had no mariner's compass, no nautical almanac, no sextant, and no chronometer. Although Ptolemy's map of Britain may at first sight seem grotesquely inaccurate, yet if we consider the nature of the ancient means of observation we shall find abundant reason for admiring the industry and ingenuity by which their disadvantages were so largely surmounted.

On reference to the accompanying map it will be seen that the outline of what we call England bears a very recognisable general resemblance to that of the country as now known. But instead of Scotland appearing, as it ought to do, as a continuation of England towards the north, it is twisted round sharply to the east. Ptolemy's map of North Britain, in fact, looks like a map of Scotland turned over on its side.

It has been supposed by some writers (amongst others by no less eminent an authority than Mr. Skene) that this extraordinary mistake originated in the confused and extravagant reports which the fleet and army under Agricola rendered respecting their North British expeditions. Mr. Skene quotes Tacitus (*Agr.* 25) to show that Agricola's forces on this occasion were in a mood little favourable to any accurate description of the country in which they were engaged. This explanation I am unable to accept, for two reasons. In the first place the mistakes and exaggerations of Agricola's companions might no doubt have resulted in a very distorted delineation of the outline of the coast, but not in a regular and consistent substitution of due east for due north, which is what we find in Ptolemy's map. In the second place, Tacitus, who wrote the account of this very expedition, did not share at all in Ptolemy's mistake. Tacitus states that earlier writers had compared the shape of Britain to that of an axe or small shield. This comparison he admits to be fairly correct for the nearer half of Britain, but the remoter half, he says, extends northwards in the form of a prolonged wedge.

My own hypothesis in explanation of Ptolemy's mistake is, that either he or one of his predecessors had before him three sectional maps, representing

severally what we call England, Scotland, and Ireland, and drawn approximately to scale, but without meridians or parallels. It was no doubt then, as now, usual for a map to be enclosed in a rectangular frame, with sides towards the four cardinal points. In fitting the three maps together, Ptolemy (or his predecessor) fell into the mistake of turning the oblong map of Scotland the wrong way. I think it is even possible to discover the process by which he was led astray. From some cause, he had assigned to Ireland a latitude so much too high that if he had given to the map of Scotland its proper orientation, a portion of that country must have fallen right across the western island. This theory as to the origin of Ptolemy's error has not, so far as I know, been precisely anticipated,<sup>a</sup> but I believe it is the only one yet proposed which adequately accounts for the facts. If it be sound, it will have a decisive bearing on several disputed questions relating to the identification of Ptolemy's positions.

I will now proceed to discuss in detail Ptolemy's description of the coast of Alvion, or, as he elsewhere calls it, Great Britain.<sup>b</sup> It will be convenient to begin this examination at the point where Ptolemy's great error commences, viz. at the Solway Frith. In accordance with the preceding remarks, the reader should compare Ptolemy's map of North Britain with a modern map of Scotland laid upon its side.

The Solway Frith is called by Ptolemy "Ituna." This name is plainly identical with that of the river Eden. We thus learn that the common derivation of Eden from the Anglo-Saxon *eá-denu*, river-valley, is erroneous, and that the true etymology must be either Celtic or pre-Celtic, identical probably with that of the river-names Ithon and Ythan. Although the present name of the estuary is not mentioned by Ptolemy, it seems to have existed in his time, and to have given its appellation to the adjacent tribe of the Selgovæ. The ablest Celtic philologists, however, invert this order of derivation, and trace the tribal name to the root *selg*, to hunt. There can be little doubt that the population next in order on the map, the Novantæ, received their name from the river Novius, now the Nith. It is remarkable that the inhabitants of the district continued to be designated from the river after it had received its present name. Bede mentions them as Niduari. Ptolemy's "peninsula of the Novantæ," ending in a cape named from the same people, is obviously the peninsula of Galloway; but it will be seen that

<sup>a</sup> The nearest approach to an anticipation seems to be the view of General Roy, that a portion of the map followed by Ptolemy had been accidentally torn off and joined again in the wrong place. This explanation, however, is both far less probable and far less adequate than the one given above.

<sup>b</sup> The use of this name by Ptolemy shows that our island is so called as being the greater of the British islands, and not, as has been sometimes supposed, in contradistinction to Brittany.

he was completely in error with regard to its form and the direction in which it projects from the mainland.

Three of the names occurring in this part of the map are still retained—Deva (now the Dee), Rerigonius (Loch Ryan), and Clota (the Clyde). Luce Bay was Abravannus, which is apparently the Cymric *Aber-afon*, “river-mouth.”

The Cape Epidium is evidently the Mull of Cantire. I venture to think that no doubt would ever have arisen with regard to this identification if the interpreters of Ptolemy had always based their investigations on a construction of the Ptolemaic map. The island Epidium, off the north coast of “Ivernia,” I believe to be Cantire over again—a duplication naturally resulting from Ptolemy's having worked, in the manner previously suggested, from separate maps of Ireland and Scotland. A map of Ireland now before me shows in its upper right-hand corner the peninsula of Cantire and the islands of Islay, Jura, and Arran. If the map extended further to the north, the next considerable island to be included would be Mull. These facts appear to afford a hint respecting the identification of the islands mentioned by Ptolemy as adjacent to this part of the Irish coast. He places on the sixty-second parallel Ebuda, another Ebuda, and Ricina; and a little further north is Maleus. These five islands are collectively called by him the Ebudæ. A little south of these is Monacæda. The two Ebudæ proper may be identified with Islay and Jura, the close mutual proximity of which may account for their being bracketed together under a common name. Ricina, from its name and its position near to Fair Head, seems to be Rathlin (Irish *Rechra*, genitive *Rechrann*). Maleus—the position and the name again concurring—appears to be Mull. There is some uncertainty as to the reading of Monacæda. Some editions have Monarina; and Mr. Skene, on the evidence of the coincidence of name, identifies the island with Arran. It seems, however, probable that both Monæada and Monarina are corruptions of Monapia. This name, which is given by Pliny as that of an island in the Irish Sea, is the legitimate phonetic ancestor of Manaw, the Welsh name of the Isle of Man. It is more likely that Ptolemy should have omitted to mention Arran than that he should have overlooked the Isle of Man, and the situation of “Monacæda” agrees better with the latter than with the former. Ptolemy's Mona, placed by him near the Wexford coast, is certainly not the Isle of Man, but Anglesey.

The Ebudæ (Hebudes) are referred to by Pliny, but the situation assigned to them by the earlier writer differs extremely from that given by Ptolemy. It seems on the whole most probable that Ptolemy is correct in his application of the name, and that his predecessor had confounded the Hebudes with the

Orkneys. As is well-known, an early mis-reading of Hebudes has given rise to the modern name Hebrides, which has been strangely misappropriated to the north-western group of islands.

Returning to the coast-line of the mainland, we find the Lemannonian Bay, corresponding in position with the entrance to Loch Fyne. The name, however, bears an obvious resemblance to that of Loch Lomond, and Mr. Skene has suggested that Ptolemy's informants must have imagined that that lake communicated with the sea. A more probable supposition would surely be that Loch Lomond (from the Gaelic *Leamhan*, elm trees) had given the name of Lemannonii (compare Damnonii) to the population of the district extending from its shores to those of Loch Fyne.

The river Longus is happily identified by Mr. Skene with the river known in Gaelic as "the long river" (*Avon fhada*) and in English as the Add.

The western coast from this point northwards was evidently very slightly known to Ptolemy's authorities. He does not mention a single town in the western half of the country north of the Clyde, and in the outline of the coast after the river Longus he indicates only three points—the river Itys, Volsas Bay, and the river Nabæus. Ptolemy's coast-line is so inaccurate that any precise identification of these places is quite out of the question, unless we can find some clue in correspondences of local nomenclature. I would suggest that the name Itys may possibly be preserved in Loch Etive, that of Volsas in Loch Alsh, and that of Nabæus (or as others read Nabarus) in the river Naver. The situation of the two former agrees satisfactorily enough, but the Naver discharges itself on the true northern coast (Ptolemy's eastern) and not on the western coast as the position assigned by Ptolemy would indicate.

In spite of Ptolemy's mistaken orientation of the map, he could not set aside the universal concurrence of evidence which placed the Orcades and Thule in the ocean to the north of Britain. In his map these islands are consequently shown as opposite to what is really the west coast. Between the Orcades and the mainland is the island of Dumna, which would appear to be either Skye or the Long Island (Lewis and Harris). If Dumna be Skye, there is a possibility that the dimensions given by Ptolemy to Thule may be those of the Long Island, as represented in the map from which he copied.

Cape Wrath is called by Ptolemy, Tarvedûm (*Ταρουεδούμ*). Earlier writers have Tauroedunum (compare Ptolemy's *Ταροδοῦνον* in Gaul), the Celtic etymon of which seems to be *tarw*, a bull. Possibly the headland was so called from some fancied resemblance in the shape of the rocks. The next cape, Virvedrum,

seems to be identified by its name with Farout Head. This very English-looking appellation is presumably an adaptation of a Gaelic name. The old Celtic prefix *vir* becomes in Gaelic *for*, and the word *fothar*, the equivalent of *vedrum*, would in composition lose its initial *f*, as it does in Dunnottar (anciently Dunfoeder). In this way the ancient name, Virvedrum, would by normal phonetic development assume a form which might easily be corrupted into "Farout." The last of the three headlands on the right of Ptolemy's map, Verubium, is presumably Duncansby Head.

The identifications just proposed are at variance with those advocated by Mr. Skene, who considers that Ptolemy ignored Cape Wrath, and supposed that the coast extended in a straight line from Ross-shire to Dunnet Head, which he identifies with Tarvedûm, so that Virvedrum and Verubium would correspond to Duncansby Head and the Noss. There is something to be said for this hypothesis—amongst other things, that it would make the Nabæus correspond correctly in position with the Naver. But the phonetic correspondence of Virvedrum and Farout, if it be sound, is of course fatal to this theory.

The island Ocitis, in the extreme right of the map, doubtless represents one of the Orkneys in the position which it occupied in the map which Ptolemy followed. The name no longer exists, as all these islands have received new names from the Scandinavians.

Ptolemy gives Orcas as an alternative name for Tarvedûm; but the name must have belonged to the cape nearest to the Orkneys, *i.e.* either to Dunnet Head or Duncansby Head.

Ptolemy's outline of the eastern (regarded by him as the southern) coast of Scotland is singularly correct, the remarkable bend about the Moray Firth being very distinctly recognisable. Most of the river-names given in this part of the map still survive. The Ila is the Ulie, otherwise called Helmsdale. The Loxa has been identified with the Loth, with which it corresponds well enough in position, though I do not know whether the identity of the name is phonologically admissible. The position given in some copies of Ptolemy would allow us to identify the Loxa with the Lossie in Moray, which would involve less difficulty. Varar, the name of the Moray Firth, is identical with the modern river-name Farrar, although the lower portion of this river is now called the Beaully. The Tuæsis has changed its name to Spey. The Celnus (a Gaelic Caolan) seems to be the stream which runs by the town of Cullen. After passing the headland Tæxalum (the north-eastern angle of Aberdeenshire) we come to the Deva (now the Dee), which gave its name to a town, Devana; then to the



Tava (the Tay), which similarly gave its name to the town of Tameia. The Tina appears from its position to be the Eden. Next comes the estuary Boderia, which is evidently the Firth of Forth. The etymology of Boderia (or Bodotria, as Tacitus calls it) is evident from an old Irish gloss quoted by Zeuss, which renders "*de rivo turbulento*" by *dintsruth buadarthe*. The town of Alauna evidently derives its name from the little river Allen, which falls into the Forth near Stirling.

The deflected portion of Ptolemy's map includes not only Scotland, but the east coast of England as far as the Wear. It is remarkable that the Solway and the Wear—the points at which the deflection commences respectively on the west and the east coasts—have precisely the same true latitude. That is to say, the division-line between the two separate maps which Ptolemy followed ran exactly east and west, just as my hypothesis requires that it should have been intended to run. The force of this corroboration is not lessened by the admission that the extraordinary precision with which the line was drawn must have been due as much to the good fortune as to the skill of the ancient surveyors. A further confirmation will be found in the manner in which Ptolemy represents the coast-line from the Forth to the Wear. If the reader will cut a map of Great Britain in two along the line from the Solway to the mouth of the Wear, and then placing the northern half on its side, attempt to join the two parts together, he will find it necessary both to shorten the distance from the Forth to the Wear, and to bring the Wear down to about the position occupied by the Tees. Now this is precisely what Ptolemy has done.

The rivers Alne (Alaunus) and Wear (Vedra) still bear the names by which they are mentioned in Ptolemy. The Tweed and the Tyne are both ignored. The latter omission is somewhat surprising, but may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the name of Tina had been given—whether rightly or by mistake—to the Fifeshire Eden.

On the coast between the Wear and the Humber (Abus) Ptolemy mentions only three points: Dunum Bay, the Bay of the Gabrantuici—otherwise called the bay of the good harbour—and the Cape of Ocelum. The identification of these points will probably never be decisively settled. Ptolemy places Dunum Bay on the same latitude with Eboracum; but no importance whatever can be attached to this fact, inasmuch as his internal geography is evidently derived from a source different from (and much inferior to) that which he has used for the coast outline. His delineations of the coast between the Vedra and the Abus bear a curiously close resemblance in configuration to the true coast-line from

the Tweed to the Humber. It would be a possible, if a bold hypothesis, that Ptolemy had before him a correct outline of the coast from the Tweed downwards, but erroneously fancied that its initial point was at the Wear. If we could be at all certain of this, our course would be perfectly clear. Dunum Bay would then be the mouth of the Tees, the "well harboured" bay would be (very appropriately) at Scarborough, and Ocelum would be Flamborough Head. This last identification would be beyond question if we could accept the etymology favoured by Mr. Elton and others, which derives Ocelum from the Cymric *uchel*, high. But it is not probable that the old Celtic *uxel* had in Ptolemy's time assumed the form *uchel*, nor that *uchel* would have been represented by him as Ὀκελον. It is not impossible that Ocelum may be Spurn Head; but on the whole I am disposed, though not very confidently, to adhere to the identifications above indicated.

The native form of Abus was most probably *Ab*, which is of frequent occurrence as a Celtic river-name. It may, however, have been the well known *aber*, estuary, in which case Ptolemy's orthography is a mistake for Abarus.

The names of the two peoples inhabiting Yorkshire—the Brigantes and the Parisi—seem to denote respectively the inhabitants of the "highlands," and those of the Parth-îs, or "lower district."<sup>a</sup>

The Metaris estuary is of course the Wash. The tongue-like projection to the south of this estuary is a very distorted representation of Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Essex. Ptolemy gives to the population of Norfolk and Suffolk the name of Simeni. This is probably a mistake for the well-known name of Icenî, found in Tacitus and Antoninus, the words Εἰκενοὶ and Σιμενοὶ being very much alike when written. There seems to be no authority for the usually accepted long quantity of the e in Icenî. The Garriennus is now the Yare, the name having passed through the intermediate forms Gerne and Yerne.

The Blackwater has in Ptolemy the name of Eidumania, in which we seem to have the Celtic word for deep (*domun*, in modern Welsh *dwfn*). The Jamesa estuary is, of course, the Thames, the name being obviously mis-written for Tamesa (*cf.* in Tamesæ *Æstuario*, *Tac. Ann.* xiv. 32). The islands Toliapis and Cōünnus can only be Sheppey and Thanet respectively, although Ptolemy has considerably mistaken their positions. We have it on the authority of Bede that Thanet was formerly separated from the mainland by a sea-channel of some width. The Cāntian promontory is commonly identified with the North Foreland. This identification appears unlikely, because the North Foreland is on the isle of

<sup>a</sup> The first portion of the word Parisi cannot be *parth*, but it may perhaps be some synonymous derivative from the same root. Compare the Parisii of Gaul.

Thanet. The South Foreland, which has been suggested by some writers, is more probable, but I prefer to identify the Cantian promontory with Shellness Point in Sandwich Haven, on account of its proximity to Rutupiæ, now Richborough.

The inclination of the south coast is given by Ptolemy with a tolerable approach to correctness, so that we are able to apply a sort of fixed scale to his measurements. By this means I believe it will be possible satisfactorily to settle several much debated questions respecting the identification of the positions which Ptolemy has laid down.

It must be borne in mind that Ptolemy's distances in longitude were obtained not from astronomical observations, but from reductions of itinerary distances. I have previously mentioned that his estimate of the circumference of the earth was one-sixth too small. His angular measurements must therefore be reduced in this proportion, so that one of his degrees will really correspond to 50' of our measure. But in applying this result to his measurements of the south coast, there is a further correction which it is necessary to make. We find that he has made the latitude of this coast on the average 2° too high. The consequence is that his degrees of longitude are here four per cent. shorter than he would have made them if he had known the latitude correctly. This rectification makes Ptolemy's degree of longitude in this region equal only to 48' of true measure, so that we have to deduct one-fifth from his distances in longitude to reduce them to their real value. The difference in longitude between Cantium and the Tamar (Tamarus) is given by Ptolemy as 6° 20' of his measure, which, according to the principle of calculation just explained, is equal to 5° 4' of ours. Now the actual distance in longitude between Cantium (taking its position as 1° 20' east of Greenwich) and the nearest part of Plymouth Sound is 5° 27', so that Ptolemy's measurement is only 23' short of the truth. This close approach to accuracy shows that for this portion of the coast Ptolemy's means of information must have been unusually good. We have therefore reason to expect that his measurements will yield trustworthy results when applied to the identification of the intermediate points.

Proceeding westward from Cantium, we come first to the New Harbour, distant from that point 1° of Ptolemy's measure, or 48 of our minutes. The resulting position, 0° 32' east of Greenwich, is about two miles west of Hastings. Although Hastings is now without a harbour, it is known formerly to have possessed one of great importance, and it still ranks at the head of the list of the Cinque Ports. Forty minutes further west, Ptolemy places a river Trisanton, which ought to

fall exactly on the meridian of Greenwich. The mouth of the Sussex Ouse is only two miles from the point thus indicated. Although, however, the Trisanton seems to correspond in position with the Ouse, it is now certain that the river intended by Ptolemy is the Arun. In the *Academy* for April 28th and May 19th, 1883, I showed that Trisanton or Trisantona is the original form of Trent or Tarrant, and occurs in a hitherto misread passage of Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 31) as the name of our great Midland river. It has subsequently been pointed out by Mr. R. Nevill that my conclusions necessitate the identification of Ptolemy's Trisanton with the Arun, that river appearing in old maps as the *Tarant*. I may mention that the name of Trisanton seems to have belonged to no fewer than six British rivers. One of these is the Hampshire Test, this river being mentioned in Anglo-Saxon charters as the *Tersta*.

The position of the Great Harbour,  $3^{\circ}$  from Cantium, answers to long.  $1^{\circ} 4'$  west. This is the exact longitude of the entrance to Portsmouth Harbour, with which the Great Harbour has been almost universally identified. This identification rests on strong historical grounds quite independent of Ptolemy's longitudes. It will be seen on reference to the map that Ptolemy has placed Venta (Winchester) exactly in its true position relatively to the Great Harbour.

Up to this point we find Ptolemy's distance in longitude almost absolutely correct. His loss of  $23'$ , before referred to, is therefore to be localised somewhere between Portsmouth and the Tamar. In order to assign more accurately the part of the coast in which this error occurred, it will be well, as the identification of the intervening points is uncertain, to commence our measurements at the Tamarus and proceed eastward. Taking as the longitude of the Tamarus that of the eastern side of Plymouth Sound ( $4^{\circ} 7'$  west), we shall find the position of Ptolemy's river Isaca to correspond to longitude  $3^{\circ} 3'$  west, the exact longitude of the mouth of the Axe. The Isaca has been commonly identified with the Exe, and it may seem strange that Ptolemy should have omitted the more important river. The names of Exe and Axe, however, are etymologically identical, and in Ptolemy's time were probably alike in form. If his authorities gave him two rivers of the same name not twenty miles apart he would naturally suppose that he had to make his choice between two conflicting reports of the position of one and the same river. The Alaunus or Alænus,  $40'$  of Ptolemy's measure further to the east, should be at longitude  $2^{\circ} 31'$  west from Greenwich. The mouth of the Wey is at  $2^{\circ} 26'$ , or  $5'$  too far east. If the reading of Dr. Nobbe's edition be correct with regard to the position of Dunium, the identification of the Alaunus

with the Wey is confirmed by the obvious resemblance which the coast-line east of the Alaunus bears to the outline of the Isle of Purbeck.<sup>a</sup>

It thus appears that Ptolemy's deficiency of 23' (true measure) in the distance from Cantium to the Tamarus is made up of 5' between the Axe and the Wey, and 18' between the Wey and Portsmouth. The latter portion of the error is probably due to a confusion between Portsmouth Harbour and the Southampton Water, the distances from the Great Harbour being measured eastward from the latter and westward from the former. The astonishing exactness of these measurements must be due in some degree to accident: but it must be remembered that the coast-line from the Straits of Dover to Plymouth is precisely the portion of the British shores which would naturally be most accurately known by Roman navigators. With the Cornish coast, lying remote from the Roman settlements, and dangerous to approach closely, they would probably be very slightly acquainted. It is therefore not surprising that west of the Tamar Ptolemy's measurements become quite unmanageable. The distance from the Tamar to the Lizard (Ocrinum or Damnonium), which is really about one degree, is magnified by him into nearly four degrees. The only intermediate point which he mentions is the mouth of the Cenion. If we are justified philologically in connecting Cenion with the local name of Kenwyn, it would follow that this river mouth must be identified with the estuary of the Fal. Ptolemy's measurements are here so obviously worthless that they need not form any difficulty in the way of this identification.

The Land's End is called by Ptolemy Antivestæum or Belerium. The latter name is used by an earlier writer, Posidonius, as the designation of the Cornish peninsula. Prof. Rhys explains it by the Irish *belre* (later *berla*), meaning "language." As this word is used frequently in the special sense of foreign language, Prof. Rhys draws the conclusion that the ancient inhabitants of Cornwall spoke a non-Celtic language. If it be permissible to suppose that *belre* originally meant "tongue" in the physical sense, the appropriateness of the word as a name for Cornwall will become much more obvious.

On the north side of the Damnonian peninsula, Hartland Point appears as the Cape of Hercules—a name which seems to support the somewhat unpopular

<sup>a</sup> I was at one time inclined to identify the Alaunus with the Stour, on the ground that one of the tributaries of that river still bears the name of Allen. This, however, is one of the commonest of our river names, and there is no improbability in supposing that it may have belonged to both rivers. They are farther apart than are the Axe and the Exe.

theory that Ptolemy derived some portion of his British geography from reports of Phœnician or Carthaginian voyages.

The estuary of the Severn (Sabriana) is correctly laid down. On the south coast of Wales we have the rivers Tubius or Tobius (obviously the Towey), and Ratostathybius. The latter river agrees in position with the Neath or the Burry, but with regard to its name it seems to be the Towey over again. As the Towey makes a common estuary with the Taf, it seems possible that Ratostathybius may mean "the sands of Taf and Towey," in modern Welsh, *Traeth Taf a Thywi*.<sup>a</sup>

After rounding Cape Octapitarum (St. David's Head) we come first to the river Tuerobis. This is evidently the Teifi, but the identity of the names is impossible phonologically unless we accept the ingenious suggestion of Prof. Rhys and read *Toverýōbios* instead of *Toveróbios*. The Stuccia, from its name, may be inferred to be the Ystwyth. As the Latin word *fructus* has become in Welsh *ffrwyth*, the ancient form of Ystwyth would probably be Stucta, from which Ptolemy's Stuccia or Stucia is not very far removed. It may seem strange that so insignificant a stream as the Ystwyth should be mentioned by Ptolemy, while the Dovey and the Mawddach are ignored. Welsh tradition, however, relates, that in historical times a large tract of country (the so-called Cantref Gwaelod) has been submerged in Cardigan Bay. It is therefore possible that Ptolemy's outline of the west coast of Wales may, in his time, have been very nearly correct, and that the mouth of the Ystwyth may really have been the most conspicuous estuary in Wales north of the Teifi.<sup>b</sup>

It is worthy of note that Ptolemy has correctly placed the cape of the Gangani (*i. e.* Braich-y-pwell, at the extremity of Carnarvonshire) due north of the mouth of the Teifi. The name of the people from whom the promontory is called is given in other editions of Ptolemy as Cancani. This form would accord with the Cangi of Tacitus, and would admit of a satisfactory explanation from the Welsh word *Cainc*, a branch, which might be understood as referring to the form of the peninsula of Lleyn. If Cancani be the correct reading, the form

<sup>a</sup> The ancient form of the word *traeth* would be *tractos*.

<sup>b</sup> This supposition enables us to account for the extraordinary fact that the town of Aberystwith, the name of which means "the mouth of the Ystwyth," does not stand on this river at all, but on the north bank of the Rheidol, while the Ystwyth discharges itself a mile further to the south. If the coast-line formerly stood a few miles west of its present position, the Ystwyth would receive the Rheidol as a tributary. The town at the mouth of the Ystwyth, being gradually driven back by the encroachments of the sea, would retain its original name even when it had ceased to be appropriate.

Gangani is probably due to the name having been assimilated to that of a tribe placed by Ptolemy on the west coast of Ireland.

It has been supposed by some writers that Ptolemy's outline of the north coast of Wales includes Anglesey as a part of the mainland, and that consequently the mouth of the Tæsobis represents the west end of the Menai Straits. The longitude assigned by Ptolemy to this river mouth no doubt favours this identification; and the fact that "Mona" has been already mentioned as an island off the Irish coast does not of itself form any serious objection. The real difficulty is that Ptolemy mentions neither capes nor rivers between the Tæsobis and the Seteïa estuary. On this account it seems necessary to regard the Tæsobis as the Conway, although the position given is materially incorrect, and the station Conovium in the Antonine Itinerary shows that in the second century the Conway already bore its present name. In the map accompanying the Latin edition of 1478 the Tæsobis is placed on the west coast, its position corresponding to that of the Mawddach.

An inspection of the map will at once suggest that the Seteïa (or Segeïa) and the Belisama are respectively the Dee and the Mersey. Ptolemy's distance from the Cape of the Gangani to the Seteïa estuary is  $2^{\circ}$  of longitude. If we deduct the correction due to Ptolemy's constant error, and the special correction for his error in the latitude of this part of the coast, this distance becomes equal to  $1^{\circ} 32'$ —which may be regarded as absolutely correct. The name of the Belisama is remarkable from its apparent identity with that of the Gaulish goddess Belisama, or Belesamis, mentioned in inscriptions. The harbour of the Setantii (or Segantii) corresponds in position with the Ribble, and the estuary Moricambe with Morecambe Bay. This modern name must not, however, be regarded as evidence in favour of the identification, as it appears to have been adopted from Ptolemy in the last century. The earlier English antiquaries identified Moricambe with the estuary of the Wampool and the Waver, to which in consequence the name of "Moricambe Bay" is given in the Ordnance map. The etymon of Moricambe is probably the Welsh *Morgamlas*, an estuary (literally, sea-channel).

The difference in latitude between Moricambe and the Ituna (Solway) is very considerably too small. This error appears to be due in part to Ptolemy's having completely mistaken the form of the coast-line between the two points.

Ptolemy's outline of the coast of Alvion is on the whole much more nearly correct than we could have expected to find it. This outline must have been in part based on a collection of fairly accurate measurements of inland distances,

such, for example, as exists in the nearly contemporary Itinerary of Antoninus. Although, however, sound information respecting the interior of Britain must have been possessed by some of Ptolemy's predecessors, he himself does not appear to have had access to it, inasmuch as the positions which he assigns to the towns are in most cases very wide of the truth. Verolamium, for instance, is placed by him  $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , or, according to his scale, ninety-five Roman miles, north of London, although the distance is correctly given in the Itinerary as only twenty-one Roman miles. Vinovium, which we know to have been Binchester, in Durham, is removed to the neighbourhood of the west coast. Obviously no reliance can be placed on any of Ptolemy's indications of the position of inland places not otherwise known to us; and the limits of the tribal territories are dependent almost entirely on the situation of the towns. Under these circumstances it does not seem that Ptolemy's internal geography of Britain is likely to repay the trouble of a minute examination. I shall, therefore, allow the map to speak for itself, except where the names given by Ptolemy may seem to admit of illustration from etymology, or from the statements of other authorities.

To begin with the northern portion of the island. The situation assigned to the Caledonii by Ptolemy, who makes them extend from Loch Fyne to the Moray Firth, does not seem to be easily reconcilable with the fact that the name of Dunkeld means "the fort of the Caledonians." It is probable that Ptolemy is here in error, because the name of the Vacomagi, who, on his showing, occupied Perthshire, Western Aberdeenshire, and the counties of Elgin and Banff, appears to mean literally the inhabitants of "the empty plain," *i.e.* the open country in opposition to the Caledonian woodland. The designation of "plain" cannot have belonged to a district cut across by the range of the Grampians.

The name of the Damnonii, whose territory corresponds nearly to the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, and Stirling, is interesting from its identity with that of the people of Cornwall and Devon. The most probable etymon seems to be the Celtic *domun* (modern Welsh *dwfn*), meaning "deep"; and both populations may have received their name from the deep valleys characteristic of the regions they inhabited. The town of Colania, belonging to the northern Damnonii, seems to have been named from a river Caolan, which may not impossibly be the modern Kelvin.

The name of the Otadeni is identical with the Guotodin of Welsh poetry, and their country seems to have included the Lothians, together with the counties of Berwick, Peebles, Selkirk, and Northumberland.

The Creones and the Carnonacæ, from the position given to them by



Ptolemy, seem to have some etymological connection with Loch Crerin and Loch Carron.

In the internal geography of South Britain there are only a few points which call for special notice.

The territory of the Cornavii, as shown in the map, reaches from the neighbourhood of the Dee to the estuary of the Severn. The only authority, however, for the extension of this tribe south of Wroxeter (Viroconium) is the position given to their town, Devana; and here there is certainly some mistake. The mention of the twentieth legion proves that Devana is identical with the Deva of the Itinerary (Chester), and therefore has been placed 2° too far south. It seems likely, however, that the situation ascribed to Devana is really that of some other Cornavian town accidentally omitted in Ptolemy's list. Possibly some similar accident may be the cause of the error in the position of Isca, which is unquestionably Exeter, although Ptolemy's figures would seem to favour Mr. Gordon Hills's singular identification of it with Dorchester.

Ptolemy places the south coast of Ireland fully 5° too high in latitude. This fact confirms the view which we have already seen to be probable, that Ptolemy's information respecting Britain came to him in the form of three separate maps, without any indication of their mutual relation. His map is not far wrong with regard to the average length and breadth of the island, but the length is made to run north-east and south-west, instead of north and south, and the outline of the coast is so inaccurate that many of the points admit of no secure identification. The shape of the north coast, however, is fairly recognisable. Robogdium is Fair Head; the river Argita is the Bann, and the Vidua the Foyle; and Vennicium is Malin Head. Of the west side of the island scarcely anything can be said. The Senus corresponds in name, though not in position, with the Shannon, and the north and south capes are respectively the Bloody Foreland and one of the headlands of Kerry. On the south, the river Dabrona (compare the Deveron in Scotland) answers in position to the Blackwater, and the Birgus both in position and in name to the Barrow. The Brigantes, whose territory borders on the Barrow, seem to have taken their name from the river, and to have no connection with the Brigantes of Aluvion. The Sacred Cape is clearly Carnsore Point.

On the east side of the island the Buvinda is clearly the Boyne. Ptolemy's orthography shows that the name expressed the singular meaning of "white cow." There is here no doubt some mythological reference, which meets us again in the common Irish name of Inisbofin, the "island of the white cow." The

Logia would seem to be the Lagan or Logan at Belfast ; the Vinderius, from its position, may be identified with Strangford Lough, and the cape Isamnium with St. John's Point. Dr. Joyce, however, identifies Isamnium with Rinn Seimhne, which he states to be the old Irish name of Island Magee. The coincidence of name is certainly striking, but as Island Magee is some miles north of Belfast Lough, while Ptolemy's Isamnium is placed a long way south of it, it is difficult to accept the identification. It seems worth while to inquire whether it is quite certain that the Rinn Seimhne of the ancient documents is the same with Island Magee. The river Oboca is probably the Liffey, although the name (under the form Ovoca or Avoca) has been in modern times conferred on a poetically celebrated river in Wicklow county. The Modonus (Irish *meadhon*, middle), if its name had been preserved, would now be Maine or Moyne. No such river-name, however, is to be found in this neighbourhood, and from its situation the Modonus would seem to correspond with the Vartry. The current identification of the town of Eblana with Dublin seems to have no foundation. The names certainly are not identical, and there is no evidence that any town existed in Roman times on the site of the present Irish capital. The island Edrus, marked by Ptolemy as uninhabited, is proved by its name to represent the peninsula of Howth, in Irish Ben *Edar*. The other uninhabited island off this coast, Limnus, may perhaps be Lambay, although in that case the relative situations of Edrus and Limnus have been reversed.

Ptolemy's names of the interior cities and the tribal territories of Ireland do not call for special notice. The only one of his names which seems still to survive is that of the Nagnatæ, which Dr. Joyce finds in the last syllable of Connaught.

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XX.—*On the Coptic Churches of Old Cairo.* By JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON,  
*Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

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Read May 19, 1881.

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THE site of El-Fustât, or Old Cairo, lies about a mile and a half from the modern city, on the plain between the Nile and the Mokattam hills.

With the exception of the Coptic churches and monasteries little of it now remains, and its site is covered by great heaps of rubbish full of fragments of pottery of various dates.

The Coptic churches are grouped together in "dayrs," or inclosures surrounded by high walls, into which there is only one small entrance; these walls were to protect the Copts from the attacks of the Moslem population.

The larger dayrs are labyrinths of narrow streets, composed of monastic buildings and other Coptic houses, and among these the churches stand, generally almost hidden by the surrounding buildings.

In one instance the remains of a large Roman fortress, called "Bahylon,"<sup>a</sup> have been used for the inclosing walls: this is the largest of the dayrs, and contains six or seven churches, the principal of which is Abou Sergeh.

CHURCH OF ABOU SERGEH (ST. SERGIUS), OLD CAIRO.

Abou Sergeh is a good representative example of the usual plan of a Coptic church. (See Pl. XXIX.)

The general arrangement is as follows: It has a central nave with elliptical apse at the east end, and north and south aisles two stories high. This second story does not, however, extend over the easternmost bay of the north aisle, or the square chapel at its eastern end, but stops short at the pair of columns by the

<sup>a</sup> It was from this fortress that the mediæval name for Cairo—Babylon—was derived. In romances of the Middle Ages the "Sultan of Babylon" usually means the Sultan of Egypt.

pulpit. This eastern bay thus forms a north transept, with roof nearly as high as that of the nave, though on plan it does not project beyond the line of the north aisle wall. The south aisle, on the other hand, is in two stories along its whole length, the upper floor even extending over its eastern apsidal end. West of the nave and aisles there is, in the centre, a large narthex; and, at the end of the north aisle, a chapel with apsidal termination to the north. There was probably once a similar chapel at the west end of the south aisle, but this has been destroyed, and in its place there is now a somewhat complicated system of entrances and porches, which were obviously not part of the original building. The narthex and chapel are, like the aisles, two stories high, and have a flat roof at the same level as the aisle-roofs.

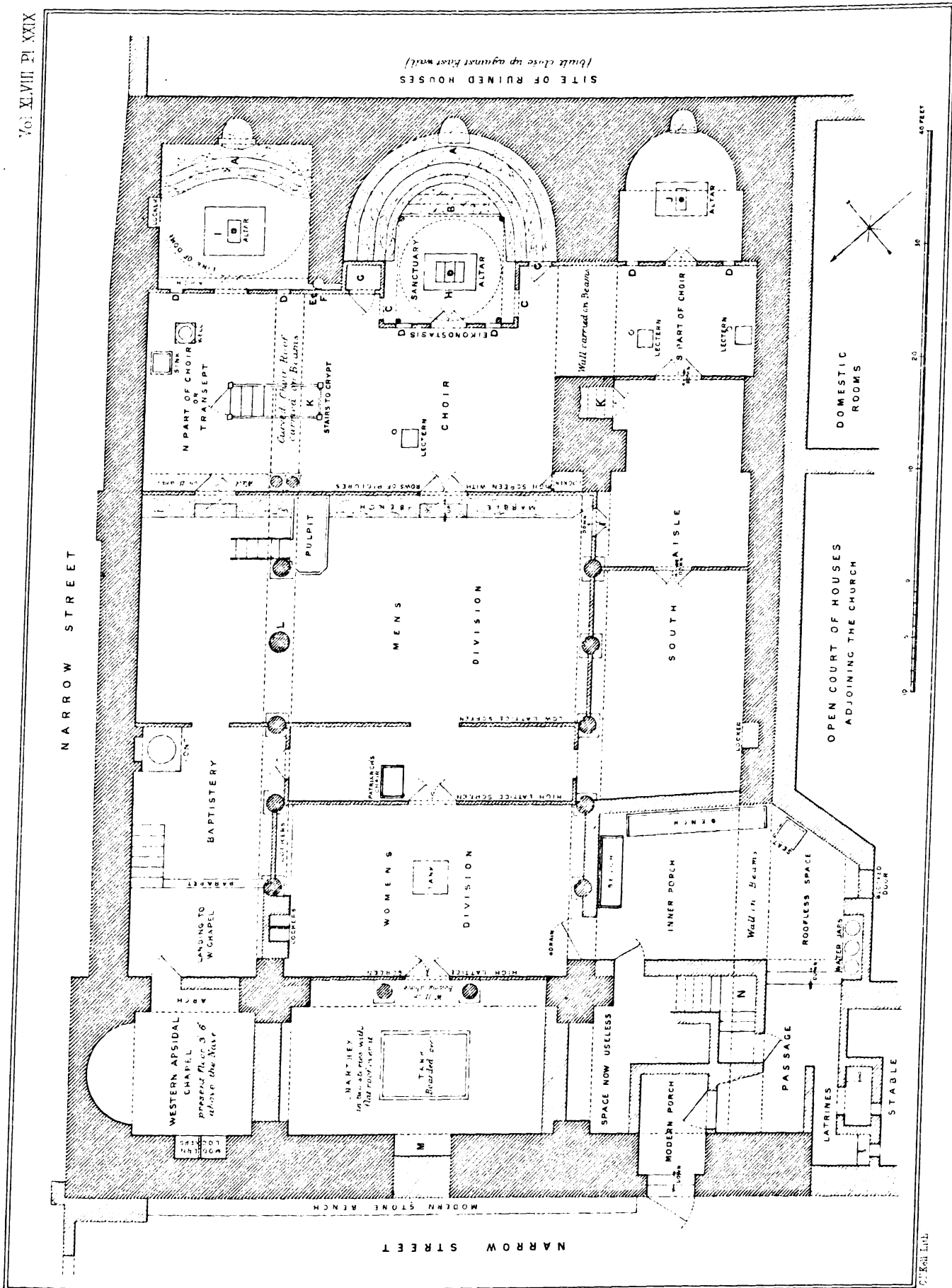
The general plan is one which has been largely adopted for the early basilicas, both of the Eastern and Western Churches. Examples very nearly identical in form and date with this Coptic church are to be found in great numbers among the early Christian churches of Central Syria. (See Count De Vogüe, *La Syrie Centrale*.) As, for instance, at El-Barah, Baquoza, Qualb-Louzeh, and Tourmanin; all these churches have an apsidal nave, aisles with eastern chapels, and a western narthex. They date from the sixth and seventh centuries.

The resemblance, however, between the Syrian and Coptic churches extends no further than the plan. All those above named are built of large carefully worked stones, generally have arches with wide spans, and always have numbers of windows, and a considerable amount of external decoration.

At Constantinople the church of St. Irene has a similar plan, and at Cassaba in Lycia, and at Myra (St. Nicholas), we find a plan originally the same, but further developed by the grouping of additional chapels and porches round the west end.

Western examples are not less numerous. To take a few from among the churches of Rome, we may note St. Niccolo-in-Carcere, St. Giovanni by the Porta Latina, St. Pietro-in-Vincoli, Sta. Sabina, and Sta. Agnese-fuori-le-mura, all of which were originally almost exactly the same in arrangement as the church of Abou Sergeh, though in some cases later alterations have modified the old arrangement.

Mr. Edwin Freshfield has shown in an interesting paper on Byzantine churches (printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. XLIV. p. 383, *seq.*) that the arrangement of three apses at the end of Greek churches is not older than the time of Justinian II., and that it was then first introduced to suit the ritual connected with a new



COPTIC CHURCH OF ABU SERGEH,—OLD CAIRO.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1854.*



processional hymn. This rule would not apply to Coptic churches, as in them the three apses were provided to find space for the three important altars at the east end; and not, as in the Greek church, simply for one altar with the prothesis and diaconicon at its sides.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to come to any decided opinion as to the date at which the church of Abou Sergeh was built. Setting aside the screens and other fittings, which are all much later than the main structure, there is little in way of carving or ornament of any kind to assist in fixing the century to which the church belongs; nearly all the columns and richly-carved capitals being fragments taken from earlier Roman buildings and thus affording no clue. On the whole, judging from the appearance of the nave arcade, and the semi-classical style of those few carved caps which appear specially made for their position, I think we shall not be far wrong in assigning this church to the eighth century, in spite of the Coptic tradition which declares its founding to have been two centuries earlier.

*Outside.*—The appearance of this church, seen from outside, like all Coptic churches, is in no way striking. It is a plain rectangular building, about 100 × 60 ft. outside, without buttresses or decoration of any kind; the side walls are pierced by no windows, and the only openings to admit light are two triangular windows fitted with wooden lattice-work, which fill up the spandrels of the roof in the western and eastern gables.

The only entrances were either two or three plain square-headed doorways in the west wall, only one of which is now used, the others being carefully built up.

The church is built of small hard bricks, light brown in colour; shaped, not after the Roman fashion, but much like a modern English brick, only smaller. Pieces of bond timber are built in at irregular intervals of from 2 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. up the whole height of the wall. The wood is that of the palm or tamarisk.

This excessive plainness of the exterior, which is common to all the Coptic churches of Old Cairo, may be accounted for by the fact of their being almost always surrounded on two or three sides by high houses, built close up against them, while the free side or sides are in streets so narrow that it is impossible from any point to get a general view of the whole. For the same reason even the main roof, which is high in pitch, is practically invisible from the ground outside.

The dedication of this church is to Abou Sergeh or St. Sergius, a very favourite

saint in the East, especially in Russia. There is near Moscow a very large monastery dedicated to him, which, like the *dayr*, in which this church stands, is a small town surrounded by walls, and containing many churches and streets of monastic buildings.

The orientation of Abou Sergeh is not quite true, its axis pointing almost exactly south-east.

It will be well to describe first the main structure of the church, and then to pass on to its fittings and the changes that have been made.

*Nave.*—The nave arcade consists of monolithic columns about 16 inches in diameter, of marble, nearly white, with grey streaks, apparently the same material as that *cippolino* which is used so largely in Italy, and especially among the slabs which cover the outside of St. Mark's at Venice. These columns have both diminution and entasis, and must once have formed part of some Roman building.

The capitals, of the same material, are in style a sort of debased Corinthian, such as was much used by the Romans in the third and fourth centuries A.D. The bases also are classical, with *astragal*, *scotia*, and *torus*; they stand on square pedestals; both are of the same marble as the columns.

On most of these columns, on the side towards the nave, there is a small deeply-cut cross, which looks like a consecration cross.

Dim traces still remain of a nearly life-sized figure of a saint painted on all these marble shafts. At the point marked L on the plan there is one column different from the rest, which is perhaps a later insertion, owing to the fracture of the original slender marble one. It is larger than the others, being 22 inches in diameter, and is made of red granite from the quarries near Philæ. It has no traces of paint. The pair of small marble columns near the pulpit have, instead of proper bases, two fine Corinthian capitals turned upside down; their capitals are bell-shaped, of the usual early Moslem form.

On the *abaci* of the columns there rests a continuous wooden architrave, formed of two beams, side by side; and in order to distribute the bearing there are short flat pieces of wood between the cap and the architrave, projecting a few inches beyond the abacus. (See sections, Pl. XXX). This wooden architrave, which, in spite of its great age, seems perfectly preserved, is ornamented the whole way along, on the side towards the nave, with a painted inscription in Arabic; and its soffit is decorated with a graceful arabesque design in various colours—now much faded.



The arches of the nave arcade which rest on the wooden architrave are pointed arches of a common Moslem form, much stilted. They are very narrow in span, so that a considerable mass of solid brick wall comes above each nave column. They are square in section, and devoid of any moulding or other kind of ornament; like the rest of the internal walls of the church, they are plastered and whitewashed. This whitewash probably conceals further polychromatic decoration like that on the architraves.

This curious combination of the *trabeated* and *arched* constructions, which is common to most of the Coptic churches of Old Cairo, suggests the manner in which the transition from one form to the other was effected. The ancient Greeks, who employed a *pyknostyle* or *eustyle* inter-columniation, had little difficulty in finding single architrave stones of ample strength to carry the weight above. The Romans, who preferred a wider or more *araeostyle* intercolumniation, resorted frequently to the device of building concealed relieving arches over the long bearings of their architraves. From this arrangement to that of having the relieving arches *open* the transition would be easy, and the result would then be the form we see here; except that here the architrave is of wood. A slight widening of the span of the arches, thus reducing the impost to a size that would rest conveniently on the abacus of the capital, would do away with the necessity of having any architrave at all, and complete the development to a purely arched form of construction.

At the church of Santa-Maria-in-Trastevere, Rome, there is a parallel instance of continuous architraves, with pierced brick-relieving arches over them. In this case the architraves are of marble, the series of brick-relieving arches occupy the place of the frieze, and above comes the marble cornice. This is now concealed by a recent "restoration."

One may observe throughout the church of Abou Sergeh a marked avoidance of any arched construction, the walls in many places being carried on wooden beams, in spite of the length of the bearings and the considerable thickness of the wall above, a thing which in a European climate would long ago have seriously endangered the stability of the fabric. The plans show these various instances of walls resting on long lintels.

Above the main nave arcade there are large square-headed openings in the wall supported by plain piers, and small marble shafts which carry a straight wooden lintel.

These large openings communicate with the upper story over the aisles and narthex. This upper floor, besides having altars at its eastern ends, may probably, like the similar upper floor at Sta. Agnese and S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, near Rome, and other early basilicas, have served as a *matroneum*, or place where the women of the congregation could assist at the service below, without mixing with, or even being seen by, the male part of the congregation.

At present these openings are built up (at least in Abou Sergeh—in many other Coptic churches they remain open), and the whole upper story of the church is divided into rooms, and used for domestic purposes by the families of the priests. In the thin walls which block up these openings there are projecting lattice windows to admit light and air into the rooms, not to enable the women to join in the service, the modern Coptic custom being to screen off the western part of the nave on the ground floor for the exclusive use of the women.

The upper apsidal chapel at the south-east angle of the church is roofed with a dome.

*Nave Roof.*—The nave roof has framed principals of rather complicated construction, about seven feet apart. They have king-post, collar-beam, queen-posts, and tie-beam, with various struts. (See section, Pl. XXX.)

The whole is put together without any metal work, the tenons being pinned through by flat wooden bolts, secured at both ends by wedges which pass through them at each end. The queen-posts are double, and lie flat against and on each side of the other timbers. There are no purlins, but the small rafters run longitudinally. The whole of the various roofs throughout the church are covered with a coarse cement, through which the ends of king-posts and tie-beams project.

*Pavement.*—The present level of the nave floor is three feet below that of the ground outside; the whole pavement consists of large slabs of a hard siliceous limestone from some neighbouring quarries, with the exception of some pieces of white marble let in irregularly round the water-tanks.

*Choir.*—The long bench, with its steps between nave and choir, is also of white marble; from the line of these steps to the chord of the apse (*i.e.* the main part of the choir) the roof is different to that over the nave; it is a curved wagon-roof, with queen-posts, struts, and tie-beam; it is framed in the same way as that over the nave (see section, Pl. XXX). The junction between these two roofs is managed very awkwardly.

*Sanctuary.*—The sanctuary, or *Hékel* as the Copts call it, corresponds to the

Greek βῆμα or ἱερατεῖον; it consists of the space in the central apse, to which additional area is given by the way in which the *iconostasis* projects westward into the choir.

Though the present *iconostasis* is certainly not original, yet it probably occupies the exact place of the old one; in fact, without this projection westwards, there would not be room for the altar and its ministers. Round the apse are four tiers of white marble seats (A), to the lowest of which access is given by three marble steps going straight across (B). In the centre, and raised a little above the highest of the curved lines of seats, is the *cathedra* or bishop's throne, formed in a niche with pointed arch, much enriched with very beautiful minute mosaic work of marble, mother-of-pearl, and coloured enamels. Round the whole apse the wall is panelled with marble for several feet above the highest range of seats.

I have called the four marble tiers "seats," but I think that probably the two lower ranges are steps, and that only the two upper and wider tiers are seats. It would hardly have looked dignified for priests to be sitting on the lowest row with their feet dangling in the air.

These seats and the *cathedra* are not now used for any purpose except to put pictures on.

Many basilicas, in Italy especially, have precisely this arrangement of seats and central throne. Perhaps the best preserved instance, and the one which most closely resembles that of Abou Sergeh, is the little basilica of Torcello, near Venice. There the whole plan is very much the same as this Coptic example, and the apsidal seats, throne, and straight steps across are exactly the same as those described above. The only instance I know of where the *cathedra* is regularly used whenever the bishop pontificates is at the cathedral of Gerona, in Spain; the throne there is cut out of one block of marble; thirteen steps lead up to it.

Father Goar, a missionary in the East during the seventeenth century (see Goar's *Rituale Græcorum*), describes this arrangement in the Greek churches thus: "Retro altare in apsidis sinu sedes sacerdotibus Pontifici assistantibus et simul celebrantibus sunt exstructæ. In medio thronum eminentiorem obtinet Pontifex, quem Chrysostomus in Liturgiâ τὴν ἄνω καθέδραν recte intelligit."

The sanctuary floor is not raised above that of the choir, and there is no step up to the altar.

*South Aisle.*—As before mentioned, the whole of this aisle is in two stories: the under-side of the upper floor is quite plain, with roughly hewn main-beams and joists. On this side of the church a massive pier does the work of the pair of

slender marble columns on the north; its use is not very apparent: one of the stairs to the crypt passes through it.

In the centre of the eastern apse of this aisle there is one marble recessed seat, but no ranges of seats as on the north side.

The west end of the south aisle has been cut off by a later wall to form an inner porch, and other alterations at this part of the church have caused the complete destruction of the chapel which once probably existed still further west.

*North-East Chapel.*—This chapel, unlike the others, has a rectangular east end. There is a central recessed throne, and three ranges of seats (A), or possibly one of seats and two steps carried not straight across, but in a curved line; all are of marble.

This chapel is roofed with a dome, slightly oval on plan; it has pendentives decorated with Moslem *stalactite* work in stucco.

On the north side there is a small window immediately under the dome: the opening between this little chapel and the main church is formed by a high pointed arch.

*North Aisle and North-West Chapel.*—At the west end of this aisle is the chapel with a northern apse, mentioned above; it is to be observed that neither this apse nor those at the east end are visible outside the church, but are, as it were, formed in the thickness of the wall.

At present the floor of this western chapel is raised about 3 feet 6 inches above the nave pavement, and access to it is given by a large landing and flight of steps in the adjoining aisle.

The priests of the church assert that the space beneath is a tomb, and it is possible that this landing was formed, and the floor of the chapel raised, when some holy personage was buried underneath. At the same time walls were built closing up the south and east sides of the chapel, so that it is now without any natural light, and practically quite useless. There are some signs of its once having had a western external doorway at the ground level, probably corresponding to the present door on the south, but the indications are not very clear; and I have not ventured to show it on the plan; at present two aumbries occupy what may have been the head of this doorway.

The analogy of other early churches with a similar plan would certainly lead one to suppose that there were originally three western entrances.

In the north-western apse are remains, much injured, of figures of saints, nearly life-size, painted in tempera on stucco: these are very early in character, and appear almost, if not quite, contemporary with the building itself.

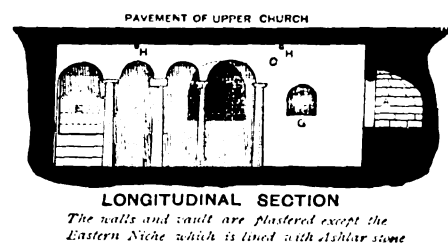
It seems probable that the font originally stood in this apse, and that this chapel formed the baptistery. The present font which stands in the north aisle near the stairs up to this chapel is obviously of no great antiquity. It is, like most Coptic fonts, in shape and size very like a modern scullery copper, and is made of brickwork covered with plaster; behind it, against the wall, is a projection, into which is sunk a shallow recess with pointed arch to hold the chrismatory.

*Narthex*.—This is marked off from the nave by two marble columns which carry on a wood lintel the wall of the story above.

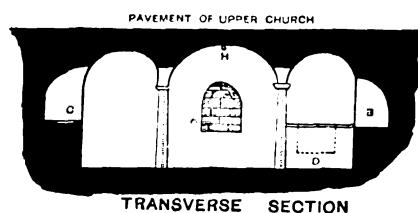
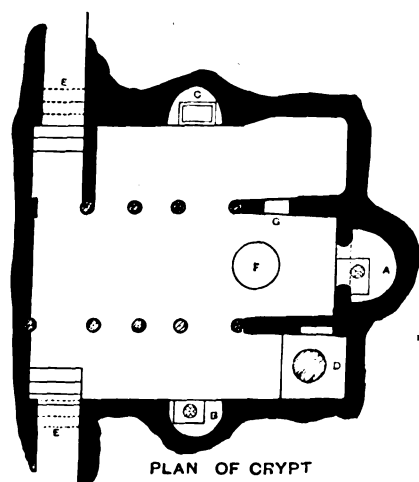
There was originally a central western entrance here, but it is now blocked up (M).

*Crypt*.—Perhaps the most interesting and certainly the least altered part of the original church is the crypt, dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

It is a small chapel about 20 feet long by 17 feet wide, divided by arcades



ABU SERGEH  
CRYPT UNDER MAIN CHURCH  
DEDICATED TO THE B.V. MARY



- A Central Altar.
- B Side Altar.
- C Recess with Marble slab slightly sunk.
- D Font.
- E Stairs to Upper Church.
- F Circular Sink of Marble (see Virgin's well?).
- G Spout between North Aisle and Nave.
- H H Iron rings for hanging lamps.

10 5 0 5 10 Feet

into nave and aisles. Its central axis coincides with that of the upper church, and it occupies a position partly under the choir and partly under the *Hékel*.

Its exact position with reference to the church above is shown on the plans by the two flights of steps leading down to it from the choir. The pavement of the crypt is 8 ft. 9 in. below that of the choir.

This little crypt is vaulted in three spans by a plain, rudely-built waggon-vault with a very depressed curve. (See transverse section.) This vault and all the wall-surface is covered with plaster, so that it is impossible to be sure whether any part of it is excavated in the rock or whether the whole is built up. I believe the latter to be the case; though, at the same time, it appears clear that this chapel was always a subterranean place, and that it has not become a crypt (like the original oratory of S. Clemente in Rome) by the accumulation for centuries of soil around and above it.<sup>a</sup>

The arcade of the crypt is formed of slender marble columns averaging about 5 feet in height; some of them have evidently belonged to some earlier building, and their variety in height is made up by different sized capitals.

One column has half a fine Corinthian capital used as a base, and has a late classical cap; another has at the top a cubical piece of white marble; the rest have almost shapeless capitals of different thicknesses. On the south side there is one twisted shaft, evidently not classical, and probably of the same date as the crypt itself. At the east end of the nave is the high altar; this is a recess nearly semi-circular in plan, with a half-domed head; it opens into the nave by a round arch; the bottom of this recess is 2 ft. 4½ in. from the floor; it is formed of various pieces of white marble about 1½ in. thick. On one of them there is a deeply-carved floriated cross in a circle 13 in. in diameter. The back and semi-dome of this niche are carefully built in closely-jointed ashlar work of fine yellow limestone. This is the only bit of ashlar stone now visible either in the crypt or upper church. In front of this altar there is a circular slab of white marble 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter let into the pavement, which, like that of the church above, is made of hard flags of limestone.

It is to be observed that the high altar of the upper church is so placed as to

<sup>a</sup> The present level of the nave of the upper church is now about ten feet below the ground outside the Roman bastions which form the enclosing wall of the dayr.

The pediment and architrave of one of the principal Roman entrances is still visible above the ground outside; the whole of the opening itself being buried in the sand, which, on the great plain where Old Cairo once stood, is always being heaped up by the driving wind, wherever any solid obstacle forms a check to its further movement. If we give a height of ten feet to this buried doorway (the width of which makes this a probable dimension) we shall make the ground level of the old Roman fortress coincide with the present level of the nave of the church: and this I believe to have been the case.

be exactly over this circular slab, and it appears probable that it covers the sacred well, by the side of which the Holy Family are said to have rested on the occasion of the flight into Egypt. The priests of Abou Sergeh are now quite ignorant of the meaning of this slab, which is now cemented down and cannot be raised. Over it, fixed in the vault, there is an iron ring, from which a lamp was once hung, and further west there is another; round both these rings the vault is blackened with smoke.

Between the nave and north aisle there is a sort of squint, but not splayed towards the altar.

In the middle of the south wall of the south aisle there is another recess with marble altar-slab, carved with a foliated cross, very like that at the east end, except that the recess itself is smaller.

At the east end of the south aisle there is a font which, like that in the upper church, resembles a modern copper.

On the north side of it there is a shallow recess in the wall, probably to hold the chrism bottles.

In the middle of the north wall there is a niche corresponding almost exactly to that on the south; but, instead of the slab with consecration cross, it has in it a rectangular slab about 2 ft.  $\times$  1 ft. 10 in., of white marble, like the others, but it is hollowed to the depth of nearly an inch, thus forming a sort of square shallow dish. It has no drain or aperture of any kind, and its precise use is perhaps impossible to discover. It may have been simply a credence or table of prothesis for the bread and wine; or possibly it was intended for a kneading-trough, in which to make the corban or sacramental bread.

The eastern part of the north aisle is widened out, but there is no altar or recess at the end.

*Present Fittings of the Church.*—As will be seen from a glance at the plan, the church is now divided up into many parts by a complicated arrangement of screens. None of these appear to be older than the sixteenth century, while some are much later; and I do not think that the arrangement they are intended to provide for was in any respect that of the original church.

The nave proper is divided into three parts: the eastern compartment for the men of the congregation, the western for the women, and a narrow intermediate space in which stands a large wooden chair for the patriarch.

This western position on the ground floor of the nave has probably only been assigned to the women since they ceased to occupy the upper story over the aisles and narthex.

This upper story opened so freely into the nave, and must have afforded so complete a view of the services there, that it is impossible to doubt that, in part at least, it was intended for the use of sharers in the worship below.

Another screen divides the south aisle into two nearly equal parts. At present this division appears quite useless.

There are also other screens, which cut off the baptistery and narthex.

*Iconostasis*.—The most important screen of all is the *iconostasis*, which cuts off the sanctuary and the two eastern chapels from the *Chorus Cantorum*.

This probably occupies the place of a much earlier *iconostasis*; it has fitted into it five panels of a hard, dark wood, carved with reliefs of the Last Supper, the Nativity, and three saints on horseback, called by the priests St. Mark, St. Sepheyn, and St. Girghis,<sup>a</sup> which, judging from their style, may be contemporary with the church itself.<sup>b</sup>

The present *iconostasis* is a high, close screen, richly decorated with minutely-moulded panel-work, carving, and inlay of ivory and various woods. Above one of the doors is a modern Arabic inscription, inlaid in ivory, with the date A. H. 1195 (A.D. 1816), and above a Coptic inscription, "Greeting to the Church of the Father."

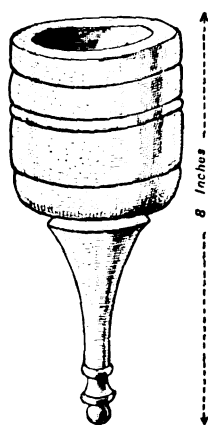
Above, at the top, there is a row of rude pictures painted in tempera on panel covered with gesso; none of these appear older than the sixteenth century.

The central door into the sanctuary (Greek, *ὡραία πύλη*) is in two valves, and has hung in front of it a silk curtain, embroidered with a large cross and other ornaments. On each side of this central door there is a small square window, with a sliding shutter, and on the north and south sides of the projecting part of the *iconostasis* there are sliding doors.

Small low doors on both sides communicate with the space under the tiers of marble seats; this is a narrow arched passage, and is now used as a place of concealment for the vessels of the altar.

The parts of the *iconostasis* that screen off the north and south chapels have each a central curtained door, between sliding windows (DDDD), like those (DD) to the *Hékel*.

Between the *Hékel* and the north chapel there is fastened on to the *iconostasis* a small wooden cup, in which the wine-cruet is kept. (E).



WOODEN CUP ON  
ICONOSTASIS.

<sup>a</sup> St. George of Cappadocia.

<sup>b</sup> The British Museum possesses a very fine and interesting series of carved reliefs from a Coptic *iconostasis* very similar in style and date to those in Abou Sergeh.



*Choir Screen.*—The next screen, passing westward, is a sort of second *iconostasis*. It is a high, close screen, ornamented like that just described, and has a similar row of pictures fixed along the top. It has folding-doors in the centres of the nave and aisles: the space between it and the sanctuary-screen forms the choir, the western limit of which is also defined by a marble bench, 1 ft. 8 in. high, with two steps opposite each door in the second screen, which stands upon it.

*Third Screen.*—The next compartment, that used by the men, has on the west a low lattice screen, about 4 ft. 6 in. high, made of delicately-moulded framing, filled in with open patterns, composed of small pieces of wood, turned with a string and bow. This sort of lattice-work is the same as that which, up to about the end of the last century, was commonly used for harem and other windows in the houses of Cairo, Damascus, and many other eastern cities; since then, unfortunately, the introduction of European glass has almost entirely superseded this beautiful woodwork. The northern extension of this screen serves to divide the present baptistery from the rest of the north aisle. On the south side the men's compartment is cut off from the aisle by a high, close screen, on which are fixed pictures like those on the *iconostasis*.

In this division stands the pulpit, which is of wood, richly decorated with intricate patterns and inlay.

The next compartment is very narrow, and appears to serve no other purpose than to contain the modern patriarch's throne, which is a large wooden chair, the back and sides of which are ornamented with open lattice-work: another use of this compartment may be to make the division between the men and women of the congregation more complete.

West of this, the next compartment is for the women: the screens which bound it on the east and west sides are high, and are formed of open lattice-work, like the others.

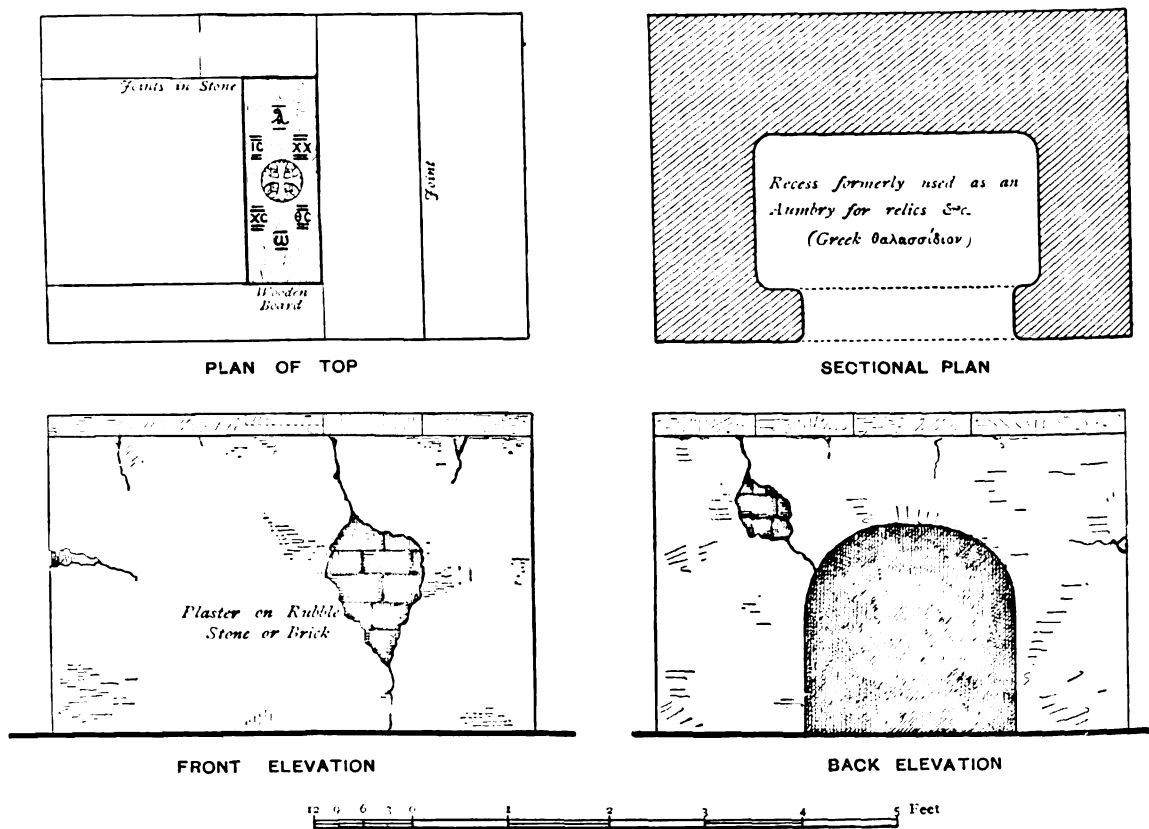
On the north there is a row of lockers, or aumbries, now disused; and on the south is the modern inner porch.

*Altars.*—As is shown on the Plan, there are three altars (H.I.J.) on the ground-floor of the church; and, judging from the analogy of other Coptic churches, there were others at the east ends of the upper story, over the aisles. These were all real altars for the celebration of mass, and not (like the Greek *prothesis* and *diaconicon*) merely *credences* on which the various vessels and vestments were placed. This old use of many altars has, to a great extent, passed away, and in the present degraded form of Coptic worship only the high altar is regularly

used; the side-chapels being mostly utilised only as lumber-rooms and receptacles for dirt and rubbish.

The general peculiarities of these altars are always the same, though there is considerable variety in their sizes, which vary from 4 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. 6 in. in length, 3 ft. to 4 ft. 4 in. in width, and from 2 ft. 10 in. to 3 ft. 4 in. in height. The high altar is not always the largest. They are built either of brick or rubble masonry, plastered, and are formed hollow with an opening at the back.

This hollow was probably meant originally to hold relics, or sacred vessels, but is now simply a dust-hole.



USUAL FORM OF ALTAR IN COPTIC CHURCHES.

The *mensa* is not composed of one slab of stone, as in the Latin churches, but is made up of several pieces, and does not project beyond the body of the altar. In the middle of this mensa there is formed a rectangular sinking, about 1 inch deep and 2 feet long by 9 inches wide, into which a wooden board, generally

the same size as the sinking, is laid, but not fixed. This board is nearly always about the size shown here.

On the centre of this board is incised a cross within a circle; above the cross the letters A. and IC. XX. and below it XC. ΘC. and Ω.

This would read IHCOTC XPICTOC, XPICTOC ΘEOC; but these letters are usually more or less blundered.

At the celebration of mass the chalice and paten are placed on this slab of wood—a curious reversal of the Latin custom, which required the *super-altar*, if there was one, to be of stone, and the modern Roman custom of having wooden altars with a piece of stone let in to the top.

The object of having this slab of wood may possibly have been to prevent injury to the chalice and paten from being set on the hard stone: at present the whole altar is always vested with a tight-fitting silk cover, which makes the wooden board, in this respect, useless.

The high altar of Abou Sergeh stands under a domed baldacchino (Greek *κιβώριον*), which rests on four slender marble columns: the dome is of wood and plaster, once decorated with painting. In many Coptic churches, side-altars, as well as the high altar, have a baldacchino over them. There is at present no trace of the old custom of having curtains hung round them.<sup>a</sup>

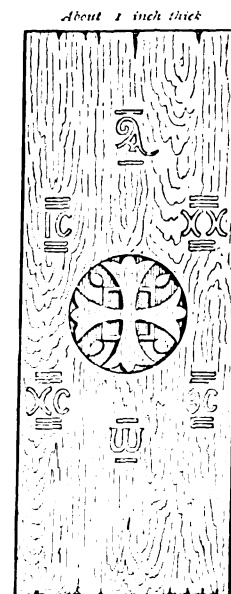
The Coptic custom of making the altars hollow was also observed in the Greek Church, and to some extent in the early altars of the West.

Ardon, Abbé of Aniane, who died A.D. 821, describes the altar of St. Saviour's at Aniane as being formed with a sort of aumbry in it. He says, "Altare illud forinsecus est solidum, ab intus autem cavum retrorsum habens ostiolum, quo privatis diebus inclusæ tenentur capsæ cum diversis reliquiis Patrum." (See Thiers' *Les Principaux Autels des Eglises*, p. 20, ed. 1688; also Goar's *Rituale Græcorum*).

In the Greek Church this cavity was called τὸ θαλασσίδιον, because originally

<sup>a</sup> The one altar in a Greek church is called the *ἁγία τράπεζα* or *θυσιαστήριον*: the *prothesis* which stands on the north was so called because on it was laid the oblation of bread and wine before consecration.

The southern table, or *diaconicon*, was so called because by it stood the deacons and other ministers of the altar; on it are placed the censers, service-books, vestments of the celebrant, and other things required for mass.



WOODEN ALTAR-BOARD  
(Three times size of smaller drawing)

it was used as a *piscina*, but it appears to have kept the name even when it was used as an aumbry for relics or for the eucharistic vestments. "Vesperâ precedente, sanctum habitum suscepturi vestimenta ad sanctum altare asportantur, et in sanctæ mensæ gremio, seu mari (ἐν τῷ θαλασσιδίῳ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης) reponuntur." (Thiers, p. 33.)

It appears as if a similar practice in the West was alluded to as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century in Archbishop Bainbridge's Pontifical, where the following passage occurs in the rubric of the service for the consecration of altars: "Residuum veræ aquæ crismatæ fundat ad basim (altaris) in fossam ad hoc factam."

*Tanks for Ablution.*—Besides the Virgin's well in the crypt there is another well in the transept or north part of the choir. Its mouth is formed of an octagonal stone on a square base, about 1 ft. 8 in. across; by the side of it there is a sink hollowed in the pavement.

In the middle of the women's compartment there is a tank full of water, three feet square, boarded over; and in the narthex there is a large deep tank 6 ft. 2 in. by 8 ft. 2 in., also boarded over. Round these tanks there are pieces of marble let into the pavement, probably to prevent the splashings from the water sinking into the more porous stone of the main pavement.

Near the present entrance into the nave there is, in the floor, a hole connected with a drain.

The large tank in the *narthex* is used about midnight on the eve of the Festival of the *Gheetas*, January 18th, when the male part of the Coptic congregation plunge into it to commemorate the baptism of Christ. The others are used for ablutions before the services, and also for a ceremony when the priest washes the feet of some of the congregation. The atrium of the early Latin basilicas seems always to have had a well for the former of these uses; examples exist at S. Clemente, Rome, and S. Ambrogio, Milan.

*The Modern Alterations* are shown by the lighter tint on the plan. The whole south-west angle of the church has been considerably altered to suit the later habits and notions of the Coptic priests.

The two western bays of the south aisle have been cut off by walls, thus forming an inner porch; besides this a staircase to the floor above (N), now used for domestic purposes, and other walls have been built, so that the present entrance into the church is by a circuitous way, instead of the old direct doorways into the narthex.

This plan of avoiding a direct entrance is one which is always, if possible,

adopted in the houses of the Mahommedans, who are anxious that the inner court should not be visible from the street outside. The result of these alterations is that a great part of the south division of the narthex is now dark and useless. In the inner porch are two wooden benches and a large chair with lattice-work ornaments. A recess contains three receptacles, or settling-jars, for drinking-water.

The part of this porch that extends beyond the south wall of the original church is without a roof, and the upper part of the wall that has been broken through is carried on beams of wood. No trace remains to show the position of the original stairs to the upper floor.

Sta. Agnese-fuori-le-mura, Rome, the plan of which is almost exactly the same as that of Abou Sergeh, has winding-stairs in a square projection at the south-west angle of the nave, and this was probably the position here.

#### CHURCH FURNITURE.

*Lecterns.*—Of these there are three in the choir, each with a high, wooden candlestick by it; one is placed near the centre, and two in the southern part of the choir. They are square stands with a slightly sloping book-rest, and are made of wood, generally with fine panel-work, ivory inlay, inscriptions, and lattice ornament. The lower part generally forms a cupboard to hold the service-books.

They are placed facing east, not towards the congregation. Some have embroidered hangings, and stools inlaid with ivory.

*Vestments.*—Special priestly vestments are, as a rule, only worn at the service of the Mass, and then only while the priests are actually within the sanctuary. When officiating in the choir, or other parts of the church, they wear their ordinary oriental costume, with black turbans; these are not removed even within the *Hékel*, but the priests take off their shoes before they pass the door of the *iconostasis*. The vestments now in use do not exactly resemble any used in the west; there is nothing in shape precisely like a cope or chasuble, though both of these are represented in the earlier Coptic paintings. The present Mass vestment is something like a Dalmatic, and they also use richly-embroidered stoles and sleeve-like maniples, the *ἐπιμανίχια* of the Greek Church.

The dalmatic-like vestment is ornamented with figures of saints and flowing

patterns, either in *appliqué* work or else wholly embroidered in silk thread. The material of the ground is fine linen or sometimes silk.

Some churches have small square corporals, worked with a richly-embroidered cross.

The altar-coverings, which are of linen or silk, fit closely all over and round the four sides of the altar: they are embroidered in a similar way with figures of saints and angels, very rudely drawn, but executed with very minute stitches. No existing vestments appear to be of any great antiquity, few being older than the seventeenth century.

The curtains which hang in front of the doors of the *iconostasis* are generally of silk, embroidered with a large cross, figures of saints and angels, and Arabic or Coptic inscriptions. The cross on the central curtain is always kissed, and prostrations are made before it by the Copts when they first enter the church.

*Altar Plate.*—The chalice and paten are generally modern, and of no great interest. Sometimes European cut-glass is used, or else a quite plain cup and



SACRAMENTAL SPOON, of base silver, 7½ in. long, with dedicatory inscription in Arabic.

plate of silver. At the church of Tedrus, a seventeenth-century goblet of Spanish or Venetian glass was used for the chalice, and an earthenware dish of Seville ware for the paten. At the Communion the bread is put into the wine, and the two kinds administered together to both priests and laity in a spoon. These are quite plain in design, and generally have an engraved inscription commemorating the fact of their being gifts to the church, though the donor's name does not appear. One from Old Cairo has the following inscription, "A gift to the church of the glorious martyr, the Prince Tedrus, between the two hills: for it reward me, O Lord."

*Service-Books.*—These are nearly always MSS. and are written partly in Arabic and partly in Coptic; the Coptic is regarded as the hieratic language, and no other is used within the sanctuary; other parts of the services, and the rubrics of the mass itself, are written in Arabic.<sup>a</sup>

These MSS., few of which appear to be older than the sixteenth century, are

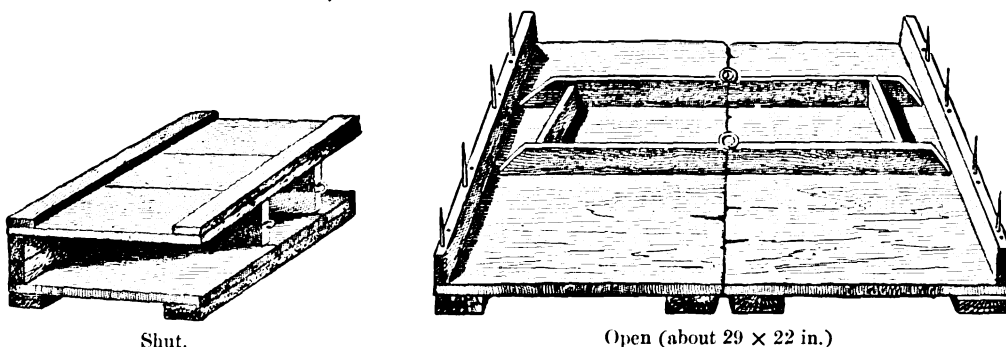
<sup>a</sup> As a rule, the earlier the MS. the less the Arabic used.

written on fine vellum-like paper, *carta bombycina*, or more rarely on parchment; the usual, and as a rule only, adornment that they have is the title, on which is painted a large foliated cross, with interlacing arabesque ornaments. Some churches possess large quantities of these MSS. which are generally heaped up among the dirt and rubbish in some unused corner of the church—often in the chapels at the end of the aisles.

*Tabernacles.*—After the consecration of the elements they are placed in a wooden box, gaudily decorated with scenes from the life of Christ and the saints. None of these appear of any great age.

The custom of reserving the Host does not now<sup>a</sup> exist among the Copts.

*Silver-cased Textus.*—It is the custom in nearly all the churches to have a MS. copy of the Gospels, covered on all sides with plates of silver, decorated with *repoussé* work. These plates are all fastened together with small nails, so that



WOODEN STAND FOR SILVER-CASED TEXTUS (ABOU TEDRUS).

the book can never be opened or even seen. At certain festivals this silver-cased book is brought out, and fitted into a rude wooden stand, which is placed in the choir, and has candles on prickets all round it. This silver-work is very coarse, and in no case older than the sixteenth or seventeenth century, while many examples are quite modern. The design has usually the emblems of the Evangelists and figures of cherubim among scroll-ornaments, with Coptic inscriptions. It is made by first hammering from behind a thin plate of silver bedded in elastic cement till it takes the required design; the plate is afterwards finished on the face with punches and gravers.

<sup>a</sup> Tradition says, that the custom of reservation was given up because a serpent once got into a Coptic church and devoured the Host.

*Crosses.*—In some churches fine processional crosses exist of silver *repoussé* work or else bronze, cast and then tooled. Some of these have Greek inscriptions.

There are also in all the churches a considerable number of small crosses made of silver, base white metal, or bronze; these are engraved with dedicatory inscriptions, and are held up by the priest when he blesses the people.

*The Pictures*, which exist in great numbers in all the churches, are of three kinds: First, the most ancient, are painted *a secco in tempera* on plaster or marble.

The best and earliest examples of these are nearly life-size figures of saints on the wall of the north-west apse of Abou Sergeh, and others on the marble columns of the nave arcade.

2nd. Paintings on panel covered with gesso, often with gold ground, come next in order of date: they are generally large half-length figures of Christ and the saints, or events from their lives: they are often painted with miniature-like delicacy; and in style resemble the works of painters of the early Sienese and Florentine schools, such as Buoninsegna and Cimabue.

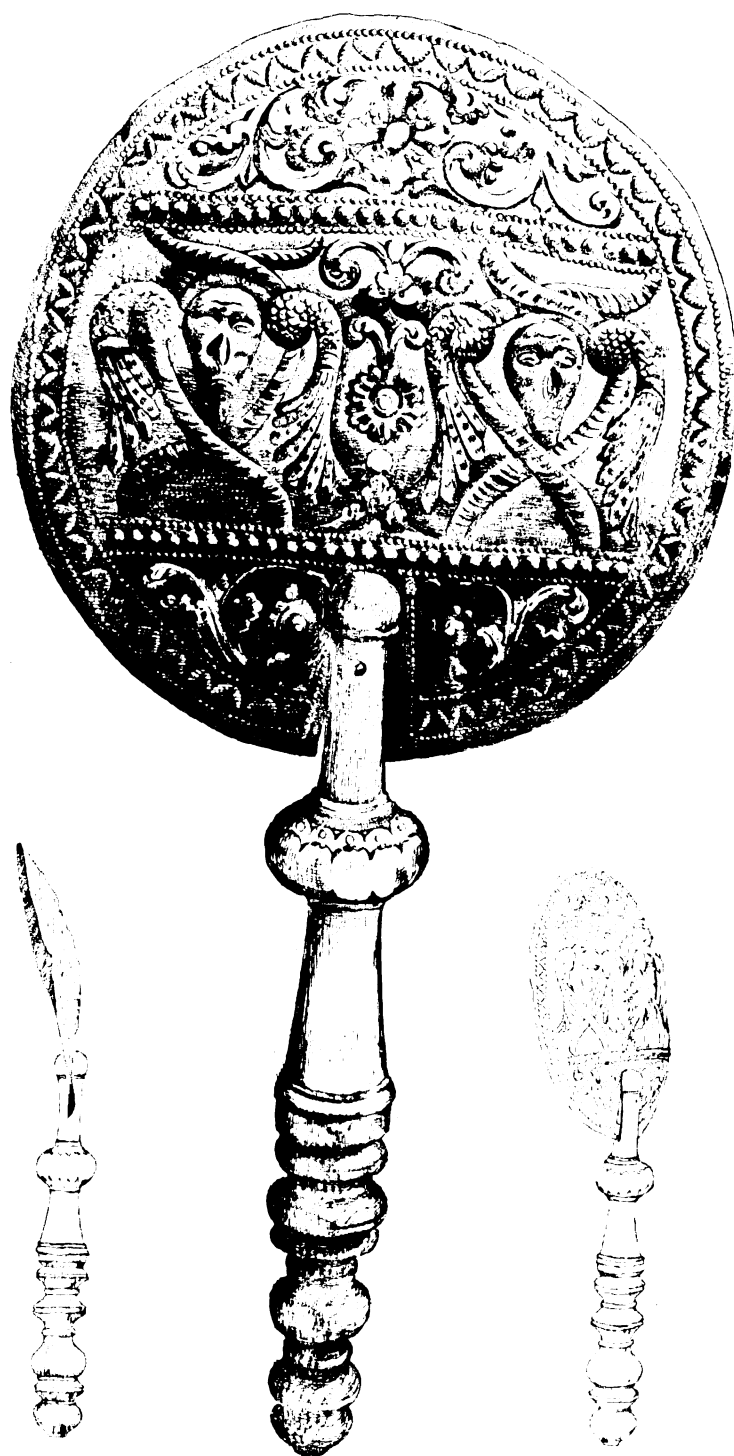
3rd. Paintings on canvas, chiefly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: these have little merit as works of art.

Besides the row of pictures on the *iconostasis*, which generally represent Christ and the Apostles, with incidents in the life of Our Lord, the favourite subjects seem to be St. George, St. Menas (two saints of this name), and St. Barbara. Pictures representing these and many other subjects are fixed at almost every part of the churches, and many are propped up against the apsidal seats and central throne.

Owing to the stereotyped style of art which has so long prevailed in the East, it is impossible to fix the dates of these various paintings. Even at the present time artists in Greece and Russia are producing works which have many of the characteristics of the thirteenth-century painters of Umbria or Florence—especially the peculiarity of the strong green tints in the flesh shadows.

*Fans* (Flabella).—These are thin silver disks *repoussé*, with rude figures of cherubim, and scroll-work ornaments like the coverings to the MS. Gospels. They are circular, about seven inches in diameter, and have a silver socket, into which is fitted a wooden handle (See Pl. XXXI.) They are not now used for their original purpose, but are stuck on iron prickets round the *textus-stand*; and little wax candles are fastened on the edges of the disks on those occasions when the silver-cased book is brought out, and exhibited as described above. In the Greek





*A. Coptic Fān or Flabellum*



Church fans of this sort, called *ῥιπίδια*, were used from very early times, and are still to some extent in use.

In the Liturgy of St. James two deacons, one at each end of the altar, were ordered to stand holding fans at the celebration of Mass, to keep flies from falling into the chalice.

A very interesting article by the late Mr. Albert Way in the *Archæol. Journ.* vol. v. p. 201, gives many examples of their use both in the Eastern and Western Churches. In early times *flabella* were commonly used in the Latin Church, and notices of them often occur in the inventories of cathedral and abbey churches. In England they are usually described as being made of peacock's feathers, but there are some instances of silver ones. A missal and a pontifical in the Rouen Library (see *Archæol. Journ.* vol. v. p. 205) have miniature paintings of the celebration of High Mass, in which the use of fans, closely resembling the Coptic ones, is shown.



ILLUMINATIONS FROM MSS. IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, ROUEN.<sup>a</sup>

Their use in the Middle Ages was not solely ecclesiastical. A French fourteenth-century MS. in the British Museum (20 B. 1, fol. 1) has a miniature of a king attended by a servant holding a metal fan with a long handle.

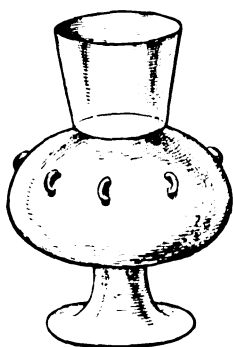
The Maronites still use fans at Mass very like the Coptic ones; they generally have little bells hung all round them.

*Censers and Incense Boxes.*—The censers now in use resemble in form those used in the West during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are made

<sup>a</sup> The Society is indebted for these two illustrations to the courtesy of Messrs. Parker and Co. of Oxford. See also Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* 1875, art. "Flabellum."

of base silver or bronze, ornamented with pierced and *repoussé* devices : as a rule they have three chains.<sup>a</sup>

Some of the boxes in which the stock of incense is kept are very gracefully ornamented. They are generally round, and are made of wood or ivory, richly carved with interlacing patterns and Arabic or Coptic inscriptions. A few are rectangular boxes, like a small tea-caddy, made of beaten silver, decorated in the same fashion as the fans and textus-covers.



GLASS LAMP OF ARAB FORM.  
(ABOU SERGEH.)

*Glass Lamps.*—Till within the last few years some of the Coptic churches possessed exceedingly beautiful glass lamps, made probably at Damascus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for the use of mosques ; they had sentences from the Koran, and very delicate arabesque patterns painted on them in enamel colours, some of which stand out in considerable relief.<sup>b</sup> None of these richly-ornamented lamps are still to be found in any of the churches of Old Cairo, though a few of plain clear glass, of graceful shapes but without ornament, still remain ; there is a fine large specimen in the church of Abou Sergeh ; it is only used on Good Friday.

*Musical Instruments.*—Cymbals, small bells struck with a piece of wood, and triangles, are used to accompany the hymns.

The commencement of the service is announced at some churches by the priest striking a large wooden board at the door. This is instead of a bell. Some few instances exist of bronze bells having been used, but they are rare, probably because the Mohammedan population have a great dislike to them.

*Candlesticks and Metal Lamps.*—Some of the hanging lamps are enriched with very beautiful work, *repoussé*, pierced and engraved. They are of silver and bronze, and are hung before the pictures, and at other places in the churches.

The tall, standing candlesticks by the lecterns are generally of wood with turned mouldings ; some few are of bronze or iron, with three branches and prickets.

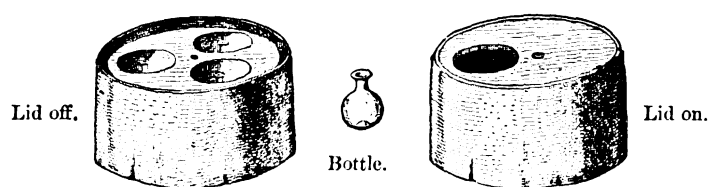
At the church of St. Menas there are two very curious bronze candelabra, set in niches before pictures. They are formed each of two winged dragons with

<sup>a</sup> For some early Coptic sacred vessels, see *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xxv. p. 242.

<sup>b</sup> A fine example from a church in Old Cairo was presented to the British Museum by A. W. Franks, Esq. F.S.A.

tails crossing; in the mouths and along the backs are rows of sockets for candles, seventeen in all. One of these appears to be sixteenth-century work, the other is a later copy.

*Chrismatory*.—In the church of Anba Shenouda there is a curious chrismatory, cut out of a solid cylindrical block of wood,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, in which are sunk three holes, which contain three little glass bottles for oils. The lid revolves on a central pivot, and has one hole in it so that only one bottle is exposed at once.

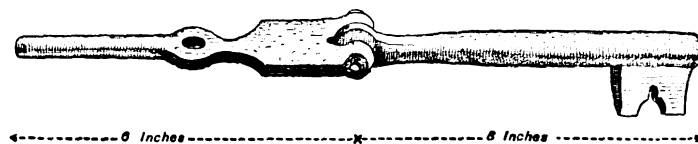


WOODEN CHRISMATORY WITH REVOLVING LID.

At present the Coptic priests only use *one* holy oil, and have quite forgotten that it was ever the custom to have three sorts.

*Crutches*.—Owing to the great length of some of the services, and the absence of any seats in the churches, both priests and laity have wooden crutches, like a *tau-cross* in shape, to lean upon. The women sit on the floor, and so do not need crutches.

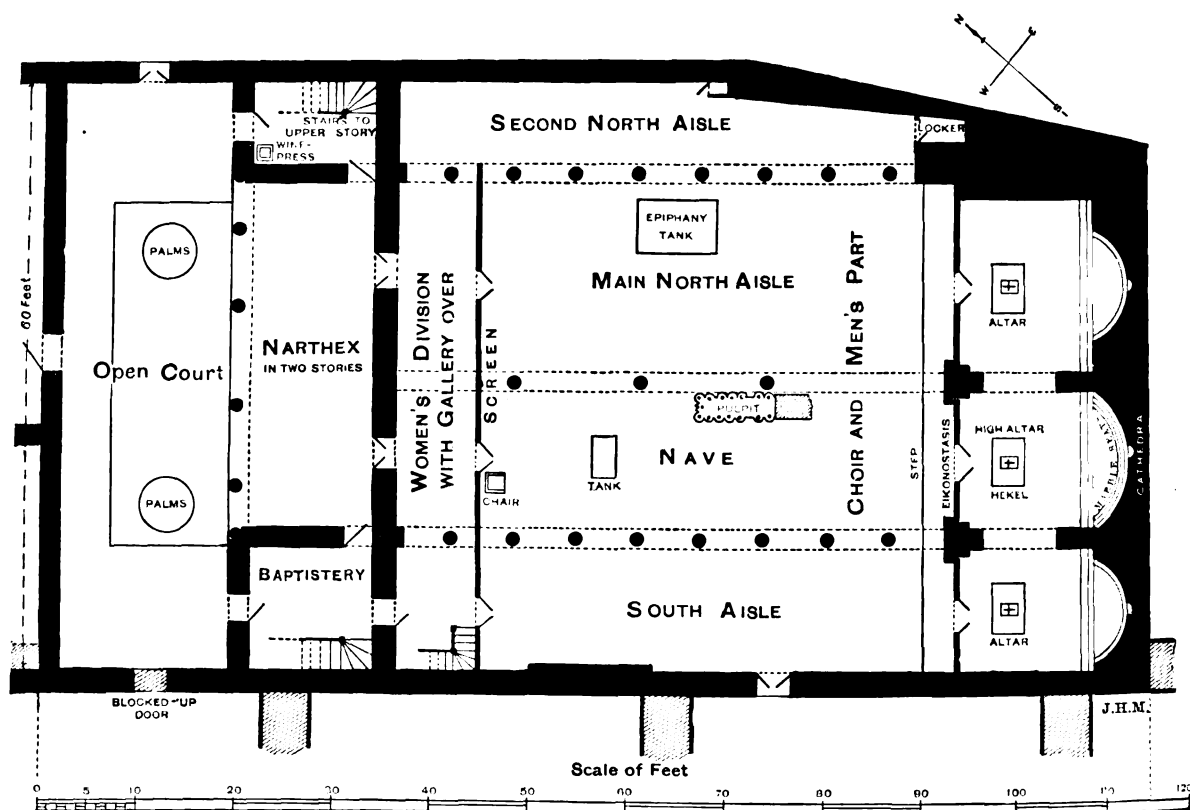
*Relics*.—Nearly all the churches have relics which are wrapped up in rolls of silk, the size and shape of an ordinary bolster. The outer covering of these is richly embroidered. These are generally placed in niches formed in the screens, often in the *iconostasis*, and as a rule have a picture behind them. In some cases they are put in wooden shrines, standing on four legs, with pictures hung all round them. The bundle containing the relics is seen through a small grating in front, before which an embroidered curtain hangs.<sup>a</sup>



USUAL FORM OF IRON DOOR-KEY IN COPTIC CHURCHES.

<sup>a</sup> A large amount of information on Coptic Churches and Ritual will be given in a work by A. J. Butler, Esq. F.S.A. shortly to be published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

One of the smaller churches within the Roman fortress of Babylon—El Moallaka or Sitt Miriam—is here represented in further illustration of the subject.



CHURCH OF EL MOALLAKA.

As compared with Abou Sergeh, it appears to have undergone less alteration from its original state, and to exhibit some interesting differences of arrangement. The shaded part represents the old Roman wall of the fortress. Compare also the three plans in *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, translated by John, Marquess of Bute, K.T. 1882.

XXI.—*Egyptian Obelisks and European Monoliths compared.* By the Rev.  
W. C. LUKIS, M.A., F.S.A.

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Read March 11, 1880.

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IN the following pages it is not my intention to describe Egyptian obelisks, respecting which I can say nothing new and striking. My desire is to give some interesting particulars relating to a few rude monoliths of Western Europe, which may not be so well known, and, by comparing them with the monoliths of Egypt, to show that they are worthy the attention of antiquaries, and that a fair conclusion as to their uses may be arrived at.

Many persons, when they hear or read of obelisks, are under the impression that it is the land of Egypt in particular which has produced notable monoliths of great dimensions. They are not aware that there is a land nearer home in which there exist stupendous monoliths of remote, perhaps of remoter antiquity than the others, and in far greater number, some of which will bear comparison with them, if not in grace and elegance of outline at least in size and weight. It may be that the purposes for which the earliest Egyptian monoliths were erected may throw a little light upon these. It has been supposed by some who have made well-known Egyptian obelisks their study that they had their origin in the rude monoliths of an earlier epoch; that these rude pillars were memorials of respect erected at the graves of departed chiefs; and that the comely, chiselled, and sculptured pillars of a later date were raised in self-glorification by proud monarchs who arrogated to themselves divine honours. This is probably true, because archaeological research seems to support the opinion that some, at least, of the rude monoliths of Western Europe are unmistakeably sepulchral monuments.

The obelisks of Egypt, such as are known, bear inscriptions which tell their uses; the monoliths of Europe are uninscribed, and their frequent association with grave-mounds tends to indicate their purpose.

Egyptian obelisks were artificially extracted from their native granite rock;

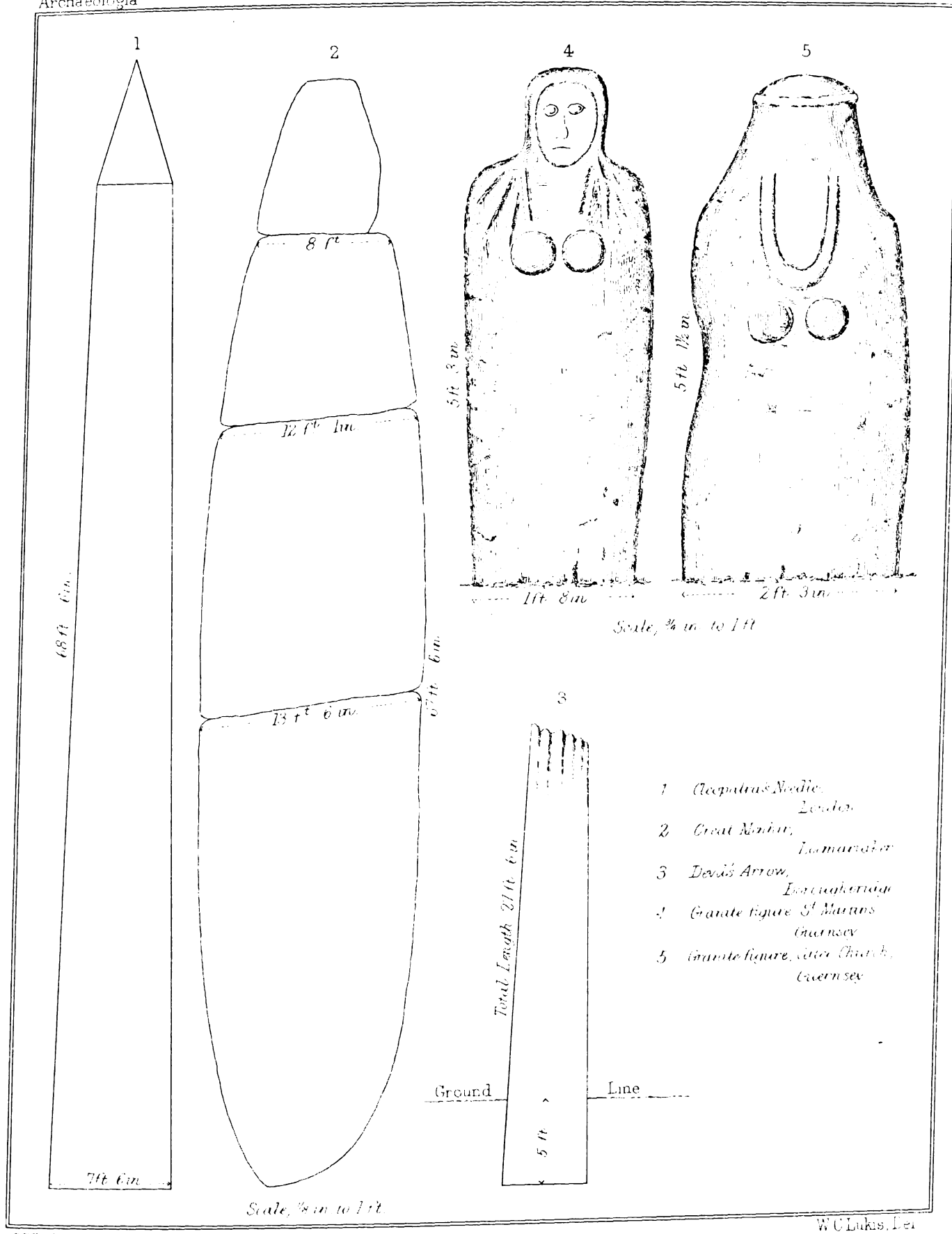
European monoliths were, in most instances, gathered off the surface of the land, where they had lain for ages exposed to the disintegrating action of the elements. Very few bear tool-marks, or any evidence of artificial disengagements from a parent rock.

Egyptian obelisks were brought on floats down the Nile, transported across the land, and reared by means of inclined planes, rollers, and levers, on sites hundreds of miles distant from their quarry beds; European monoliths were found ready to hand, and moved comparatively short distances only. But if astonishing toil and surprising skill have been displayed by the highly civilised Egyptians in the execution of their work, greater toil must have been encountered and incredible difficulties surmounted by the pre-historic men of the West with their humble appliances.

In the annexed Plate is a diagram representing Dr. Erasmus Wilson's magnificent gift<sup>a</sup> to the nation, from which I have omitted the hieroglyphic sculptures (fig. 1). I have selected it to illustrate my subject because we are all acquainted with it, and because its length closely approximates to that of a Breton granite monolith, of which an outline drawing, as restored, is here given (fig. 2). Both are drawn to one scale. The Egyptian stone is 68 ft. 6 in. long, 7 ft. 6 in. wide at the foot, and weighs about 186 tons. This prodigious French monolith is 67 ft. 6 in. long, 13 ft. 6 in. in its widest part, 7 ft. 6 in. thick, and weighs 260 tons. The former is unquestionably very shapely, and of pleasing proportions; but no one can fail to stand amazed and awed in the presence of this king of European monoliths, at this time lying prostrate and broken into four pieces in a field at Locmariaker. Perhaps in viewing the Egyptian obelisk our interest is excited because of the remarkable circumstance of its history, two of the greatest Pharaohs having set their seals upon it. What can I say to awaken an interest in this huge dishonoured stone? Well, the very mystery which surrounds it is not without interest. By whom, to whom, and the period when it was erected,—all this, which no written or traditional history records, kindles our interest and encourages investigation. All around the spot where it lies there are rude stone structures of gigantic dimensions, the now despoiled sepulchres of an ancient people. There can be little doubt that when these people were erecting it, and constructing these tombs, they were living a quiet and peaceable life in an organized condition of society. There is no evidence that they were made anxious, as civilized nations too frequently are, by wars and rumours of wars.

<sup>a</sup> I describe it as his "gift" because the nation's claim to it was long ago abandoned.





C. F. Keel, Lith.

W. C. Lukis, Del.

# EGYPTIAN OBELISKS AND EUROPEAN MONOLITHS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1885.



There are no vestiges in that country of defensive works of the period.<sup>a</sup> The only implements they have left behind them are the stone celts and a few stone axe-hammers, but these may have been employed chiefly in the chase, or for felling trees, or for agricultural purposes. Very few flint arrow-points have been found, and their slender flint knives were better adapted for food purposes than for slaying enemies and captives. What Canon Greenwell<sup>b</sup> has said of the Yorkshire wold-dwellers of the Round Barrow period seems to me especially applicable to these *older* occupants of the soil of Armorica, viz., that "they had passed the stage when the family was the only community, and they were ruled by an order and constraint which embraced wider bounds." The magnitude of the burial-mounds with their stupendous stone chambers would imply this, as "from the amount of continued labour bestowed upon them they could never have been erected except by a community which included many families, and necessitated an union of very considerable bodies of men." They had no knowledge of bronze and iron, neither of these metals having ever been found in their previously undisturbed tombs; and they were consequently men of a stone age, whenever that was. They could not have been savages with low mental capacities, for their works testify to engineering skill of no ordinary kind. Is it not therefore an interesting task to investigate the history of an unwarlike, united, people, the subjects of apparently one controlling government, who were able, with humble appliances, to erect such a huge granite block as this, and to construct sepulchres, which are megalithic in the strictest sense, far surpassing those which exist in the British Isles, who, however rude and primitive in their habits, evinced their affection and respect for their dead by honouring them with such gigantic memorials?

Above, when contrasting the eastern and western monoliths, I have said that the Egyptian obelisks were inscribed with their own histories, whereas those of Europe were not so inscribed. Some, however, are not wholly destitute of marks executed by the hand of man. Upon a few may be seen cup-markings, placed sometimes in groups, yet without any apparent order, the key to which has not yet been discovered. Upon the walls of some of the tombs there are also occasionally found sculptures, which seem to be indicative of distinctive personal qualities once possessed by the deceased. A not unusual object incised is a celt or axe, sometimes with, and sometimes without, a handle. On the

<sup>a</sup> It is possible, however, that their defences may have been stockades.

<sup>b</sup> *British Barrows*, Introduction, p. 111.

under surface of the huge covering slab of the tomb, which is within a few feet of the great monolith, is a representation of an axe mounted in its handle. Perhaps it is a picture of the royal sceptre which was borne by the distinguished head of the community who owed him their allegiance, and who was here interred, or of the weapon with which he gained renown in the chase. If then we feel an interest in an obelisk because of its known history, I trust I have said no more than may fairly be inferred from their monuments respecting the ancient people of the West, and that we shall admit that this stone is an eloquent witness to their undaunted energy, perseverance, resolution, and skill, although they were in a very much lower scale of civilization than the Egyptians.

We may well marvel how such a prodigious mass of granite was pushed along, even for a short distance, over a rough slightly undulating country, but rollers and levers, strong hands and willing co-operation, will master incredible difficulties. Not even the stormy Biscay, which did its best to engulf Dr. Wilson's "Needle," presented insuperable obstacles to the energetic Armoricans. They contrived to transport a fine monolith 26 ft. long, weighing about 25 tons, from the main coast to Belle Ile, a distance, at the present time, of ten miles from the nearest point of the main land. It is difficult to conceive how, when they arrived with their raft bearing its dead weight of granite, and perhaps a living freight of many human beings, they managed to get the stone up the cliffs of the island, which are lofty, precipitous, and rugged. The navigation of those days must have been of a very primitive character, hardly more than a creeping coasting one, and yet the stone was conveyed across the sea, landed, and taken up-hill to the table-land, where it was erected, and where it continued to stand, as a monument of their perseverance, until about forty years ago, when it was broken up for building purposes. That it must have been conveyed over the Atlantic waves, unless we assume that at that period Belle Ile formed part of the Continent, appears from the fact that the granite of which it was composed is not found in the Island, but on the main land. This is not a solitary instance of such a performance. Not far from Belle Ile, in an easterly direction, are the Islands of Hoedic and Houat; and I have seen it stated that in the latter island,—where, by the way, the rector holds the anomalous position of being not only parish priest but of discharging a multitude of secular functions, for he is mayor, chief judge, tax-gatherer, notary public, doctor, banker, harbour-master, superintendent of public works, and inn-keeper, in the happy island where the reverend gentleman is the central and sole authority, and I believe discharges his multifarious duties with benefit to the community,—there once

stood a large monolith composed of a material which is not found there, and which has shared the fate of the Belle Ile pillar.

I have said something respecting the greatest monolith in Brittany, the greatest, I believe, in Europe which is not of Egyptian origin; the next in point of size is in the Department of Finistère. It is still standing at Plouarzel, near St. Renan, in a direction north-west from Brest, and is a magnificent stone about 44 ft. out of ground, 8 ft. wide and 4 ft. thick, and weighs, according to these dimensions, from 90 to 100 tons. How deep it is buried in the ground I cannot say. As in the case of the great monolith of Locmariaker, its angles and natural roughnesses have been worked down and rounded partly by percussion and abrasion previous to its erection, and partly by disintegration from long exposure. It is situated on a commanding elevation, from whence the view is very extensive, and may be seen from Brest, a distance of four leagues. In consequence of the enormous dimensions and weight of the Locmariaker monolith, and the absence of any proof of it having been erect, some persons have doubted if it was ever in an upright position; but here we have a ponderous stone of considerable length which has been reared and still retains its position unchanged in any degree. The men who set up this stone were not the men to shrink from a still more formidable task.

There is no other monument in the immediate vicinity of this monolith at this time which would lead us to infer that it was a sepulchral pillar; but if there be any value in a name, the land on which it stands is called Ker-gloas, which signifies "place of mourning," and implies that the monument marks the sepulchre of some distinguished personage.

Another very fine monolith is on the sea-coast at Brignogan, near Plounécour, Finistère, and is nearly 36 ft. high from the ground level, 12 ft. 6 in. in its widest part, and 4 ft. 6 in. thick, and weighs more than 100 tons. In recent times a stone cross has been planted upon its summit, the symbol of Christianity consecrating the pagan monument. I will return to this monolith presently.

In a plantation at La Tremblaye, a few miles from Dinan in North Brittany, there is a fine monolith which is about 26 ft. out of ground. It is now in a leaning position, and from the extent of its inclination must be buried several feet in the earth. This is the stone which the late Prosper Mérimée (Inspector General of Historic Monuments in France) suggested should be transported to Dinan, and erected in the town square as a monument infinitely more national than an Egyptian obelisk. Happily for the memory of this old antiquary, and the good sense, which I fear was generated solely by economical convictions, of the

authorities of the town, the contractor's tender was not accepted, and the monolith continues to attract visitors and interest archæologists. No doubt the Inspector-General of Historic Monuments was quite right in saying that such a stone would be more national in that province of great monoliths than an obelisk brought from Egypt; but how should we feel towards the man who in these days should suggest the removal of the great monolith, 25 ft. high, which stands in Rudston churchyard near Bridlington, or one of the Boroughbridge "Arrows," to the metropolis of the north, for the purpose of adorning the museum grounds or any other open space in the city? Yet we may be accused of having committed, in some degree, the act which is here reprehended. Something, however, may be urged in our justification. The obelisk, which has been brought to London was not occupying its original place. Its association with a temple in Heliopolis was discovered 1900 years ago. It bears on its face its own history. We know all about it, and have little more to learn respecting it. Not so the monolith of La Tremblaye. The mysterious interest which now surrounds it would be wholly destroyed by its removal, and few persons would care to look at it, or desire to learn its history. A most remarkable collection of cists, arranged in a circle and formerly enclosed in a barrow, was some years ago presented to General Conway, and translated from Jersey to his park at Caversham, near Reading. It was unique of its kind, and would have been an attraction to antiquaries if it had been suffered to remain, whereas its interest is entirely destroyed, and no one inquires for it or cares to do so.

Monoliths, which may be reckoned by thousands, exist in Brittany, varying in dimensions from the majestic ones I have drawn attention to down to others of 2 ft. or 3 ft. in elevation. Many also exist in the British isles, but with the exception of those at Rudston, "the Devil's Arrows" at Boroughbridge in Yorkshire (fig. 3), and a few in Cornwall, they are of insignificant proportions.

I have said that the Brittany monoliths were found upon the surface and not quarried. If we examine the huge stone which stands at Brignogan we shall observe that it had been for ages exposed to disintegrating forces before it was set up as a monument. Great broad hollows were scooped out of it by those natural forces as it lay upon the ground, and where there was a still softer spot in the stone a basin was formed from which a channel issues which indicates the then inclination of its face. At the time when it was commonly supposed and believed that cromlechs or dolmens were Druid's altars, erected for human sacrifices, such basins which are occasionally observed on the upper surfaces of their roofing slabs, as well as on rocks which crop up through the soil, were con-

sidered to have been artificially made for the purpose of catching the flowing blood of the victims. But as these basins are also found on the under surfaces of covering stones of tombs, where they could have served no such purpose, it is quite clear that they were already formed when the monuments were erected. I could cite many examples of these natural formations both in Brittany and Devon, but will bring into notice one more. There is a great monolith near Plœmeur in North Brittany which is 26 ft. high, 10 ft. wide, and 6 ft. thick, and is estimated to weigh about 90 tons. Before it was erected it was a surface boulder lying upon one of its broad faces, and in course of time the elements found out a weak place and excavated a basin upon it. Since its erection the same forces have not let it alone, and have committed like ravages upon it as they have exercised upon the Boroughbridge monoliths, and scored it with a number of perpendicular furrows.

The drawing here given of one of the "Devil's Arrows," to the same scale as the others, will give an idea of its relative size, tapering form, and the effects of the weather. It more strongly resembles an Egyptian obelisk than any of those of which I have spoken, and has been wrought into this form by artificial means. Tool-marks are distinctly perceptible upon those portions of its sides which have been protected below ground. These marks appear to have been made with a pointed implement, and not with a chisel.

I have remarked above that much of the interest connected with the graceful obelisks of Egypt centres in their sculptured inscriptions, which tell their ancient history in "the forgotten language of a mighty race now gone for ever." If they are interesting and instructive on this ground, is nothing to be learnt from the rude uninscribed monoliths of Europe? Are they wholly silent? Is nothing suggested by their massiveness, simple grandeur, and frequent association with huge burial-mounds? Rough and inelegant, they are significant of the work and genius of a rude age, of a people ignorant of scientific machinery, but capable of effecting mighty achievements. Even the productions of the great Eastern Empire become insignificant in the comparison. And if no royal cartouch informs us by whom they were erected, and in what age of man's history, is there nothing which seems to point to their destination?

We may be helped to the answer by comparing them with the obelisk of Egypt, for if we can learn anything as to the primary use of the latter in the remotest period of that land's history, it may be that we shall be able to satisfy our natural desire to know why the early inhabitants of Western Europe should have set up their rude stone pillars.

Dr. S. Birch is, I believe, acknowledged to be one of the trustworthy authorities on whom we may depend for information in his special department of the British Museum. From a lecture which he delivered in Nov. 1877 before the British Archæological Association upon Cleopatra's Needle, I have gathered these important facts.

I. As far as investigation has penetrated into the remotest history of obelisks, it would appear that they primarily served a sepulchral purpose, being found erected before the entrances of tombs (as at Memphis) or upon the truncated pyramids which are sepulchres. Hence it may be inferred that they had a sepulchral origin, and represented some primitive and ruder form handed down from remote times.

II. In the eleventh or twelfth dynasty they were placed before the temples of kings, and were no longer sepulchral.

III. At a still later date they had a triumphal character in honour of kings, and might be compared to the triumphal columns of the Romans.

The obelisks with which we are familiar, and among them those which are called Cleopatra's Needles, belong to the second and third of these classes, and were erected to adorn temples or record military achievements. It is to the first class that we must look for a ray of light to illumine the gloom which hangs over a primeval period in Europe. Dr. Birch tells us that at the earliest known period of Egyptian history, obelisks served a sepulchral purpose, being associated with burial-mounds, and that they were perfected forms of monuments which in a still more remote and rude state of civilisation were erected with a like intention. It is just this purpose that most of the rude monoliths of Europe appear to have served. They are found sometimes close to sepulchral mounds; sometimes they are erected on the truncated summits of barrows or cairns; and sometimes they are isolated. In these respects they closely agree with the class of which Dr. Birch speaks, and which were the remote ancestors of Cleopatra's Needles. Had rude stone temples existed in Europe, buildings erected for religious worship, which might clearly be distinguished from sepulchres, and had there been great monoliths in close proximity to them, we might have been led a step further to conclude that while some of these huge pillars were sepulchral, others belonged to Dr. Birch's second class, and were erected in honour of the sun or other divinity. But no such building exists, and there is no evidence to show that Stonehenge or Avebury, or any other great stone circle in the British isles, or any existing rude stone structure in Brittany, was a temple in this sense.

Some old authors have formed two classes of menhirs, and placed those which



are isolated in the one class and those which are near to dolmens in the other. They considered the former to have been sepulchral memorials, and the latter symbols of deities and objects of worship. Why? because they believed dolmens were altars of sacrifice erected in front of these supposed divine symbols. The only point of agreement between the view of these authors and that which I have here put forth is in the association of the monolith with the dolmen, from which we have deduced exactly opposite conclusions, and on which side the truth lies I must leave others to decide.

I will make one other remark in closing this Paper. An argument in favour of the view which I oppose is drawn from decrees of early Christian Councils. It has been thought that those Councils decreed the demolition of these monoliths on the ground that they were objects of worship. If so, it is strange that so many very imposing ones should have escaped, and I have mentioned three or four only out of a considerable number; and that the great menhir of Locmariaker which, if a divine symbol at all, must, owing to its gigantic dimensions, have attracted the greatest veneration, should still remain, even in a shattered condition. It is true that it is broken into four parts, but every fragment is there. It is indeed very probable that its destruction was due to a violent tempest, for it stood in a most exposed situation, and that in its fall the largest fragment, which weighs about 150 tons, rolled over, or it may have been thrown down by an earthquake. There is no trace on the pieces of artificial cleavage; the fractures are clean, as though caused by the stone falling on uneven ground.

The probability is that the stones against which the decrees were levelled were of a totally different character, and that they were of small dimensions, whatever their shape was. Moreover, they were set up in groves and under trees, and when destroyed were to be so effectually demolished, and their remains hidden, that the pagan or semi-pagan people should not be able to find them again. This is what we may fairly gather from the Decrees of Arles, A.D. 452, of Tours in 567, and of Nantes in 658. It seems to me that the idolatrous worship which prevailed when Christianity was developing in the country, and when heathen rites continued to retain a hold upon the half-converted people, had nothing whatever to do with the monoliths and other monuments to which I have referred in this Paper. These rites were of more recent introduction. Trees, fountains, and stones, some possibly in the form of sculptured images, at all events stones which were regarded as divine symbols, these were the objects of superstitious veneration, and were condemned. The repetition of these decrees, promulgated from time to time during a period of 200 or 300 years, would, if

obeyed, have swept them all clean away had the monoliths of which I have spoken been the offending stones. I am therefore tempted to consider that the Venus of Quinipilly, and the two rude granite female figures in Guernsey, described by my friend and fellow-countryman, Edgar MacCulloch, Esq., F.S.A., to the Society in January 1879 (Proc. 2nd Ser. viii. 29, and represented here, Nos. 4 and 5), are examples of these proscribed stones. No. 4 is used as a gate-post of St. Martin's churchyard; No. 5 was found buried under the chancel-floor of Ste. Marie-du-Castel, commonly called the Câtel church, and is now erected near its west end in the churchyard.

The view I have put forth in the foregoing receives some confirmation from the existence of ancient monoliths in Christian churchyards. There is the great monolith at Rudston, and there are several instances of rude monoliths in French churchyards. These facts, taken in conjunction with what I have said, support the opinion that monoliths, such as I have alluded to, could not have been symbols of pagan deities, or they would have been demolished, but were harmless sepulchral memorials, and therefore suffered to remain. An idea has commonly prevailed that cemeteries began to be attached to churches about the time of Charlemagne; but, inasmuch as cemeteries existed before churches, it seems more correct to say that churches were attached to cemeteries; and perhaps this was the case much more frequently than we are aware of. It may be that pagan cemeteries were continued to be used for Christian burials, and that in those cases, where the sites were locally convenient as regarded the population, churches were subsequently erected upon them. This would account for the presence not only of monoliths within the precincts of churchyards, but for the presence also of other heathen structures, such as dolmens, over which not a few churches have been built. In proof of the absence of any Christian prejudice against thus using heathen burial-grounds I may further state that there is an ancient barrow of considerable magnitude in the churchyard of Ogbourne St. George in Wiltshire.

I ought to apologise for having presumed to ask an entire evening for myself, and also for having trespassed upon your patience. I have told you nothing about the Egyptian obelisks which you did not know before, but I hope I have not failed to interest you in these European monoliths, which ought to be more deserving of our regard, because they are connected with the history of a people, probably long passed away, who lived in our own quarter of the globe.

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XXII.—*On the Early Charters of the Borough of Newport in Wentloog. Communicated by OCTAVIUS MORGAN, F.R.S., F.S.A. With Remarks by HENRY SALUSBURY MILMAN, M.A., Director.*

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Read May 15, 1884.

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#### WENTLOOG.

The Lordship of Wentllwch, sometimes called the Lordship of Newport, is of considerable extent. It lies on the shore of the Bristol Channel, by which it is bounded on the south. On the west it is bounded by the river Rumney, which separates it from Glamorganshire, and on the east by the river Usk. On the north it contained the manors of Machen and Abercarne, and adjoined the lordships of Usk and Abergavenny, and contained seventeen parishes:—

St. Woolos and Newport.	Malpas.
Bettws.	St. Mellon.
St. Bride.	Peterston.
Coed Kernew.	Rumney.
Marshfield.	Machen.
Michaelstone-y-Vedw.	Bedwas.
Risca.	Bedwellty.
Bassaleg.	Mynyddylswyn.
Henllys.	

The name is composed of the words Gwent and Llwch, the former being the name of the region, and "Llwch" a shallow lake or lagoon, corresponding with the Irish and Scotch "Loch," which describes that part on the shore of the Channel in its primitive condition, before the formation of the embankment or sea-wall by the Romans. This shows the antiquity of the name.

*The Most Ancient Charter of the Borough of Newport.*

The earliest Charter of Newport was that granted to its Burgesses by Hugh, Earl of Stafford, dated Thursday, 13th April (8 Ric. II.), 1385, by virtue of his right and power as Lord of the Lordship Marcher of Wentllwch, within which the town was situated.

This Charter is not known to be still extant. But a second Charter, dated 3rd April (5 Hen. VI.), 1427, granted by his grandson Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, Lord of Tonebrugge and of Wentllwch, now exists and is here presented, and is a Charter of Inspeximus and Confirmation of the original Charter of 1385, which is copied therein at full length, and is upon inspection confirmed to the Burgesses, as having been their Charter in times past.

It was a very common practice for great lords and sovereigns to recal charters which had been granted for the purpose of inspecting them, perhaps altering their provisions and regranting them—and, of course, fees were always paid to the lord on those occasions. The Charter which we have here is one of “Inspeximus and Confirmation;” and I think it not an improbable circumstance that, when the original Charter was recalled for the purpose of inspection, it was not returned with the new one; and if so we have here the earliest copy of the original.

The lordship of Wentllwch originally formed part of the dominions of Jestyn ap Gwrgan, and was taken possession of by Robert Fitz Hamon on his conquest of Glamorgan. The Glamorgan district, on the west side of the Rumney, he divided into several lordships or manors to be held under particular tenures. The country on the east side of the Rumney he seems to have reserved for himself, forming it into a chief or paramount manor, dividing it into several mesne manors which were held by various tenants under him. Through his only daughter and heiress, Mabel (married to Robert, natural son of King Henry I., who was Earl of Gloucester, and frequently called Robert Consul), it came by descent into the powerful family of Clare, which terminated in 1314 on the death of Gilbert de Clare without issue male, leaving three sisters co-heiresses, when the large estates were divided into three portions. To the second daughter, Margaret, Wentllwch was assigned; she married Hugh de Audeley, Earl of Gloucester, who became possessed of it in her right. The issue of the marriage was an only daughter and

heiress, Margaret, who married Ralph, Earl of Stafford, and thus the Stafford family came into possession of the lordship. He died in 1372; Hugh, Earl of Stafford, his son, succeeded to the lordship, and appears to have granted the first Charter in (8 Ric. II.) 1385 as above stated.

The lordship of Wentllwch was, in fact, a small independent sovereignty, which had been part of the territory of Jestyn ap Gwrgan, and hence not subject to the realm of England; and when Hugh Stafford came into possession he seems to have formed it into a small state, organised with the same forms, offices, and officers, as the great realm of England, which these petty sovereigns appear to have copied in most particulars. He had his Castle of residence, with his Chancery and Exchequer, and all other offices necessary for the collection of his revenue and execution of his laws. He granted to his Borough of Newport a charter of liberties, as was the royal practice in respect of the towns and cities within the neighbouring realm of England.

The original Charter was issued from the Chancery of the lord at Newport, and had two seals, one the seal of the Chancery, and the other the seal of the grantor's arms. The Charter here presented was issued and bore two seals in like manner. The seal of arms has unfortunately been destroyed, and only the silken cords which attached it to the document remain. Of the Chancery seal a portion remains, also showing on one side a shield of the well-known Stafford arms, (Or a chevron Gules), and a legend which contains the latter part of the word "*cancellarie*"; on the other side a figure of a knight on horseback. In the middle of the fourteenth century the name of the lordship appears to have been changed from the ancient Welsh name of Wentllwch to that of the town, and to have been called the lordship of Newport in Wales. This was probably done when the Stafford family came into possession. It was an independent state, for the writs of the King of England did not run in any of these lordships marchers, and they became therefore a refuge for the criminals and malefactors of the neighbouring kingdom, who could come and dwell in safety,—a state of things which made King Henry VIII. very anxious to get possession of the lordships. In the Charter the lordship is called a *comitatus* or county, and the term *regalis* is used for the authority of the acts done.

The lordship continued in the Stafford family for some generations, till it came to Humphrey Stafford, the sixth Earl, grandson of Hugh, who granted the first Charter. He was a minor when he succeeded in 1403. In 1402 Newport had been sacked and burnt by Owen Glyndwr, and the whole of Wentllwch ravaged, so that, on a jury being summoned to ascertain the value, they gave as their verdict "Nil." Earl Humphrey came of age in 1424, and in 1427 appears to have called

for the original Charter to inspect it, and on due examination to have approved, confirmed, and regranted it by the Charter which we have here.

This Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, was created Duke of Buckingham in 1444. His son Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham, was attainted and beheaded in 1483, and all his vast estates were forfeited to the Crown. The lordship of Newport thus became a possession of the King of England, and the revenues were all collected in the King's name as Lord of Newport. In 1486 all the honours and estates of Henry, second Duke of Buckingham, were restored to his son Edward; but this third Duke was beheaded in 1521, and attainted, and a like forfeiture followed; and subsequently the accounts and muniments of his estates were carried up to London, and placed among the Public Records under the title of "Buckingham's Lands."

The lordship of Wentllwch remained in the hands of the Crown till it was granted by Edward VI. to the Earl of Pembroke. But in the reign of Elizabeth he was called upon by a writ of *quo warranto* to show by what authority he exercised certain powers, and, on his proving himself duly authorised, he and his family remained in undisturbed possession till the estate was sold by order of the Court of Chancery about 200 years ago, and was purchased by William Morgan, Esq. of Tredegar.

The royal powers however all ceased when, on the attainder and execution of the Duke of Buckingham, the lordship merged in the Crown, and all that remained were the ordinary manorial rights. What became of the ancient records at the time of the seizure and dispersion does not seem to be certainly known, though some are in the Public Record Office. A history of the Borough might be traced upwards from the documents and records of the present time, with a list of all the officers, and we should then know what is the unfilled gap. Now that there will be a new town hall, with, it is to be hoped, a proper muniment chamber where all such documents can be preserved, it may be possible properly to trace out and permanently record this history.

The circumstances in which I became possessed of this Charter are very curious and interesting. It is well known that in many auction sales in London ancient deeds and documents are frequently disposed of. A gentleman who was making collections of documents relating to the county of Stafford accidentally saw this document about to be sold. He saw in it the name Stafford, and bought it at once without examination. He afterwards saw the names Newport and Wentllwch, and thought they must relate to Newport in Shropshire and Wenlock Priory; and, as the meeting of the Archaeological Institute was to be held at Shrewsbury

that year, he sent the deed unexamined for exhibition at the museum in Shrewsbury. Upon seeing the deed as exhibited, I at once recognised the document as belonging to the lordship of Wentllwch and Newport in Monmouthshire; and upon his discovery that the document in question had no relation to Staffordshire or Shropshire he most kindly sent it to me, and it now turns out to be one of the earliest and most interesting charters in the county of Monmouth, and beautifully illustrates the history of the lordship or *comitatus* of Wentllwch and the ancient Borough of Newport. There is, however, a great hiatus in the history, which it is I fear impossible to fill up.

[The Charter with its abbreviations extended, and a literal version of it, are here printed. The verbal errors, repetitions, and inconsistencies, either original or of transcription, being somewhat numerous, it is thought advisable to warn the reader once for all against them and let them stand, for they are characteristic of such documents; they are not such as to throw doubt on the meaning of any passage, and they are corrected or passed over in course of translation. To the Charter are subjoined remarks illustrating the document itself, and explaining the place of the Stafford Charters in the municipal history of Newport.—H. S. M.]

## PRO BURGENSIBUS DE NEUPORTE IN WALLIA.

Humfridus Comes Staffordie Dominus de Tonebrugge et de Wenllouk omnibus Christi fidelibus presentem Cartam inspecturis salutem. Sciatis quod nos inspeximus cartam domini Hugonis nuper Comitis Staffordie avi nostri in hec verba.

Hugo comes Staffordie dominus de Tonebrugge et de Wenllouk omnibus ballivis et ministris suis ac aliis fidelibus presentem Cartam inspecturis salutem in Domino. Sciatis quod ad requisicionem dilectorum Burgensium nostrorum de Neuporte in Wallia libertatem ejusdem Ville habencium dedimus concessimus et hac presenti Carta nostra confirmavimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis omnes libertates subscriptas in perpetuum duraturas videlicet:

Ordinationes  
Villam tangentes.

Prepositus Ville.

Concedimus eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes et successores sui libere facere possint ordinationes dispositiones proclamaciones inhibiciones et defensiones de assisis panis vini et cervisie et assais ponderum et mensurarum et correccionibus et punicionibus carnificum piscenariorum et aliorum vitalliariorum ac cissorum sutorum textorum et aliorum artificum ac omnium aliarum rerum dictam Villam tangencium faciendis ordinandis disponendis proclamandis inhibendis defendendis et excercendis quocienscumque et quandocumque voluerint. Et quod Prepositus Ville predictae per Burgenses ejusdem Ville libertatem habentes more solito electus qui pro tempore fuerit teneat hundreda nostra de quindena in quindenam infra Villam predictam per visum Constabularii nostri Anglici ibidem more solito et omnes hujusmodi assisas assaias correcciones et puniciones faciat et exequatur in hundredis nostris predictae Ville. Et quod idem Prepositus sic electus habeat cogniciones et determinationes omnium placitorum et querelarum transgressionum debiti compoti convencionum vel contractuum detencionum aut alterius cause cujuscumque condicionis fuerint tam ad sectam nostram quam ad sectam partium infra dictam Villam nostram et suburbium ac precinctum dicte Ville suburbii et precincti de quibus aliquis possit accusari occasionari sive placitari exceptis placitis Corone terre forstall et homsokyn salvis nobis finibus et amerciamentis inde



FOR THE BURGESSES OF NEWPORT IN WALES.

Humphrey Earl of Stafford Lord of Tonebrugge and of Wenllouk to all Christ's faithful who shall inspect the present Charter health. Know ye that we have inspected the Charter of Sir Hugh late Earl of Stafford our grandfather in these words :

Hugh Earl of Stafford Lord of Tonebrugge and of Wenllouk to all his bailiffs and ministers and other faithful men who shall inspect the present Charter health in the Lord. Know ye that at the request of our beloved Burgesses of Newport in Wales having the liberty of the same Town we have given granted and by this our present Charter confirmed for us and our heirs to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors all the liberties under-written which shall for ever last to wit :

Orders touching  
the Town.

We grant to our same Burgesses that they their heirs and successors may have power freely to make ordinances dispositions proclamations inhibitions and defences about assizes of bread wine and beer and assays of weights and measures and corrections and punishments of butchers fishmongers and other victuallers and tailors shoemakers weavers and other workmen and of all other things touching the said Town by doing ordaining disposing proclaiming inhibiting defending and exercising how often soever and whensoever they please. And that the Provost of the Town aforesaid by the Burgesses having the liberty of the same Town in wonted sort chosen for the time being may hold our hundreds every fifteen days within the Town aforesaid by view of our English Constable there in wonted sort and do and carry out all assizes assays corrections and punishments of this sort in our hundreds of the aforesaid Town. And that the same Provost so chosen may have cognisances and determinations of all pleas and complaints of trespasses debt account conventions or contracts detinues or other cause of whatsoever kind they may be as well at our suit as at the suit of parties within our said Town and the suburb and precinct of the said Town suburb and precinct about which any one can be accused sued or impleaded except pleas of the Crown of land of forstall and of homsokyn

The Provost of  
the Town.

provenientibus. Et quod omnes hujusmodi fines et amerciamenta fiant et taxentur per predictum Prepositum et ballivum suum electum per Burgenses libertatem Ville predictæ habentes et non per alios.

Curia de  
Pipoudros.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod idem Prepositus sic electus qui pro tempore fuerit habeat cogniciones et determinaciones omnium placitorum querelarum contractuum transgressionum et aliarum causarum Curiam de Pipoudros tangencium de quibus aliquis possit occasionari sivi placitari ubicumque fuerit facta et ea audiat et determinat quandocumque et quotienscumque necesse fuerit.

Juratores Inquisitionum pro Villa.

Concedimus eciam predictis Burgensibus nostris quod de quibuscumque rebus causis contractibus convencionibus transgressionibus et querelis infra libertatem Ville predictæ occasionandis seu placitandis prefatos Burgenses nostros heredes seu successores suos tenentes et servientes suos cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes membra seu corpora earum terras burgagia redditus tenementa seu catalla eorum tangencibus unde inquisicio capi debeat sive in comitatu nostro Wenllouk sive in hundredo nostro predicto quod omnes juratores illius inquisitionis sint Burgenses libertatem ejusdem Ville habentes. Et quod nominentur eligantur et vocentur et in placito terre panellentur per dictum ballivum Burgensium electum et juratum. Et per predictos Prepositum et ballivum electos taxentur omnia amerciamenta et fines inde provenientes et non per alios quoscunque. Et si aliquid inde alio modo sive alia forma facta fuerit per ministros nostros vacuum sit et pro nullo habeatur.

Juratores Inquisitionum pro Comitatu.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod de omnibus rebus et querelis extra libertatem Ville nostre predictæ accusandis occasionandis seu placitandis prefatos Burgenses nostros heredes seu successores suos tenentes et servientes suos cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes membra seu corpora earum terre redditus tenementa seu catalla eorum tangencibus unde inquisicio capi debeat infra Comitatum nostrum predictum quod medietas illius inquisitionis sit de Burgensibus libertatem predictæ Ville habentibus per electionem nominationem et vocationem ballivi nostri Burgensium electi et

saving to us the fines and amerciaments thence arising. And that all fines and amerciaments of this sort be made and taxed by the aforesaid Provost and his bailiff chosen by the Burgesses having the liberty of the Town aforesaid and not by others.

Court of Pipoudros.

We grant also to our same Burgesses that the same Provost so chosen for the time being may have cognisances and determinations of all pleas plaints contracts trespasses and other causes touching the Court of Pipoudros about which any one can be sued or impleaded wheresoever they may be done and may hear and determine them whensoever and how often soever it may be necessary.

Jurors at Town Inquests.

We grant also to our aforesaid Burgesses that about whatsoever things causes contracts conventions trespasses and plaints to be sued or pleaded within the liberty of the Town aforesaid touching our aforementioned Burgesses their heirs and successors their tenants and servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty their limbs or bodies their lands burgages rents tenements or chattels whereof inquest ought to be taken either in our County of Wenllouk or in our hundred aforesaid that all jurors of that inquest may be Burgesses having the liberty of the same Town. And that they may be named chosen and called and in plea of land panelled by the said chosen and sworn bailiff of the Burgesses. And that by the aforesaid chosen Provost and bailiff may be taxed all amerciaments and fines thence arising and not by others whomsoever. And if anything therein in other sort or other form be done by our ministers it may be void and had for null.

Jurors at County Inquests.

We grant also to our same Burgesses that about all things and plaints to be accused sued or pleaded beyond the liberty of our Town aforesaid touching our aforementioned Burgesses their heirs or successors their tenants and servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty their limbs or bodies their land rents tenements or chattels whereof inquest ought to be taken within our County aforesaid that half of that inquest may be of Burgesses having the liberty of the aforesaid Town by the choice nomination and call of our chosen and sworn bailiff of the Burgesses and not by others; and the other half may

jurati et non per alios. Et alia medietas sit de forinsecis per electionem et vocacionem ballivi ubi actus processit. Et si Burgenses nostri tenentes aut servientes sui cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes inciderint in misericordiam nostram quod ipsi taxentur per dictum Burgensium ballivum Ville predictae electum et juratum. Et si forinseci inciderint in misericordiam nostram quod ipsi taxentur per ballivum forinsecum et si aliquid inde alio modo sive alia forma factum fuerit per ministros nostros vanum sit et pro nullo habeatur.

Terminus Nundinarum S. Laurencii.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod habeant nundinas infra Ballivam Ville predictae durante Vigilia Sancti Laurencii incipiente et durante per quindecim dies sequentes et quod audiantur et determinentur per Prepositum predictum omnia placita de feloniam forstallo homsokynes sanguine fuso

Placita in Dominio "Regali."

et omnibus aliis causis et querelis quibuscumque dominio nostro regali emergentibus infra terminum nundinarum predictarum et infra precinctum Ville predictae faciendis occasionandis seu placitandis ad sectam nostram excepto placito terre in quodam hundredo nostro vocato Feyrhundrede. Ac eciam quod audiantur determinentur et taxentur per predictos Prepositum et ballivum infra terminum nundinarum predictarum omnia placita transgressionis debiti compoti detencionum convencionum contractuum querelarum sive aliarum quarumcumque causarum ad sectam partium ubicumque facta fuerint quociens et quandocumque necesse fuerit.

Legatio Terrarum infra Bundas subscriptas.

Volumus eciam et concedimus predictis Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes et successores sui libere legare possint omnia burgagia terras redditus et tenementa cum eorum pertinentiis per ipsos adquisita cuicumque et quibuscumque voluerint ad voluntatem eorum jacentia infra bundas subscriptas preter ad mortuam manum.

Bunde Terrarum.

Et tales sunt bunde videlicet a cimiterio Sancti Gunlei usque terras domini nativas quondam Roberti Houlot et Johannis Dawe terras vocatas Brendekyrgh croftum vocatum Corteyscrofte ibidem et croftum Margerii Waite ibidem annexum terras quondam Rogeri Clerici vocatas Coumicheshull deinde per viam usque ad Capellam Sancti Thome Ita quod tota via ibidem sit infra bundas Ville predictae. Et deinde per viam usque Bryngeland Ita quod tota

be of foreigners by choice and call of the bailiff where the action has proceeded. And if our Burgesses their tenants or servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty fall into our mercy that they may be taxed by the said chosen and sworn bailiff of the Burgesses of the Town aforesaid. And if foreigners should fall into our mercy that they may be taxed by the foreign bailiff. And if anything therein in other sort or other form shall be done by our ministers it may be vain and had for null.

Term of Markets  
of St. Laurence.

We grant also to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors that they may have markets within the Bailey of the Town aforesaid lasting from the beginning of the Vigil of St. Laurence and lasting for fifteen days following and that there may be heard and determined by the Provost aforesaid all pleas of felony forstall homsokyn bloodshed and of all other causes and complaints whatsoever arising in

Pleas in "Royal"  
Lordship.

our royal lordship within the term of the markets aforesaid and within the precinct of the Town aforesaid to be made sued or pleaded at our suit except plea of land in a certain hundred of ours called Feyrhundrede. And also that there be heard determined and taxed by the aforesaid Provost and bailiff within the term of the markets aforesaid all pleas of trespass debt account detinues conventions contracts complaints or other causes whatsoever at the suit of parties wheresoever they be done how often and whensoever may be necessary.

Devise of Lands  
within the Bounds  
underwritten.

We will also and grant to our aforesaid Burgesses that they their heirs and successors may have power freely to devise all burgages lands rents and tenements with appurtenances thereof by them acquired to whomsoever they please lying at their will within the bounds underwritten save to the dead hand.

The Bounds of  
the Lands.

And such are the bounds to wit from the burial ground of Saint Woollos to the native lands of the lord formerly of Robert Houlot and John Dawe the lands called Brendekyrgh the croft called Corteyscrofte there and the croft of Margaret Waite there annexed the lands formerly of Roger the clerk called Coumicheshull thence by the road on to the Chapel of Saint Thomas so that the whole road there may be within the bounds of the Town aforesaid. And thence

via ibidem sit infra bundas Ville predictæ Et sic per fossatum inter terras et burgagia Burgencium et dictam Bryngelond descendendo ad cursum aque molendini domini et sic per croftum dicte Bryngelond et aliarum terrarum usque vivarium de Kemell Ita quod totus cursus aque ibidem sit infra bundas Ville predictæ Et sic per dictum vivarium usque saxum vocatum le Rocke ex opposito domus Johannis ap Adam deinde ultra viam usque terras dicti Johannis et David ap Jevan ap David terras vocatas le Halys et pratum vocatum Crinde et sic per aquam a la parkpull usque Groundesende infra dominium nostrum et per terram usque Crokeslande Mullond lond Kyngeshull et terras Abbatis Gloucestræ usque dictum cimiterium.

Manucapcio et  
Pleggium.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod nec ipsi nec heredes nec sucessores sui tenentes nec servientes sui cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes capi nec imprisonari debeant in Castro nostro de Neuporte nec alibi pro aliquis causis eos tangentibus dum manucapcionem sub pena centum solidorum pro aliqua causa tangentium feloniam finem aut personam possint invenire nisi in casu felonum tantum cum manu opere capti fuerint nec pro transgressionem causa aut querela quacumque dum pleggium sub pena decem solidorum possint invenire.

Causa Arestacionis monstranda.

Concedimus eciam predictis Burgensibus nostris quod nec ipsi nec heredes nec sucessores sui tenentes nec servientes sui cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes de cetero non teneantur nec compellantur ad inveniendam manucapcionem seu pleggium ballivis nostris aliqua causa eos tangente donec causa arestacionis sive attachiamenti eisdem manifeste sit monstrata per eosdem ballivos et hoc in presencia proborum et legalium Burgensium Ville predictæ.

Selde, Taberne,  
etc.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris et heredibus et successoribus suis quod nullus teneat seldam apertam de aliquibus mercandis nec tabernam nec corficinam nec aliquam cissuram artificii seu vitalliariorum faciat in Villa nostra predicta nisi fuerit cum

by the road on to Bryngeland so that the whole road there may be within the bounds of the Town aforesaid and so by the ditch between the lands and burgages of the Burgesses and the said Bryngelond in going down to the water-course of the lord's mill and so by the croft of the said Bryngelond and of other lands on to the pond of Kemell so that the whole water-course there may be within the bounds of the Town aforesaid and so by the said pond on to the stone called le Rocke opposite to the house of John ap Adam thence over the road on to the lands of the said John and of David ap Jevan ap David the lands called le Halys and the meadow called Crinde and so by the water a la Parkpull on to Groundesende within our lordship and by the land on to Crokeslonde Mullond lond Kyngeshull and the lands of the Abbat of Gloucester on to the said burial ground.

Mainprise and  
Pledge.

We grant also to our same Burgesses that neither they nor their heirs nor successors their tenants nor servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the same liberty ought to be taken nor imprisoned in our Castle of Newport or elsewhere for any causes touching them so long as they can find mainprise under penalty of a hundred shillings for any cause touching felony fine or person except in case of felons only when they be taken in very act nor for trespass cause or plaint whatsoever so long as they can find pledge under penalty of ten shillings.

Cause of Arrest  
to be shown.

We grant also to our aforesaid Burgesses that neither they nor their heirs nor successors their tenants nor servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty henceforth be held nor compelled to find bail nor pledge to our bailiffs in any cause touching them until the cause of arrest or attachment be clearly shown to the same by the same bailiffs and that in the presence of honest and lawful Burgesses of the Town aforesaid.

Shops, Taverns,  
etc.

We grant also to our same Burgesses and their heirs and successors that no one may hold an open shop of any merchandise nor tavern nor butchery nor do any cutting of workmanship or of victuallers in our Town aforesaid unless he be sojourning and

predictis Burgensibus nostris commorans et residens et infra Gildam libertatis eorum receptus.

Gilda. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes et successores sui Gildam inter eos libere facere possunt et habeant et gaudeant quo tempore et quandocumque voluerint ad voluntatem ipsorum.

Proclamaciones in Comitatu. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes nec successores sui nec eorum tenentes nec servientes cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes de cetero non sint obligati ligati seu artati per proclamaciones ordinaciones inhihiciones seu defenciones in Comitatu nostro Wenllouk factas seu faciendas.

Constabulffes. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes successores sui tenentes et servientes cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes de cetero sint exonerati de quinque denariis qui vocantur Constabulffes pro omnibus causis super eos imponendis nisi convicti fuerint de feloniam.

Teolonium. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes et successores sui quieti sint et liberi de Teolonio Muragio Pantagio Panagio Terragio Caragio Picagio et aliis diversis custumis et consuetudinibus per totum dominium nostrum tam in Anglia quam in Wallia.

Nundine infra Villam. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis quod omnes mercatores faciant nundinas et foras infra Villam nostram predictam et non alibi infra dominia nostra ubi foro aut nundinis dicte Ville sint nociva exceptis nundinis ab antiquo

“Regales” Vici. tempore usitatis Et quod omnes mercatores cum eorem mercandizis alibi non transeant per dominia nostra nec per aquam nec per terram quam per regales vicos Ville nostre predicte ea de causa ut nos nec heredes nostri tolnetum nostrum aut alias custumas nobis debitas aliquo tempore amittamus.

Marchia. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes nec successores sui tenentes nec servientes sui cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem



lodging with our aforesaid Burgesses and received into the Gild of their liberty.

Gild. We grant also to our same Burgesses that they their heirs and successors may be able freely to make a Gild among themselves and may have and enjoy it at what time and whensoever they will at their own will.

Proclamations in the County. We grant also to our same Burgesses that neither they nor their heirs nor successors nor their tenants nor servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty henceforth be obliged bound nor limited by proclamations ordinances inhibitions or defences made or to be made in our County of Wenllouk.

Constable-Fees. We grant also to our same Burgesses that they their heirs and successors tenants and servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty henceforth may be discharged from the five pence which are called Constabulffes to be laid upon them for all causes unless they have been convicted of felony.

Toll. We grant also to our same Burgesses that they their heirs and successors may be quit and free of Toll Murage Pontage Panage Terrage Carage Picage and other diverse customs and usages throughout our whole domain as well in England as in Wales.

Markets within the Town. We grant also to our same Burgesses their heirs and successors that all merchants may make markets and fairs within our Town aforesaid and not elsewhere within our lordships where they may be hurtful to the fair or market of the said Town except markets of old time used. And that all merchants with their merchandizes pass not

"Royal" Streets. elsewhere over our lordships neither over water nor over land than by the royal streets of our Town aforesaid for this cause that neither we nor our heirs may at any time lose our toll or other customs due to us.

The March. We grant also to our same Burgesses that neither they their heirs nor successors their tenants nor servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said

commorantes exhire non debent extra eorum libertatem ad aliqua facienda ad Marchiam vel alibi contra eorum voluntatem.

Ballivi Forinceci. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod nullus ballivus seu minister noster forincecus colore ballive sue seu officii sui summoniciones seu attachiamenta faciat infra bundas predictae Ville nostre nec districtiones capiat pro aliqua causa nisi tantum modo ballivi ejusdem modo Ville electi et si quodcumque feodum seu feoda ballivi forinceci infra dictam Villam optinere de consuetudine debent de aliqua mercandiza per deliberacionem et visum ballivi Ville nostre predictae dictis ballis nostris forincecis tantummodo liberentur et non alio modo.

Coronator Ville. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod Constabularius Castri nostri de Neuporte qui pro tempore fuerit sit Coronator predictae Ville et plenam potestatem habeat de quacunque causa officio Coronatoris pertinente inquirere et omnia alia facere que ad officium Coronatoris de morte hominis pertinere debent aliis consuetudinibus aut successionibus contrariis non obstantibus dum tamen quod de morte infancium de quorum morte punicio pertinet ad Episcopum Ordinarium Coronator aliquis nullo modo intromittat se et in casu quod dictus Constabularius noster qui est pro tempore sit absens extra libertatem ejusdem Ville Prepositus qui pro tempore fuerit ibidem eandem habeat potestatem.

Ballivi Ville. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis quod ballivi nostri Ville nostre predictae non sint ligati faciendum preceptum Vicecomitis Coronatoris aut alterius ministri nostri forinceci seu alterius cujuscunque ad summonendum attachiandum seu aliud officium quodcumque faciendum ad comitatum nostrum seu curias nostras de aliquibus causis pertinentibus seu spectantibus ad libertatem Burgensium nostrorum predictorum et ad cognicionem et determinacionem hundredi nostri predicti dum tamen illud officium ad hundredum nostrum facere voluerit et si contingerit aliquid fieri in Comitatu sive in curiis nostris contra tenorem istius Carte aliqua causa emergente quod calumpnietur per ballivos nostros dicte Ville nostre et quod tunc inde fiat liberacio indilate ballivis Ville predictae ad audiendum et determinandum in hundredo nostro predicto.

liberty ought to go forth beyond their liberty to do anything in the March or elsewhere against their will.

Foreign Bailiffs.

We grant also to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors that no foreign bailiff nor minister of ours under cover of his bailiwick or his office may make summonses or attachments within the bounds of our aforesaid Town nor take distresses for any cause save only the chosen bailiffs of the said Town and if any fee or fees whatsoever of a foreign bailiff ought by usage to obtain within the said Town for any merchandise such may be made over only by delivery and view of the bailiff of our Town aforesaid to our said foreign bailiffs and in no other sort.

Coroner of the Town.

We grant also to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors that the Constable of our Castle of Newport for the time being may be the Coroner of the aforesaid Town and have full power to inquire about every cause belonging to the office of Coroner and to do all other things which ought to belong to the office of Coroner concerning death of man other contrary usages or successions notwithstanding Provided however that no Coroner in any way interfere concerning death of infants the punishment in respect of whose death belongs to the Bishop Ordinary And in case our said Constable for the time being be absent beyond the liberty of the same Town the Provost for the time being there may have the same power.

Bailiffs of the Town.

We grant also to our same Burgesses their heirs and successors that our bailiffs of our said Town be not bound to do the precept of our Viscount Coroner or other foreign minister or other person whomsoever to summon attach or do any other office whatsoever at our County or our courts concerning any causes belonging or having respect to the liberty of our Burgesses aforesaid and to the cognisance and determination of our hundred aforesaid provided however as he may please to do that office at our hundred and if it happen that anything be done in our County or courts against the tenor of this Charter on any cause arising that it be challenged by our bailiffs of our said Town and that then livery thereof be made without delay to the bailiffs of the Town aforesaid to hear and determine in our hundred aforesaid.

Libertates non  
expresse.

Preterea ad maiorem securitatem predictorum Burgensium nostrorum heredum et successorum suorum concedimus et hac presenti Carta nostra confirmamus et ratificamus pro nobis et heredibus nostris imperpetuum prefatis Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis omnes libertates et consuetudines suas antiquas sive sint superius expresse sive non in dicta Villa de Neuporte et precincto ejusdem Ville licet ipsi Burgenses vel eorum predecessores aliqua vel aliquibus libertatum et consuetudinum predictarum aliquo casu emergente antea usi non fuerint eisdem libertatibus et consuetudinibus et earum qualibet de cetero plene gaudeant et utantur sine occasione vel impedimento nostri heredum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque imperpetuum. Et nos predictus Hugo et heredes nostri omnes predictas libertates et consuetudines concessionem confirmationem et ratificationem cum eorum pertinentiis prefatis Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti Carte tam sigillum armorum nostrorum quam sigillum Cancellarii nostri de Neuporte fecimus apponi. Hiis testibus :

Domino NICHOLAO DE STAFFORD, chivaler, tunc  
Senescallo nostro,  
Domino NICHOLAO SHIREBORNE, Clerico,  
JOHANNE FRENYNGHAM,  
JOHANNE DE WEXCUMBE,  
JOHANNE SEWELL,  
JOHANNE KEMEYS,  
JOHANNE DE BANHAM,  
LEWELINO AP MORGAN,  
THOMA AP IVOR,  
ROGERO AP ADAM,  
WILLELMO FLEMMYNG, et aliis.

Data apud Castrum nostrum de Neuporte die Jovis proximo ante Festum Sanctorum Tibericii et Valeriani anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post Conquestum octavo.

Liberties not  
expressed.

Further for the greater security of our aforesaid Burgesses their heirs and successors We grant and by this our present Charter confirm and ratify for us and our heirs for ever to our afore-mentioned Burgesses their heirs and successors all their ancient liberties and usages whether they be above expressed or not in the said Town of Newport and the precinct of the same Town although those Burgesses or their predecessors have not before used any one or more of the liberties and usages aforesaid through any chance arising that they may henceforth fully enjoy and use the same liberties and usages and every of them without suit or impediment of us our heirs or ministers whomsoever for ever.

And we the aforesaid Hugh and our heirs will warrant and defend all the aforesaid liberties and usages grants confirmations and ratifications with their appurtenances to our afore-mentioned Burgesses their heirs and successors against all people for ever.

In testimony whereof we have caused to be annexed to this present Charter as well the seal of our arms as the seal of our Chancellor of Newport. Witnesses these—

SIR NICHOLAS OF STAFFORD, knight, then our  
Steward,

SIR NICHOLAS SHIREBORNE, clerk,

JOHN FRENYNHAM,

JOHN OF WEXCOMBE,

JOHN SEWELL,

JOHN KEMEYS,

JOHN OF BANHAM,

LEWELIN AP MORGAN,

THOMAS AP IVOR,

ROGER AP ADAM,

WILLIAM FLEMMYNG,

and others.

Given at our Castle of Newport on Thursday next before the Feast of Saints Tiburcius and Valerian in the eighth year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the Conquest.

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Nos autem predictus Humfridus predictam Cartam omnia et singula in eadem contenta rata et grata habentes et gratum ea pro nobis et heredibus nostris ratificamus et approbamus ac prefatis Burgensibus eorum servientibus et tenentibus suis infra Villam predicatam commorantibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus suis concedimus et confirmamus sicut Carta predicta rationabiliter testatur et prout iidem Burgenses et tenentes et servientes Burgensium Ville predictae libertatibus et quietanciis predicatis uti et gaudere debent ipsique et antecessores sui libertatibus et quietanciis illis a tempore confectionis Carte predicti Hugonis semper hactenus rationabiliter uti et gaudere consueverunt.

In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti Carte tam sigillum armorum nostrorum quam sigillum Cancellarii nostri de Neuporte fecimus apponi. Hiis testibus :

JOHANNE GRESELEY, chivaler,  
ROBERTO STRILLEY, chivaler,  
WILLELMO THOMAS, chivaler,  
JOHANNE MERBURY,  
HUGONE ERDESWYK,  
ROBERTO GREINDOUR,  
JOHANNE RUSSELL,  
WILLELMO BURLEY,  
THOMA ARBLASTER,  
JOHANNE BEDULF, et  
JOHANNE HARPUR, et aliis.

Data apud Castrum nostrum de Neuporte tercio die Aprilis anno regni Regis Henri Sexti post Conquestum quinto.

L. S.  
Armorum.

L. S.  
Cancellarii.

Now We the aforesaid Humphrey holding the aforesaid Charter all and singular the things contained in the same good and pleasing for us and our heirs ratify and approve them and grant and confirm them to the aforementioned Burgesses their servants and tenants sojourning within the Town aforesaid and to their heirs and successors as the Charter aforesaid reasonably witnesses and according as the same Burgesses and the tenants and servants of the Burgesses of the Town aforesaid ought to use and enjoy the liberties and quittances aforesaid and they and their ancestors from the time of the making of the Charter of the aforesaid Hugh ever hitherto have been wont reasonably to use and enjoy those liberties and quittances.

In witness whereof we have caused to be annexed to this present Charter as well the seal of our arms as the seal of our Chancellor of Newport. Witnesses these—

JOHN GRESELEY, knight,  
ROBERT STRILLEY, knight,  
WILLIAM THOMAS, knight,  
JOHN MERBURY,  
HUGH ERDESWYK,  
ROBERT GREINDOUR,  
JOHN RUSSELL,  
WILLIAM BURLEY,  
THOMAS ARBLASTER,  
JOHN BEDULF, and  
JOHN HARPUR,  
and others.

Given at our Castle of Newport the third day of April in the fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the Conquest.

L. S.  
Armorum.

L. S.  
Cancellarii.

## REMARKS.

The grants of Earl Hugh to his Burgesses speak for themselves, and might be made the subject of much instructive comment for which there is no space here; but an exception to one of them requires especial notice. The grantor, in naming among the powers of the Coroner that of inquest concerning the death of man, forbids him to interfere in the case of the death of infants, jurisdiction in such matters belonging to the Bishop Ordinary. On this exception all the ancient books, so far as the writer knows, are silent, except one. In *Le Myrrouir des Justices*, a law-tract of the Edwardian period (which was first printed in 1642, and deserves to be reprinted from the best MS., that at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), occurs the following passage (chap. iv. sec. 16, p. 259): "Des enfants occise en le primer an de lour age soit a la cognoissance del esglise." This jurisdiction of the Church has been traced (with the aid of our Fellow, Mr. Everard Green) to the provision in the Canon Law, that parents accidentally overlaying their infants should undergo two years' penance (*Corp. Jur. Canon. lib. v. tit. x. cap. 3*), and to the consequent Rubric in the *Rituale Romanum*, "Curet parochus parentes infantis admoneri, ne in lecto secum ipsi vel nutrices parvulum habeant, propter oppressionis periculum." When and how this exception from the Law Civil in favour of the Law Ecclesiastical disappeared, is a question which the writer is unable to answer.

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The Welsh Inquisition taken on the death of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, which happened at Rhodes on the 14th of October (10 Ric. II.), 1386, is a useful illustration of his Charter. It was taken at Newport in the March of Wales, on Monday next after the Feast of St. Matthias, that is, on the 25th of February (10 Ric. II.), 1386-7, before Thomas Walweyn, the King's Escheator in the counties of Gloucester and Hereford and the March of Wales adjoining, at Newport in the said March, by the oath of the following as jurors:—

JOHN KEMMEYS,  
[LLEWELYN] AP MORGAN,  
ALEXANDER SORE,  
ROGER AP ADAM,



TREHAYRON AP PHILIP,  
DAVID AP PHILIP,  
BLETHIN AP GRIFFITH,  
PHILIP AP WYLYM,  
JEVAN AP JANEKYN KEMMEYS,  
JEVAN AP HOWELL AP JEVAN AP HOWELL,  
JOHN CLERC,  
and  
WILLIAM PACKER.

As might be supposed, several of the witnesses to the Charter reappear as jurors to the Inquisition which so soon followed. The jurors found that the Earl died seised of the Castle and Town of Newport, and the lordship with its members, and other lands and tenements adjoining, all which are named, described, and valued at length, and that all these were held of the King in chief, not simply, but as parcels of the Honor of Gloucester. Hence it would seem that this district of the March had, on its conquest by Robert Fitz Hamon and his successors, been feudally subjected to the Honor of Gloucester which they then held.

The retention of this Honor by the Crown for the sake of its feudal influence beyond the realm exemplifies the constant policy of the Crown with respect to Wales in mediæval times, a policy which consisted in gradually grasping all superior rights, powers, and jurisdictions in that country, and never parting with any, and which finally resulted in the union of Wales to the realm of England in the reign of Henry VIII.

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There are, or lately were, among the records of the Borough of Newport, two Royal Documents in favour of the Burgesses, the one Letters Patent, dated 4th November (27 Eliz.), 1585, the other also Letters Patent, dated 20 Sept. (21 Jac.), 1623. The first was long since printed in full and in the original Latin on a separate sheet. Abstracts of both were printed in English in 1801 by Coxe (*Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, p. 46, App. No. 4). They require some explanation in reference to the Charter here printed.

A Royal Charter dated 4th March (17 Edw. II.), 1324, granted to Hugh le Despencer the younger (the husband of Alianore, eldest sister and coheir of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, deceased) certain liberties throughout all the King's dominions in favour of a group of seven boroughs which were then in possession

of the said Hugh as his wife's inheritance. This group was soon afterwards broken up, and the boroughs passed into the possession or under the protection of separate lords, but probably every one of these boroughs retained a copy or at least a record of the Royal Charter, and obtained Letters Patent from successive sovereigns in confirmation thereof to itself separately. Newport certainly did so, and the Letters Patent of Elizabeth above referred to mark the last occasion of this proceeding. These Royal Documents were, in relation to Charters issued to these boroughs by immediate lords, concurrent and cumulative. They kept in memory and in use liberties external to the lordship within which the borough was situated, and very valuable commercially to the Burgesses, especially to such Burgesses as those of Newport, who enjoyed great natural advantages for trade by sea.

Charters granted to boroughs by subjects belong to the Middle Ages. Probably none such bear date later than the accession of the Tudor Dynasty. But certainly they were in use immediately before that event. The Charter here presented shows on its face that it was not the first Charter granted by a Stafford; neither was it the last, for the Letters Patent of James I. above mentioned refer to "Charters" granted by Henry Duke of Buckingham. Edward Stafford, son of that Duke, obtained restoration of the honours and estates of his attainted father and enjoyed them for thirty-four years; but this took place under Tudor sovereigns. The silence of the Letters Patent of James I. as to any Charter granted by Edward Duke of Buckingham seems conclusive that he did not follow the examples of his forefathers, and this omission on his part is an argument that such an act on the part of a subject had ceased to be admissible.

The accession of the Stuart Dynasty, so fruitful in new practices, seems to mark a change in the practice of the Crown concerning Municipal Charters. The King was advised, in reference to every borough applying for his favour, to presume that all municipal liberties Royal as well as manorial had come within his disposal, to collect such as were reasonable and proper into one confirmatory document, to add words which should incorporate the borough if its previous incorporation were doubtful, and to confer additional liberties suitable to the more advanced state of law and commerce. The concurrent Charters of the Sovereign and the immediate lord may thus be conceived as contributory to the privileges formulated by King James and ever since accepted as the constitution of the borough.

If the above view be correct concerning the Charters of Newport, that now presented, together with those previously known, form a valuable item of evidence

in respect of the growth of our municipal institutions, and enable us to read with increased interest a topographical description of Newport three hundred years ago. It follows a description of Caerleon.

The Towne of  
Neawport.

On a round hill by  
the Church there  
is for Sea and  
Land the most  
princely sight that  
any man living at  
one instant may  
with perfect eye  
behold.

The Towne hath  
Marchants in it.  
A Castle is at  
the end of this  
Towne and full  
by the Bridges  
and River.

A Towne nere this, that buylt is all a length,  
Cal'd Neawport now, there is full fayre to viewe:  
Which Seate doth stand, for profite more then strength,  
A right strong Bridge, is there of Timber newe:  
A River runnes full nere the Castle wall:  
Nere Church likewise, a Mount behold you shall,  
Where Sea and Land to sight so plaine appeeres,  
That there men see a part of five fayre Sheeres.

As upward hye, aloft to Mountaine top,  
This Market towne, is buylt in healthfull sort:  
So downeward loe, is many a marchants shop,  
And many sayle, to Bristowe from that Port.  
Of auncient tyme a citie hath it bin,  
And in those daies the Castle hard to win:  
Which yet shewes fayre, and is repayred a parte,  
As things decayd, must needes be helpt by arte.

*The Worthines of Wales*, by Thomas Churchyard, 1587.

H. S. M.

XXIII.—*On Consecration Crosses, with some English examples. Communicated*  
by JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

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Read Feb. 23, 1882.

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THE Ceremony of the Consecration of a Church as it was practised shortly before the Norman Conquest is well described in a paper communicated in 1833 by Mr. John Gage, then Director, and printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 235. He also gives in full the Consecration Service from an English MS. Pontifical of the eleventh century in the Rouen library.

I will, therefore, only remark that an important part of this service consisted in crosses marked upon the walls by the officiating bishop with oil of chrism, at twenty-four different places, distributed equally throughout the building; that is, three crosses on the north, south, east, and west walls respectively, both inside and out.\* The number, twenty-four, is not specified in the rubric of the eleventh century Pontifical, which only says: "Deinde in circuitu Ecclesie per parietes a dextro et a sinistro faciens crucem cum pollice de ipso crismate, dicens," &c.; but this number appears to have been used from very early times.

It was the custom, both in England and on the Continent, to mark beforehand the places where the bishop was to anoint the walls with chrism. This was done by crosses of various shapes and sizes, carved in stone, modelled in plaster, painted (generally in red), or lastly by metal crosses affixed to the walls. In some cases two of these methods were employed in the same cross. That these crosses were prepared beforehand, ready for the bishop to put the chrism on it, is, I think, proved by the fact that many of them are in relief, and have obviously not been added after the church was finished.

\* Durandus, in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. I. c. vi. gives an interesting, though fanciful, account of the meanings of the various ceremonies in the Consecration Service.

Moreover, a fine MS. Missal of the sixteenth century (Brit. Mus. *Addit. MS.* 18143) shows the bishop in the act of anointing one of these crosses, which are shown ready-painted on the walls. The illumination is a curious one, as it shows the bishop in cope and mitre climbing a ladder to reach the cross, which is placed over a column of a high arcade, inside a church. Two clerks in alb and cassock are singing out of a book; and others, apparently boys, stand by bearing a candlestick, a processional cross, and a holy water-pot and sprinkler. The crosses are gold, within circles, alternately blue and red; they are *formée* at the points, and the angles are filled up by four smaller crosses. (See fig.)



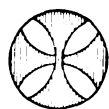
Mr. Gage mentions a Pontifical, printed at Rome in 1595, which has a print showing the bishop marking a cross "mounted on a moveable stage six steps high, the rubric requiring that the said crosses shall be ten palms (7 feet 5 inches) above the floor."<sup>a</sup> This somewhat inconvenient height was probably selected in order that the crosses might be out of reach, and less exposed to injury. The rule was by no means universally observed, as in numberless instances, especially early ones, the crosses are quite low down.

I have selected this subject to lay before the Society of Antiquaries, first, because these crosses are rapidly disappearing under the skinning and scraping process, which our churches are one by one suffering, under the name of "restoration," a process which in most cases not only destroys the generally faint remains of consecration crosses, but also obliterates all marks of the various fittings and furniture which give life and interest to an old church. A large number of the crosses mentioned and illustrated in the following notes have disappeared in the last seven or eight years. Another point of interest is the light that these crosses throw on the re-consecration of churches or parts of churches. Further, they often afford valuable evidence as to the date of wall paintings which they cover or form part of.

In churches that are built of rubble stonework with ashlar dressings the crosses often are to be found on buttresses, angle-stones, and door-jambs: places selected on account of the smooth-dressed stone affording a better surface for painting or carving. In most cases, however, rough walling in mediæval churches, whether inside or outside, was covered with stucco. Modern "restorers" generally cut this away under the notion that bare stone walls are mediæval. Many of the crosses in my list have been destroyed in this way. One of the most curious cases

<sup>a</sup> In Brit. Mus. Library. See *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. p. 277.

I ever met with was at North Repps, in Norfolk, a church built of roughly-cut flints in the usual Norfolk fashion. Patches of stucco, about a foot square, were laid on the walls outside to the full number of twelve, and on these the consecration crosses were painted. On going there a few weeks ago to make full-sized drawings of them I found that since my former visit the church had been "restored" and every trace of these stucco patches cut away from the walls.



Type A.

The forms of the crosses are numerous, but the commonest of all is type A. The figure is always scratched into the stone or plaster with compasses, and then generally painted.

The earliest specimen I know of this figure is at Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire, where it is very deeply cut into a respond of the nave arcade (see Pl. xxxiii. fig. 1), date about 1190—1200. In this case the church has been reconsecrated in the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the choir was lengthened and the high altar moved eastwards. There is a consecration cross of this later date on each side of the west door. It should be noted that a consecration cross is often much later than the wall it is on, owing to the re-consecration of the *whole* building while only a part was new.

In some cases, when an addition to a church was a chapel complete in itself, the new part only was consecrated, and had all the twenty-four crosses. This was the case at Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster, where there are still visible three small crosses in each of the aisles, and three large ones at the west end above the doorways (Pl. xxxiv. fig. 2). Another instance of this is at Arundel Church, where there still remain five large crosses painted red (of the type A), so arranged that it is evident that the nave and its aisles had the full number of crosses without counting any in the choir.

Perhaps the commonest Norman form is a cross, made by simple cuts with a dot at each end (Pl. xxxiii. fig. 24). Another early form is a plain cross with slightly expanded ends (fig. 25).

In a few instances the crosses are large, richly carved, and form a conspicuous part of the architectural ornament of the church.

At Salisbury Cathedral there is a very fine and elaborate set; eight inside and eight outside are still visible. The rest have been hidden by monuments or destroyed by "restoration." Unfortunately, at Salisbury the "restorer" has not been content with destruction, but has committed forgery as well. Outside at the west end two sham consecration crosses have been put up in the gables of the aisle doorways, which was *not* the position of the original crosses. The real

ones are of three sorts (Pl. xxxv. figs. 3, 4, and 5). The first variety inside are a cross flory, about 2 feet across, incised about a quarter of an inch into the stone. Small metal pins, the stumps of which still remain, show that this sinking was filled up by a metal cross. Traces of green stain show that this was of bronze, probably gilt. A quatrefoiled circle is painted in red with black outlines round the cross. About 5 inches below the sunk cross there is another metal pin, which may have served to fix a candlestick for use on the anniversary of the consecration or on other festivals.<sup>a</sup> These crosses are just below the string-course, the lowest point of each being 7 feet 6 inches from the level of the nave-floor. The cross in the north-east transept has been filled up with plaster. In the south-east transept a modern tomb occupies the place where the cross should be. The cross at the west end inside appears to have been filled in and coloured, the limbs red and the points yellow. At the four points, and in two angles, are stumps of  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. iron pegs.

The second variety at Salisbury, outside the church, is like those inside, except that the quatrefoiled circle is carved and moulded in stone (fig. 4). There are the same pins for fixing the bronze cross and the candle below. All those outside belong to this type except one (fig. 5), which is very richly carved; it has had no metal cross inserted but an overlying quatrefoil carved, of which a section is shown on the Plate. It has the pin below. This one cross is on the south-east buttress of the main transept. Its lower point is 3 feet 1 inch above the top of the plinth, 7 feet 1 inch above the ground. The Plan (Pl. xxxvi.) shows the position of all the crosses now visible. It will be observed that the choir and eastern part of the church has the full number of crosses on the side walls, leaving none for the nave. This is probably due to the fact that the choir was built and consecrated, as was often the case, before the erection of the nave. When the nave was built the whole church was probably reconsecrated,<sup>b</sup> six new crosses

<sup>a</sup> I owe this suggestion, as well as much other valuable help in working up this subject, to J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A. The crosses in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, mentioned above, have a wood-plug in their centre, and another wood-plug 20 inches below—no doubt for the same purpose, for fixing the metal cross, and the candlestick or lamp below. The six side crosses are 8 feet above the floor, the three western ones more than 20 feet up.

<sup>b</sup> Durandus, *Rat. Div. Offi.* lib. I. c. vi. n. 31, gives the reasons that make it necessary for a church to be re-consecrated:—First. If it is burnt so that all or the greater part of the walls have their surfaces destroyed, but not for the mere burning of the roofs. Second. If the whole or most part of the church falls down, but not if the church is rebuilt piecemeal. Third. If there is a real doubt whether the church ever was consecrated, and no record can be found.

being put at the new west end, and the remaining eighteen old crosses anointed with chrism a second time. The height of the crosses is 7 feet 6 inches to their lower points from the floor of the church and the original ground level outside, the height ordered by the later Roman rubrics.

Another instance of re-consecration appears to exist at Chichester Cathedral. At the east ends of the aisles there are plain sunk crosses cut deep into the stone (Pl. XXXIII. fig. 7), possibly once filled up with metal. Above these there are a number of iron pins, as if for the attachment of another metal cross, added probably on the occasion of the second consecration.

The most elaborate specimens of these crosses are at St. Mary Ottery, Devon; they are carved in high relief on shields borne by angels, within moulded panels, a quatrefoil in a square. Thirteen still exist, six being inside. Those outside are placed under the centres of the windows. Inside there is one on each side of the west door. Most of them have marks of remains of iron brackets for light inside.

In some cases the central cross at the east end was made more magnificent than the others for the sake of architectural effect. Among these more elaborate forms, we may I think class the crucifix which is carved in stone under the east windows of some churches. At Chisledon, Wilts, there is in this position a medallion, about 18 inches across, within which is carved a crucifix with St. Mary and St. John; thirteenth century work. Coggeshall, Essex, has a similar crucifix, and there is another at Purton, Wilts. At Preshute near Marlborough, there is a carved medallion, 14 inches in diameter, with an elaborate floriated cross; but the church has been thoroughly "restored," and I am not sure that it is *in situ*.

*List of Consecration Crosses, in addition to those mentioned above:—*

*Pevensey, Sussex* (Pl. XXXVII. fig. 8).—An elaborate floriated cross in black and red, on inside plaster of south chancel wall.

*Brooke, Kent*.—The whole walls of the chancel are covered with painted subjects in medallions, 2 feet in diameter; on each side of the east window there is a blue cross with red outline and circles round it (fig. 9), placed at the intersection of two of the medallions, about 7 feet above the floor. About the middle of the north and south walls there is, on each side, another cross (fig. 10) within a red quatrefoil. The tracery of the chancel window shows its date to be soon after the year 1300. The crosses are painted *over* the subjects in the



medallions, which are thus shown to be contemporary with the walls. The rest of the church is Norman; but the position of the crosses shows that the whole building was reconsecrated when the new decorated chancel was built.

*St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester*.—Cross painted red of type A on the back of a single sedile on the north side of the sanctuary.

*Berkeley, Gloucestershire*.—Three large crosses,  $18\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter (Pl. XXXIII. fig. 11) inside, at west end, two high over the doorway and one on its north side. These have, unfortunately, been re-painted within the last few years quite a different red from what they were before.

*Wolston, Gloucestershire*.—Traces of nine crosses, belonging to at least two separate consecrations.

Inside.—1. Large red cross of type A, outline scratched on the plaster, and painted red, on east jamb of south-east chancel window (Perpendicular). (Pl. XXXIV. fig. 12.)

2. Smaller one on south jamb of chancel arch (fig. 13), 7 feet above the step.

3. Traces of cross on west jamb of south-east nave window.

Outside.—4. On west jamb of south door, 3 feet 7 inches above the floor. The shape is unusual (fig. 14). The colour was all scraped off when the church was restored, but the scratched outline is still visible.

5 and 6. Crosses with curved limbs (fig. 15). Only traces of paint remain. These are on the west buttresses of the west Perpendicular tower.

7. Traces of cross on north-east nave buttress.

8 and 9. Outlines of two crosses on south wall of chancel.

All these outside are only from 3 to 4 feet above the ground.

This little church appears to have been consecrated three times, though no crosses remain on the small fragments that exist of the earliest part, which is very early Norman. The second consecration appears to have been at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the last when the chancel was rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

*Cheltenham, Gloucestershire*.—There were remains of crosses painted on the inside plastering, but at a recent "restoration" the plaster was cut away, and the rough stone-work pointed. There still remains on the stone-work of the choir piscina a curious figure (fig. 16), which I think must have been meant

for a consecration mark, though it is not a cross. The colouring was all scraped off at the "restoration" of the church. The figure was blue on a red roundel. Traces of another similar one existed on the north jamb of the chancel arch. This six-leaved figure occurs so often in positions where one would expect to find a consecration cross, that it seems probable that it was meant for one.

*Badgeworth, Gloucestershire.*—Cross modelled in relief in plaster on north and south inside walls of chancel. Destroyed at "restoration" (fig. 17.)

*Shurdington Chapelry, Gloucestershire.*—Cross with trefoil ends, deeply incised (fig. 18), on east jamb of south door (Decorated), 4 feet from floor. Two crosses of deeply-cut lines,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch, on jambs of north Norman door. A cross in a circle (fig. 19) outside chancel on south quoin of east wall, 3 feet from ground.

*Priory of Stanley St. Leonards, Gloucestershire.*—Cross of common early form on north Norman door-jamb (Pl. XXXIII. fig. 24).

*Elkstone, Gloucestershire.*—A similar cross on jamb of south Norman door.

*Leckhampton, Gloucestershire.*—A fine large cross of type A, outside south wall of chancel, deeply incised into the stone.

*Swindon, Gloucestershire.*—Cross 3 inches by 2 inches, of cuts with dots at ends, on south-east splay of Norman tower, at west, which is an irregular polygon in plan, 4 feet from ground.

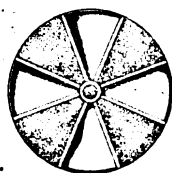
*Kempley, Gloucester.*—Cross in red on blue circle, painted on east wall, at the feet of the figure of the bishop. See *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVI. p. 192.

*Oddington, Gloucestershire.*—Cross of type A,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches across, 3 feet 6 inches from floor of porch, on jamb of south Norman door. It has a hole in the centre for fixing a metal cross. Outside north wall of chancel a cross with trefoil ends, carved in a circle, 22 inches in diameter, 5 feet from ground. Only half remains, and it is earlier than the fourteenth century wall, into which it is built.

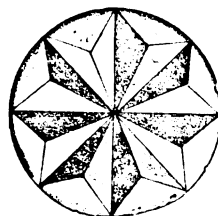
*Ledbury, Gloucestershire.*—Cross of type A, incised with sunk spandrels, about 3 inches in diameter on east jamb of north door.

*Stowell, Gloucestershire.*—Crosses of the early form (as fig. 24) outside, on west jamb of south door and on south wall near the south door.

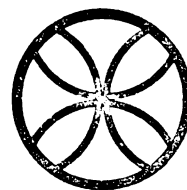
*Iffley, Oxford.*—An early form (fig. 20) on south jamb of west door, circa 1180.



20  
Iffley, Oxford.



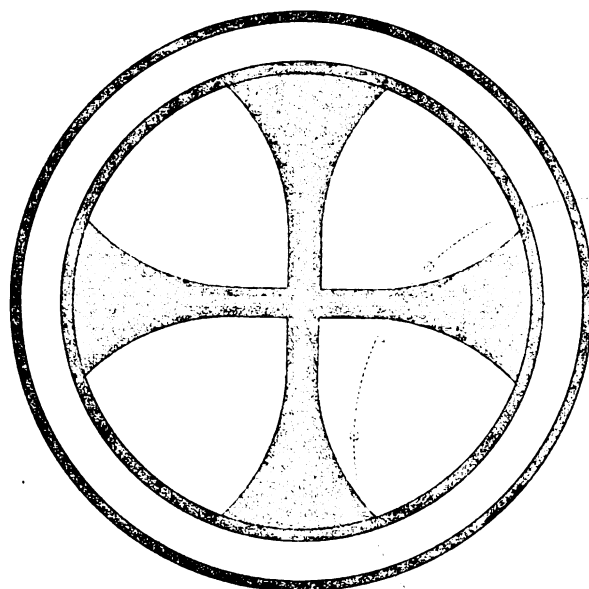
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Studland, Dorsetshire.



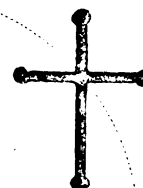
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Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire.



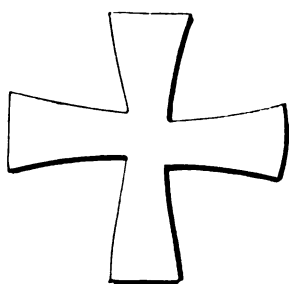
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St Mary le Wigford,  
Lincolnshire.



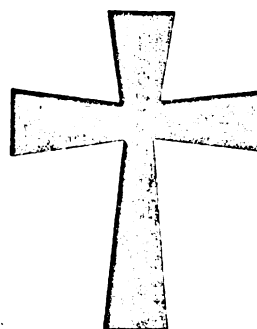
11  
Berkeley, Gloucestershire.



24  
Stanley St Leonards,  
Gloucestershire.



25  
Ulceby Lincolnshire



7  
Chichester Cathedral.

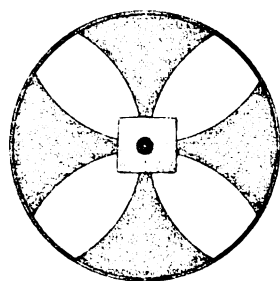
# CONSECRATION CROSSES.

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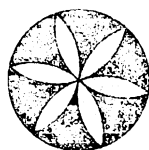
*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1884.*

C F Bell, lith



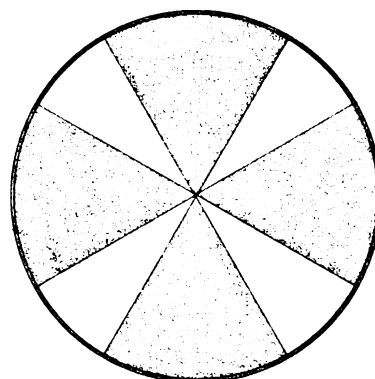


2, Henry VII's Ch. Westminster.



16

Cheltenham Gloucestershire.



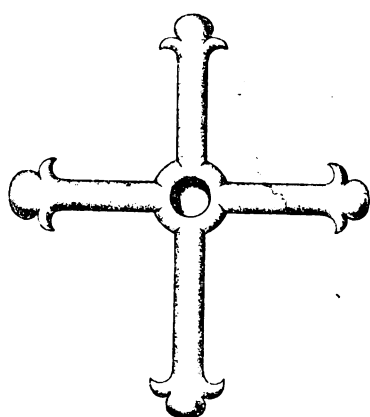
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Shurdington Gloucestershire.



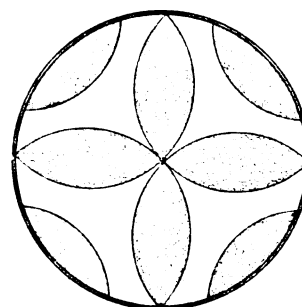
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Shurdington Gloucestershire



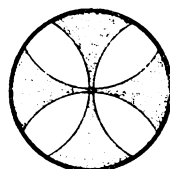
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Badgeworth Gloucestershire.



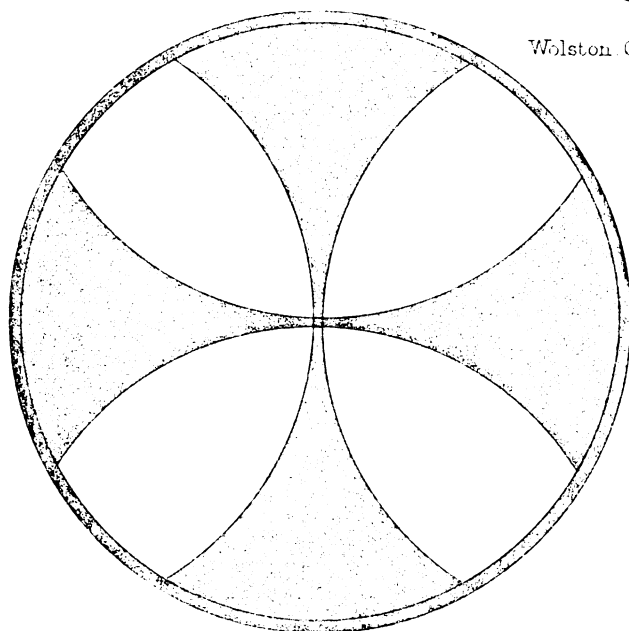
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Wolston Gloucestershire



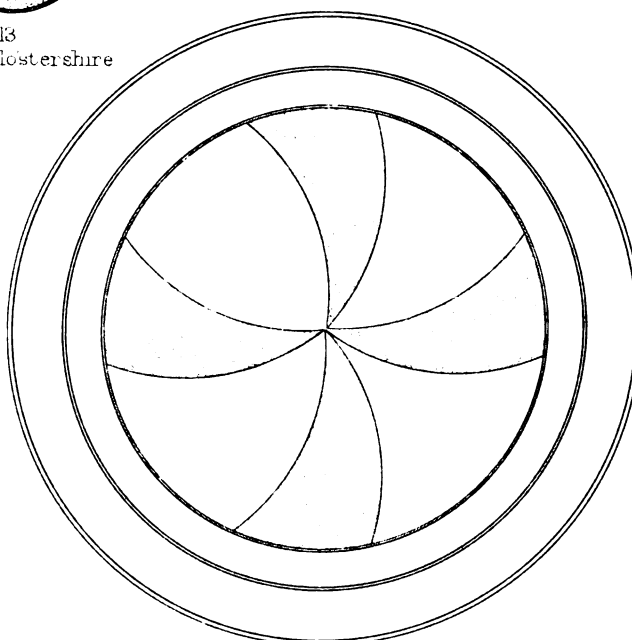
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Wolston Gloucestershire



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Wolston Gloucestershire.



15

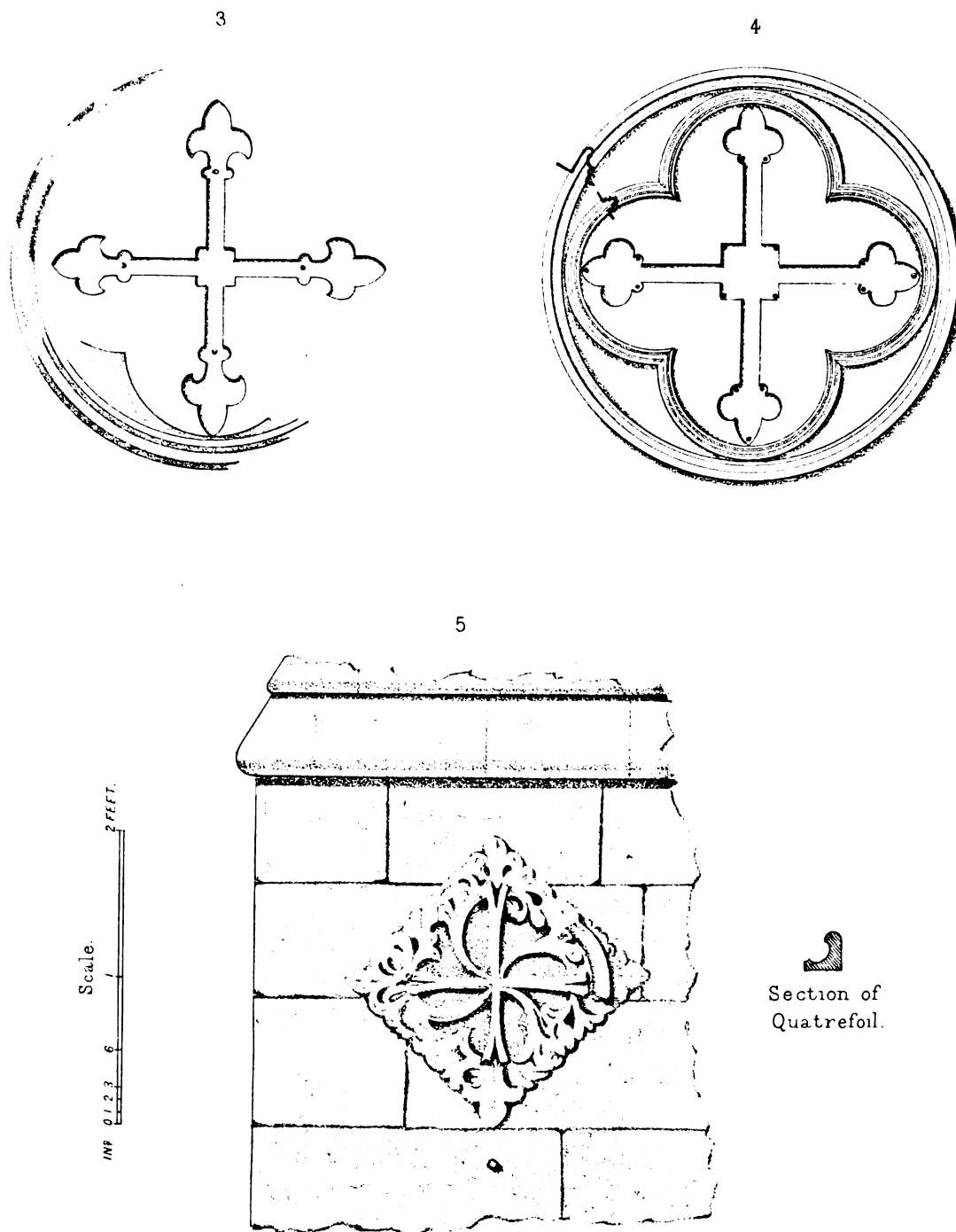
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Scale  $\frac{1}{3}$  full size.

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C. F. Keble





CONSECRATION CROSSES.

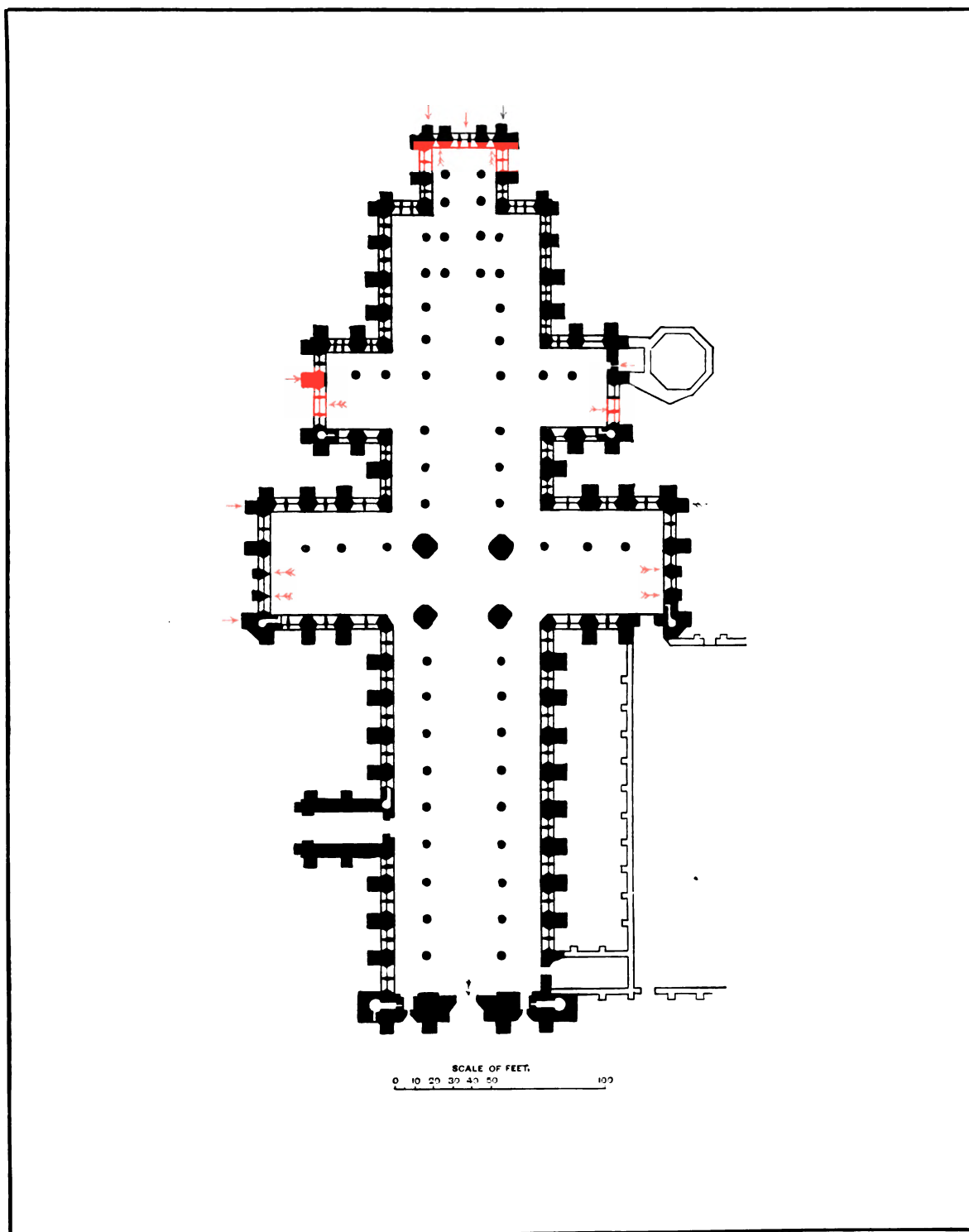
SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1884.*

C.F. Kell. Lith.







PLAN OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

Showing the position of the Consecration Crosses.



CONSECRATION CROSS



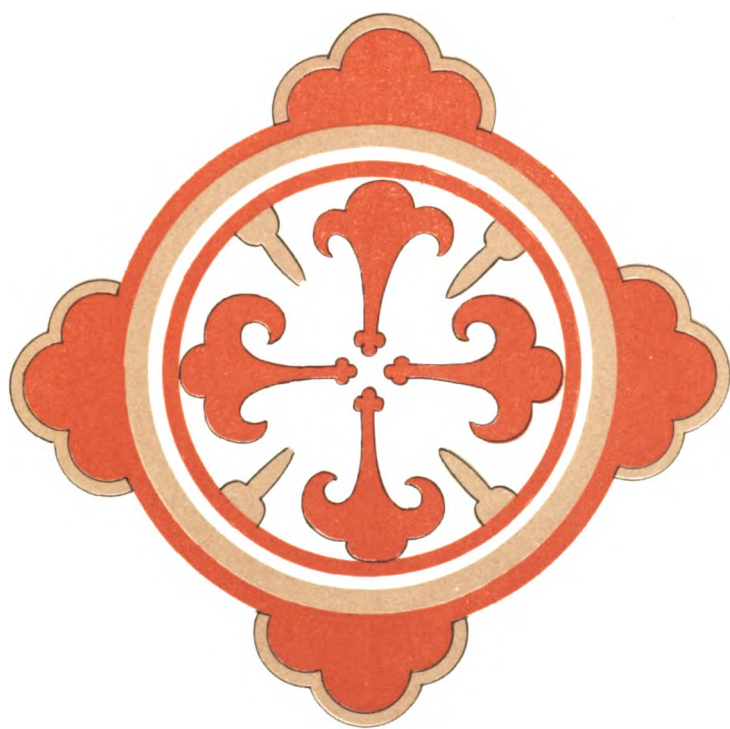


10

Brooke, Kent.

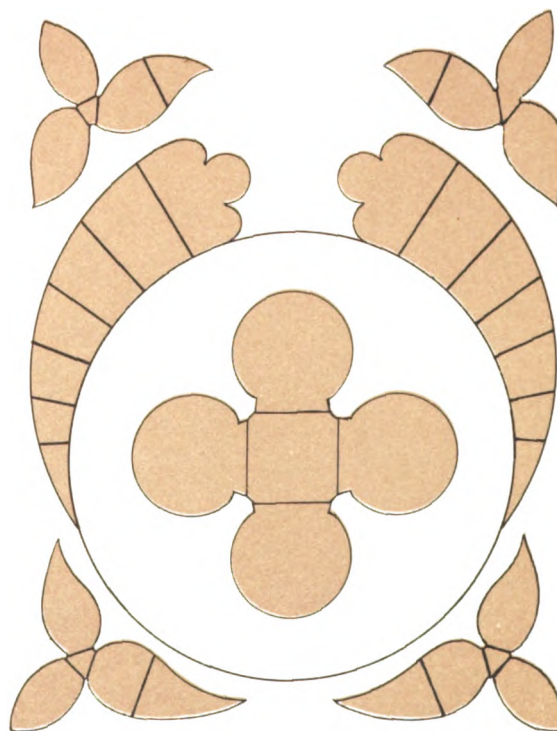


9



8

Pevensey, Sussex.



23

Blythborough, Suffolk.

# CONSECRATION CROSSES.

Scale  $\frac{1}{3}$  full size.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.*

C.F. Kell, lith.



*Studland, Dorset.*—Another early form outside north wall of Norman chancel (fig. 21), about seven feet from ground.

*St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln.*—On outside of north aisle wall, Early English (fig. 22), a small cross of type A, deeply incised.

*Old Chapel, now the library, Pembroke College, Cambridge.*—Remains of two crosses of type A, painted red, on east wall, inside. They are eleven inches in diameter, and are painted over some flowing decoration in black on the plaster.

*Uffington, Berks.*—A curious set of crosses are described in the *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xii. p. 154.

*Blofield, Norfolk.*—A large cross in circle, painted red with black outline, inside, on middle of north wall of north aisle.

*Blythborough, Suffolk.*—Quatrefoil or cross inlaid in flint (Pl. xxxvii. fig. 23), two outside east wall of chancel, 4 feet 6 inches from ground, and one on each side, on choir buttresses, just above the plinth. They have traces of paint on them. A plain square of ashlar stone is let in under the east window, and there are other square slabs on which probably the remaining crosses were painted, at various points along the north and south.

*Thirsk, Yorks.*—Cross inside, in south aisle (see *Churches of Yorkshire*, p. 8), since destroyed.

*Little Braxted, Essex.*—Two crosses, dark red in green circle, painted on plaster.

*Edington, Wilts.*—Two crosses, carved in stone, under west windows of aisles, date 1361.

*Barfreston.*—Three crosses at east end of chancel, inside, painted on plaster. Two near the corners above the stone string-course, and one below, under the east window (see drawing in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries).

*Hardwick, Cambridgeshire.*—Crosses inside chancel, above the paintings on the plaster (see *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xx. p. 316).

*South Ferriby, Lincolnshire.*—There is an eleventh-century tympanum of a door, not now *in situ*, carved in relief with figure of a bishop in the centre, and plain cross with expanding ends at each side.

*Ulceby, Lincolnshire.*—Cross, in relief, about  $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch, with hole below for candlestick, not *in situ*. Early Norman. (Pl. xxxiii. fig. 25.)

*Roscrea, Ireland.*—In gable over west Norman door; a relief carved with figure and similar crosses at his feet, the whole design very like that at South Ferriby.

In the foregoing examples I have not included any from the Continent, though there are some instances, especially in Italy, where the crosses are made a very important ornamental feature.

An instance of second consecration (mentioned and illustrated in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 275) should be noted. This is at the very early church of St. John, Syracuse, where both the earlier and later crosses, carved in relief, exist, one over the other. Under one of these pairs a tablet is let into the wall, with an inscription recording the fact that both are dedication crosses, the lower one being the older.

A graceful form of cross exists at the Ste. Chapelle, Paris, where they are carved on roundels, held by full-length statues of saints and angels.

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